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ABSTRACT

This set of collaborative lessons and teacher resources offers a unique focus on Central and Eastern Europe and the tremendous changes of the last decades. Thirty-five lessons present material about the history and government of Central and Eastern European nations and ask students to use comparative analysis with their own nation's history and government. The countries featured are the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Poland, the Russian Federation, and the United States. The emphasis is on active teaching and learning methods. The materials are divided into four major sections with a schematic organization. The organizing questions include: (1) "Historical Connections - What Are the Connections between the Past and Present?"; (2) "Transitions: Comparative Trends: What Are the Challenges Inherent to Any Form of Change or Transition?"; (3) "Constitutionalism and Democracy: Comparative Issues - How Are the Components of Constitutionalism and Democracy Reflected in Government?"; and (4) "Citizens' Rights and Civil Society: How Do Emerging Democracies Protect Citizens' Rights and Promote the Growth of a Civil Society?" A guide to instructional support materials is also provided along with the appendices offerings of the constitutions of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Poland, the Russian Federation, and the United States. (EH)

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ED 422 200

Comparative Lessons for Democracy: A Collaborative Effort of Educators from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States.

by
Dawn M. Shinew
John M. Fischer

SO 028 573

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Comparative Lessons for Democracy

A Collaborative Effort of Educators from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States

Editors

Dawn M. Shinew and John M. Fischer

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818-591-9321 / center4civ@aol.com / www.civiced.org

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John M. Fischer

EDITORIAL CONSULTANT

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Lisa Cary

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Dwayne Marshall

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Bohuslav Dvořák

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Barbara Christensen, Ohio State University
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Shirley Hoover, Upper Arlington Schools
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Table of Contents

Lessons by Country

Matrix of Teaching Strategies

Acknowledgments

Preface

Developing *Comparative Lessons for Democracy*

Historical Connections

Lesson 1: Maps of Central and Eastern Europe and Russia
Lesson 2: Foundations of Ideology: Liberalism, Communism and Fascism
Lesson 3: Narratives from Polish Survivors of Nazi Concentration Camps: Exploring Perspectives through Literature and Primary Sources
Lesson 4: Shaping Post-World War II Europe
Lesson 5: Turning Points in the History of the Czech Republic
Lesson 6: The Use of Propaganda in Communist Czechoslovakia: The Case of the American Potato Bug
Lesson 7: Government without the Consent of the Governed: Hungary, 1956
Lesson 8: Conflicting Theory, Rhetoric and Reality in Communist Internationalism: A Case for the Grand Jury
Lesson 9: Prague Spring, 1968: Hope and Disappointment

Periods of Transition

Lesson 10: 1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution?
Lesson 11: Analyzing Voices of Dissent
Lesson 12: Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism
Lesson 13: After the Collapse of Communism: Post-Revolutionary Blues
Lesson 14: Rival Visions of the Future: The President and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic
Lesson 15: Changing Economies: A Privatization Simulation
Lesson 16: Russia's Economy: A High Price for Free Markets
Lesson 17: The Democratization of the Media: Challenges and Controversies in Hungary

Constitutionalism and Democracy

Lesson 18: What Democracy Is…and Is Not
Lesson 19: The Role of a Constitution in Establishing a State
Lesson 20: Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions
Lesson 21: Affirmative Rights in Russia and the United States: The Example of Education
Lesson 22: Constructing Federalism: The Case of Russia
Lesson 23: Constitutional Separation of Powers: The Russian Federation and the United States
Lesson 24: "I Do Solemnly Swear…": Comparing Presidential Power in Four Countries
Lesson 25: Powers of the President: The Case of Latvia
Lesson 26: Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System

Citizens' Rights and Civil Society

Lesson 27: A Question of Allegiance
Lesson 28: The Duties and Virtues of Citizens
Lesson 29: Granting Citizenship: Tensions between Nation and State in Latvia
Lesson 30: What Does Equality Mean? Four Perspectives
Lesson 31: Majority Rule: Is It Always Fair?
Lesson 32: Women's Rights in the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation: A Contemporary Round Table
Lesson 33: The Significance of a Citizen's Vote
Lesson 34: The State and Minority Rights
Lesson 35: Organizing the Military in a Democracy

Guide to Instructional Support Materials

Appendix

Constitution of the Czech Republic
Constitution of the Republic of Hungary
Constitution of the Republic of Latvia
Constitution of the Republic of Poland
Constitution of the Russian Federation
Constitution of the United States of America

Lessons by Country

Five countries are the focal points for this publication: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Russia. Lessons are listed below in terms of the countries referred to in the lessons. Those in **bold** indicate that the country figures prominently in that lesson.

Czech Republic (also Czechoslovakia)

Turning Points in the History of the Czech Republic .... lesson 5

The Use of Propaganda in Communist Czechoslovakia: The Case of the American Potato Bug .... lesson 6

Conflicting Theory, Rhetoric and Reality in Communist Internationalism: A Case for the Grand Jury .... lesson 8

Prague Spring, 1968: Hope and Disappointment .... lesson 9

1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution? .... lesson 10

Analyzing Voices of Dissent .... lesson 11

Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism .... lesson 12

Rival Visions of the Future: The President and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic .. lesson 14

Changing Economies: A Privatization Simulation .... lesson 15

Russia's Economy: A High Price for Free Markets .... lesson 16

What Democracy Is...and Is Not .... lesson 18

Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System .... lesson 26

"I Do Solemnly Swear...": Comparing Presidential Power in Four Countries .... lesson 24

Affirmative and Negative in Constitutions

Women's Rights in the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation: A Contemporary Roundtable..... lesson 32

Constitution of the Czech Republic .... appendix

Hungary

Government without the Consent of the Governed: Hungary, 1956 .... lesson 7

Prague Spring, 1968: Hope and Disappointment .... lesson 9

1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution? .... lesson 10

Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism .... lesson 12

After the Collapse of Communism: Post-Revolutionary Blues .... lesson 13

Changing Economies: A Privatization Simulation .... lesson 15

The Democratization of the Media: Challenges and Controversies in Hungary .... lesson 17

What Democracy Is...and Is Not .... lesson 18

Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System .... lesson 26

Constitution of the Republic of Hungary .... appendix

Latvia

Powers of the President: The Case of Latvia .... lesson 25

Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System .... lesson 26

Granting Citizenship: Tensions Between Nation and State in Latvia .... lesson 29

Constitution of the Republic of Latvia .... appendix

Poland

Narratives from Polish Survivors of Nazi Concentration Camps: Exploring Perspectives .... lesson 3

Shaping Post-World War II Europe .... lesson 4

Government without the Consent of the Governed: Hungary, 1956 .... lesson 7

Prague Spring, 1968: Hope and Disappointment .... lesson 9

1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution? .... lesson 10

Analyzing Voices of Dissent .... lesson 11

Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism .... lesson 12

After the Collapse of Communism: Post-Revolutionary Blues .... lesson 13

Changing Economies: A Privatization Simulation .... lesson 15

What Democracy Is...and Is Not .... lesson 18

The Role of a Constitution in Establishing a State .... lesson 19

Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions .... lesson 21

"I Do Solemnly Swear...": Comparing Presidential Power in Four Countries .... lesson 24

Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System .... lesson 26

The Duties and Virtues of Citizens .... lesson 28

The Significance of a Citizen's Vote .... lesson 33

The State and Minority Rights .... lesson 34

Organizing the Military in a Democracy .... lesson 35

Constitution of the Republic of Poland .... appendix

Russia (also Russian Federation, Soviet Union, U.S.S.R.)

Foundations of Ideology: Liberalism, Communism and Fascism .... lesson 2

Shaping Post-World War II Europe .... lesson 4

Government without the Consent of the Governed: Hungary, 1956 .... lesson 7

Conflicting Theory, Rhetoric and Reality in Communist Internationalism: A Case for the Grand Jury .... lesson 8

Prague Spring, 1968: Hope and Disappointment .... lesson 9

1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution? .... lesson 10

10

Analyzing Voices of Dissent .... lesson 11

Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism .... lesson 12

Changing Economies: A Privatization Simulation .... lesson 15

Russia's Economy: A High Price for a Free Market .... lesson 16

What Democracy Is...and Is Not .... lesson 18

Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions .... lesson 20

Affirmative Rights in Russia and the United States: The Example of Education .... lesson 21

Constructing Federalism: The Case of Russia .... lesson 22

Constitutional Separation of Powers: The Russian Federation and the United States .... lesson 23

"I Do Solemnly Swear...": Comparing Presidential Power in Four Countries .... lesson 24

Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System .... lesson 26

Granting Citizenship: Tensions between Nation and State in Latvia .... lesson 29

Women's Rights in the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation: A Contemporary Round Table .... lesson 32

Constitution of the Russian Federation .... appendix

Lessons Addressing General Principles (non-specific to any country)

A Question of Allegiance .... lesson 27

What Does Equality Mean? Four Perspectives .... lesson 30

Majority Rule: Is It Always Fair? .... lesson 31

Matrix of Teaching Strategies

Key

Docu	**Documents**: document analysis/articles/case study/cartoon analysis
Prim	**Primary Resources**: primary source documents/constitutions/political speeches
L & D	**Literature and Drama**: literature analysis/poetry analysis/musical lyric analysis/ role play/readers' theater
Group	**Group Work**: small group/ large group/ group presentations/ group discussion
Simul	**Simulation and Decision Making**: simulation games/simulation activities/ decision trees

Historical Connections	Docu	Prim	L & D	Group	Simul
Foundations of Ideology	•			•	
Narratives from Polish Survivors of Nazi Concentration Camps	•	•			
Shaping Post-World War II Europe	•	•		•	
Turning Points in the History of the Czech Republic	•	•	•		
The Use of Propaganda in Communist Czechoslovakia	•				
Government without the Consent of the Governed	•		•	•	
Conflicting Theory, Rhetoric and in Communist Internationalism	•		•		
Prague Spring, 1968	•				

Periods of Transition	Docu	Prim	L & D	Group	Simul
1989: A Year of Revolution or Evolution?	•			•	
Analyzing Voices of Dissent	•		•		
Rock Music and the Collapse of Communism	•		•	•	
After the Collapse of Communism	•		•	•	
Rival Visions of the Future		•		•	
Changing Economies			•	•	•
Russia's Economy	•			•	
The Democratization of the Media	•				

Constitutionalism and Democracy	Docu	Prim	L & D	Group	Simul
What Democracy Is…and Is Not	•			•	
The Role of a Constitution in Establishing a State	•				•
Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions	•	•	•		
Affirmative Rights in Russia and the United States	•	•		•	
Constructing Federalism	•	•			
Constitutional Separation of Powers	•	•			
"I Do Solemnly Swear…"	•	•		•	
Powers of the President	•	•		•	
Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System					•

Citizens' Rights and Civil Society	Docu	Prim	L & D	Group	Simul
A Question of Allegiance	•			•	
The Duties and Virtues of Citizens	•				
Granting Citizenship	•	•	•	•	
What Does Equality Mean?	•			•	
Majority Rule	•				
Women's Rights in the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation	•		•	•	
The Significance of a Citizen's Vote	•		•		
The State and Minority Rights	•	•	•		
Organizing the Military in a Democracy				•	•

Acknowledgments

The Center for Civic Education would like to express our sincere thanks to the many publishers who waived their normal fees, allowing us to use their copyrighted material at no cost. Their good will made the scope of this project possible.

* * *

Developing a resource book involves enormous amounts of personal time and effort. This book would not have been possible without the assistance of numerous individuals in all parts of the United States and Central and Eastern Europe.

First, we extend our sincere appreciation to Charles N. Quigley and his colleagues at the Center for Civic Education for making this possible. Their initiatives in civic education have provided wonderful opportunities for everyone involved in **CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program**.

We would also like to thank Dr. Richard C. Remy for his expertise and quiet prodding as we made our way through our initial efforts at "lesson development." His suggestions were invaluable. Dick is our mentor, colleague, and friend.

To Shannon Tuzzi-Paletti, who joined us midway through the project; she proved to be instrumental to the success of the project. We debated the location of her name in the title pages because she served so many roles, not the least of which was showing enormous interest in the lesson materials. As a beginning teacher her expertise, subject knowledge and ability to put into words the nuances of teaching are unsurpassed. This project would not have been possible without her.

Special thanks to our Australian colleague, Lisa Cary, who joined our team at the most critical moments. Lisa helped us keep our sights on the end—and feet on the ground. Her contributions also extended far beyond her role as "editorial assistant"on a title page.

To the organizers and participants in **CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program** , whose efforts to learn and assist each other in improving education for democracy served as a driving force behind this work. The materials contributed by these participants filled us with awe and admiration; their commitment to education and cultivating a civil society is an inspiration.

In addition, we express our sincere appreciation to the staff at the Mershon Center. We especially thank Wynn Kimble for her support and Dr. Alden Craddock for his technical assistance.

Numerous teachers played essential roles in the development process. Dwayne Marshall, Rudy Sever, Jim Reinker, Ben Trotter, and Doreen Uhas-Sauer participated in our initial efforts at adapting materials from our Central and Eastern European colleagues into meaningful lessons for secondary schools in the United States. This experience proved to be a valuable professional development activity for all of us. In addition, thirty-three educators agreed to review and pilot test lessons. Their comments and suggestions served as the foundation for later revisions.

We also appreciated the insightful comments we received from social studies educators at the annual National Council for the Social Studies conference, as well as several regional social studies conferences. Our goal was to produce valuable materials for classroom teachers. The positive feedback we received from these educators was powerful motivation.

We also drew on the expertise of scholars during the review process. Dr. Donald Lutz (University of Houston), Dr. Ewa Busza (The College of William and Mary), and Dr. John Patrick (The ERIC Center for Social Studies/Social Sciences, Indiana University) provided us with much needed advice on how to focus the lessons and strengthen the resource book as a whole. In Central and Eastern Europe, numerous individuals provided insightful commentary on the materials. We felt it was enormously important for our Central and Eastern European partners to review these materials. We hope the lessons reflect our colleagues' multiple perspectives and their beliefs about the transition and its implications.

This project occupied enormous parts of our lives for the last year. We hope that teachers and students find these materials useful as they try to understand the complex issues in Central and Eastern Europe. Václav Havel, the dissident, leader and president of the Czech Republic may have said it best:

> *...At the beginning of everything is the word.*
>
> *It is a miracle to which we owe the fact that we are human.*
>
> *But at the same time it is a pitfall and a test, a snare and a trial.*
>
> *More so, perhaps, than it appears to you who have enormous freedom of speech, and might therefore assume that words are not so important.*
>
> *They are.*
>
> *They are important everywhere.*
>
> *The same word can be humble at one moment and arrogant at the next. And a humble word can be transformed easily and imperceptibly into an arrogant one, whereas it is a difficult and*

protracted process to transform an arrogant word into one that is humble. I tried to demonstrate this by referring to the tribulations of the word "peace" in my country.

As we approach the end of the second millennium, the world, and particularly Europe, finds itself at a peculiar crossroads. It has been a long time since there were so many grounds for hoping that everything will turn out well. At the same time, there have never been so many reasons to fear that if everything went wrong the catastrophe would be final.

It is not hard to demonstrate that all the main threats confronting the world today, from atomic war and ecological disaster to a catastrophic collapse of society and civilization—by which I mean the widening gulf between rich and poor individuals and nations—have hidden deep within them a single root cause: the imperceptible transformation of what was originally a humble message into an arrogant one....

(July 1989)

The collaborative nature of this project demonstrates how much can be accomplished when a diverse group comes together with a shared purpose. The dedication, commitment and integrity of those individuals and groups mentioned above serve as poignant reminders of what it means to be humble while slowly, almost imperceptibly, changing the world.

Thank you,

Dawn M. Shinew and John M. Fischer, editors
June 1997

Preface

Democracy has seemingly triumphed in many parts of the world, only to discover how vulnerable it is. In the nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the outward trappings of communism have disappeared almost overnight as statues of old leaders have tumbled and the superficial artifacts of Western culture have proliferated. However, after the initial euphoria surrounding the "fall of the wall" and related events, it has become clear that the legacy of communist authoritarianism remains deeply rooted in the political, social, and economic life of the region. Perhaps the most pressing challenge is the need to build robust civil societies that embody what Ralf Dahrendorf has called the public virtues that provide the essential base for modern, consolidated, constitutional democracy.

Simultaneously, in the West, democracy strains under what some observers have argued is a decline of civil society—what Tocqueville called the "habits of the heart" that have supported and nourished our formal political institutions over the decades. Increasing levels of citizen irresponsibility, crime, apathy, and indifference to the common good have become all too familiar manifestations of this fundamental challenge.

After consulting on the development of nearly every constitution in Eastern Europe and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union and reflecting on the challenges that lie ahead for both the East and West, A. E. Dick Howard, our distinguished colleague and world renowned constitutional scholar, concluded, "Ultimately, no objective is more important than civic education—the inculcation of civic virtues. A viable democracy requires that citizens understand that liberty is not license, that the open society depends upon mutual tolerance, that rights have a universal quality. A people who do not understand the basic precepts of free government are unlikely to keep it alive and vibrant."

Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program was created in recognition of the need in both East and West to build and continually renew through education the democratic political cultures and strong civil societies that provide the indispensable social base for a democratic political order. The **Civitas Exchange Program** involves leading civic education organizations in the United States working in partnership with counterparts in the countries of Eastern Europe and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. The program was established in 1995 with support from the United States Department of Education in cooperation with the United States Information Agency. The Center for Civic Education administers the program and The Ohio State University's Mershon Center and College of Education serve as one of the primary sites for exchange and curriculum development activities.

Two of the major goals of the **Civitas Exchange Program** are to facilitate the exchange of ideas and experience in civic education among the Civitas partners, and to create instructional materials for students in the United States that will help them better understand emerging constitutional democracies. This book represents a significant contribution to these goals and clearly demonstrates the practical benefits to be derived from sustained cross-national collaboration by educators willing to transcend national differences in their firm commitment to democracy and civic education.

The lessons presented here, all originally written for this book, will help students and teachers in many countries gain a deeper understanding of key elements of the process of democratic consolidation. In addition, these lessons afford students and teachers opportunities to sharpen the critical thinking and inquiry skills so essential to competent citizenship. The lessons can also serve as models for additional curriculum development at the local level and can be used to help strengthen preservice teacher education in pedagogical institutes, colleges, and universities of the partner nations.

We congratulate and express our deep gratitude to the co-editors of this book, Dawn Shinew and John Fischer, for bringing their creativity, dedication, and expertise in curriculum development to bear in leading this innovative project to a highly successful conclusion. The classroom teachers, civic education leaders, and scholars from six nations that participated in the development of this book also deserve special recognition. Finally, we thank the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University for hosting this project and the staff of the Center for Civic Education for their editorial contributions. We look forward to the widespread dissemination and use of this valuable new teaching resource.

Charles N. Quigley, Center for Civic Education
Richard C. Remy, The Ohio State University

Developing Comparative Lessons for Democracy

by John M. Fischer and Dawn M. Shinew, Editors

The Challenge of Teaching for Democracy

Every democratic society faces the challenge of educating succeeding generations of young people for competent citizenship. In all instances, it seems clear that such an education cannot be achieved in isolation of other citizens or the rest of the world. In addition, civic education must go far beyond merely having students memorize the structures and functions of government. The somewhat daunting task facing all educators is how to move beyond knowledge-based civic education and use this knowledge as a foundation for developing the skills and attitudes that are conducive to living and participating effectively in a democracy. A fundamental question looms before educators throughout the world: How can we prepare students for active participation in a democratic society, particularly in an increasingly interconnected world? *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* offers one response.

Characteristics of *Comparative Lessons for Democracy*

This teacher resource book has several distinctive characteristics. Described below, these include a unique focus on Central and Eastern Europe, the organization of the book, the structure of the lessons, an emphasis on active teaching and learning methods, and the inclusion of comparative analysis.

A Focus on Central and Eastern Europe

Comparative Lessons for Democracy presents a rare opportunity to strengthen education for democracy in the United States through the use of curricular materials about the history and government of several Central and Eastern European nations. Analyzing issues and events related to these emerging democracies encourages students in the United States to clarify some of the basic assumptions and principles upon which democracies rest. The content of the lessons contained in this resource book is designed to raise questions, not only about countries in Central and Eastern Europe, but also how these same issues relate to American society and politics. In this manner, students are able to identify the elements common to democracies everywhere and those dimensions that are unique to the United States.

Educators and scholars from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Russia contributed large amounts of the materials included in these lessons. (For a complete discussion of the development process of this book, see the section entitled "*Comparative Lessons for Democracy* and the Process of Cross-Cultural Collaboration.") These materials proved to be essential in insuring that accurate information was available and that multiple perspectives were included. The unique opportunity to include materials from educators in Central and Eastern Europe provides this book with a rare opportunity to analyze events from an American view, as well as to consider them from the view of those directly involved. This promotes a deeper understanding for students and provides a strong foundation for building comparisons.

Organization of the Book

The materials are divided into four major sections that follow a schematic organization. While this organization is not intended to reflect sequence or priority, the structure offers teachers a sense for how certain lessons are, or could be, connected. In each section, lessons revolve around some organizing question. The sections and questions are:

- **Historical Connections**
  "What are the connections between the past and present?"
- **Transitions: Comparative Trends**
  "What are the challenges inherent to any form of change or transition?"
- **Constitutionalism and Democracy: Comparative Issues**
  "How are the components of constitutionalism and democracy reflected in government?"
- **Citizens' Rights and Civil Society**
  "How do emerging democracies protect citizens' rights and promote the growth of a civil society?"

While none of these questions is ultimately answered in its entirety, the lessons in each section provide an understanding of the complex issues involved. These sections are not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of the topics. Instead, these lessons are a first step, an opening to issues that resonate in our own nation. Additional information may be obtained by encouraging students to conduct their own research and by investigating other sources.

Historical Connections. This section sets the context of both time and place. Included in this section is a collection of maps that can be copied and distributed or made into overheads. The maps provide students with a sense of the shifting boundaries of this turbulent region. In addition, students need to have a sense for how the past affects the present—and the future. The lessons in this section focus on major historical events in the twentieth century. The last century has seen battles, both political and military, ebb and flow across the boundaries of state and nation in this part of the world. The lessons provide students with a representation of the complexities and interrelationships inherent to these areas. In addition, several lessons have been included that will help to establish a historical context for the sections that follow.

Transitions: Comparative Trends. The second section highlights some of the issues involved in the transition toward democracy. Scholars often debate when to mark the beginning of the transition to democracy from the authoritarian/totalitarian states. This section includes lessons about events in the transition and relates them to the individual countries under study. The section also includes lessons about more subtle forms of dissent, including poetry, literature, and rock music. The lessons entitled "After the Collapse of Communism: Post-Revolutionary Blues" and "Rival Visions of the Future: The President and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic" are included as reminders that change is a slow, often difficult and arduous process. Finally, the section discusses the struggle and impact of the transition in terms of the economy and the media. Citizens in these countries feel the impact of the transition in every area of life, from the obvious changes in governmental structures and laws to more personal issues.

Constitutionalism and Democracy. Lessons in this section explore the ideas and concepts underlying both democracy and constitutionalism. What is democracy? What is constitutionalism? How does constitutionalism help solve the problems of the state? These questions require students to explore the procedural aspects of forming new governments. In addition, many of these lessons encourage American students to critically examine their own rights and responsibilities.

Citizens' Rights and Civil Society. The fourth section includes lessons that challenge students to comparatively consider two areas: the rights of individuals and groups and the role of institutions in civil society. What constitutes the building blocks of society? How do states establish boundaries for citizens' actions? The lessons in this section explore what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society, addressing the issues of equality, responsibilities and rights. The intricate relationship between citizen's rights and their accompanying responsibilities is a major focus of this section. The transitions may have had their greatest impact at the intersections between the government and the populace.

Guide for Instructional Support Materials. The Russian and Eastern European Institute at Indiana University provided this guide. The listing is designed to show educators what is available and to provide direction on how to borrow these materials for very little cost. Creating an active and engaging educational environment, one of the goals shared by teachers around the world, can only be made easier for teachers in the United States with the materials included in this bibliography.

Appendix. Constitutions from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and the United States (in their most recent form) are included. These constitutions are referenced in a number of lessons. By comparing the constitutions of other states and nations, students in the United States will examine their own constitution in considerable detail. The task of comparing and contrasting two or more documents often leads to a more thorough understanding of each.

Structure of the Lessons

The lessons begin with one or more quotes. The quotes may be used as part of the lesson, to provide a writing prompt for an essay, or add another commentary on the issues involved in the lesson.

Each lesson provides teachers with a *Summary of the Lesson* in which key ideas and concepts are identified in bold print. This section helps teachers identify the subject-matter of each lesson quickly and easily. In addition, teachers will be able to see connections between the important ideas and concepts among numerous lessons.

Objectives identify specific goals for each lesson. The objectives are stated in a manner that suggests the importance of establishing high expectations for students. In all cases, objectives should be clearly communicated to students throughout the lesson. In addition, these objectives serve as a basis for evaluating students' learning in the lesson.

In many cases, *Background Material for the Teacher* is included. These materials are often longer or more sophisticated than materials one might wish to use with students. The background materials provide a foundation for understanding the subject-matter relevant to the lesson. In some instances, teachers might conclude that students would benefit from reading the background material as well. Students who are interested in or require more breadth or depth about the content could use the background materials as additional resources.

The *Lesson Plans* follow a basic plan of *Opening*, *Developing*, and *Concluding* the lesson. Designed to take from one to three periods to complete, teachers have the flexibility to decide what to include, how to include it and in what order. The lessons are designed to build students' comprehension of the ideas and knowledge necessary for fully understanding the subject matter of the lesson. Introductory activities are designed to set a context for issues that arise later in the lesson and to stimulate students' interest. Each activity, however, is capable of standing alone. The flexibility of the lessons allows the classroom teacher to use them to augment existing curricula and texts.

Finally, suggestions for *Extending the Lesson* are included. This section includes additional information that expands the focus of the lesson (including other countries or historical events for comparative analyses) and activities that support, reinforce or evaluate the concepts presented in the lesson. Some of these suggestions may also provide teachers with a basis for designing alternative forms of assessment.

The structure of these lessons is intended to provide teachers with as much information as possible but recognizes the importance of the teacher as the decision-maker in his or her own class. These lessons are not intended to be of the "cookbook" variety in which eliminating one step ruins the dish. Instead, teachers have the option of picking and choosing those activities and/or materials that are most useful for their students.

Active Teaching and Learning Methods

Another way in which educators can prepare students for participation in a democratic society is through the use of active methods of teaching and learning. The challenge to every teacher—American, Czech, Hungarian, Latvian, Polish, and Russian—is to create an environment in which students are encouraged to think critically and interact with subject-matter, peers, and teachers in ways that promote democratic behaviors and attitudes. This simply cannot be accomplished by a teacher lecturing from behind a podium day after day. While not denying the importance of academic content or the value of a well-delivered, content-rich lecture, the limitations of such a pedagogical strategy seem obvious: students who are asked only to be passive recipients of knowledge will not develop the skills necessary for engaging in the public discourse so essential to a successful democracy.

For these reasons, the lessons contained in *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* use a variety of teaching strategies. The purpose of these strategies is not merely to increase students' interest in the lesson, although this is usually the case. Instead, the intention is to provide students with opportunities to be actively involved in the lesson. Lessons that require students to participate in discussions with peers, make and defend decisions on important issues, and analyze text from a critical perspective provide them with the tools necessary for applying such strategies outside the classroom.

In several lessons, students are involved in role-play situations that require them to build on factual knowledge previously obtained in the lesson. Role-plays can accomplish two objectives. First, students are asked to manipulate information in ways that require a more sophisticated understanding of the material. Second, students often are able to personalize information when asked to assume a particular role; in this manner, students come to identify ways in which seemingly sterile decisions and events affect the lives of individuals.

Teachers in virtually all countries complain that students are not prepared to participate in lessons that require such active involvement. In fact, at a conference in May of 1996, a Polish teacher raised a question that seems to plague all educators, "How can we expect students to act in such cooperative, democratic ways when all around them society is wrought with examples of authoritative policies and an apathetic public?" The response drives at the very heart of the role of schools in democratic societies. Do we want schools to merely mimic society at large or, as educators of future generations, do we want schools to promote a model of what society *should* be? The assumptions of the authors of these lessons clearly reflect the latter vision.

Comparative Analyses

Another characteristic of this book is the extent to which lessons include opportunities for comparative analysis. The past decade has seen almost inconceivable changes in the world. The political, social and economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe have created pressing questions about how democracy might be defined in today's context. Citizens and government leaders in these countries continue to wrestle with questions about free and open elections, restructuring centrally-controlled systems, and the challenge of educating people for participating in a democratic system. As members of a long-standing, stable democracy, students in the United States are often required to know what rights *are* included in the Constitution but are rarely asked to consider the question facing many Central and Eastern European countries about what rights *should* be included in a constitution. Consideration of this issue and others can raise the level of understanding among students in the United States to an entirely new level.

Comparative Lessons for Democracy and the Process of Cross-Cultural Collaboration

This book was developed as part of **CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program,** sponsored by the United States Department of Education in cooperation with the United States Information Agency. Educators from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Russia were involved in an exchange to promote civic education in their own countries and, through the sharing and questioning that resulted from the exchange, in the United States as well.

One goal of the project was to develop a resource book about Central and Eastern Europe for teachers in the United States. To facilitate this process, specifications about materials and lesson plans were distributed to teams from each of the participating countries. These specifications provided guidelines from which educators and scholars from each country could develop drafts of materials for inclusion in the resource book.

Many American teachers recognize the serious shortage of materials about this region, due in large part to the long reign of communist governments which limited and censored information. The materials that have been available in the past have often over-simplified the complexities of the region. In many cases, the portrayal of a struggle between the "evil empire" and the "forces of good" failed to address the nuances of a world in which few things are so clearly defined. To more fully understand the impact of contemporary developments in Central and Eastern Europe, teachers in the United States need to have access to materials that illustrate important concepts and events. The assumption of this project is that such information should come from educators and scholars in those countries. Consequently, materials for this resource book were solicited from the participating countries in the International Civic Education Exchange program. At the end of the exchange, each participating country from Central and Eastern Europe was asked to contribute sample lesson plans or materials that could be used in lesson plans for American classrooms.

The materials received from the participants proved to be invaluable. In many ways these materials helped the developers of this book understand more about the issues relevant to specific countries and those that seem to transcend state boundaries. The level of detail and often personalized nature of the information simply could not have been accomplished without contributions from the participating countries.

The next step in this process involved five teachers from the United States. These teachers, selected because of their expertise in the classroom and their interest in the project, assumed responsibility for assisting in the editing, rewriting, and developing of lessons for inclusion in *Comparative Lessons for Democracy*. Throughout winter and spring of 1996, these teachers met with the editors and editorial director to engage in professional development experiences. The purpose of these activities was to provide the teachers with a foundation for understanding the histories and current events in the countries involved in the exchange. Reading works by Timothy Garten Ash and scholars in the fields of constitutionalism and emerging democracies gave these teachers a better understanding of the seismic changes in Central and Eastern Europe. In addition, this group started questioning what is important to teach American students, both about this region of the world and about democratic principles.

June brought mail containing draft lessons and materials from countries participating in the exchange. Educators from Russia sent materials on the problems of federalism, presidential power and the right to an education. Latvians sent lessons on the parliament, the differences between the concepts of "nation" and "state," and the struggle to define Latvian citizenship. Czechs sent information rich in the stories of history and the role of the individual: the Prague Spring of 1968, T. G. Masaryk, Václav Havel. Hungarians contributed powerful narrative about the battles over control of the media and freedom of the press in democratic societies. Polish lessons included information about the principles of democracy; the concepts of patriotism, equality; and a role-play about the challenges of establishing a state. Constitutionalism played a large part in all these lessons. How does a democracy respect the will of the majority and yet protect the rights of the minority?

During the summer of 1996, the team of American teachers refined material, elaborated on ideas, combined readings, investigated additional sources, and even rewrote materials so they would be accessible to American teachers and students. In many cases these lessons were submitted to numerous reiterations as the group attempted to find an appropriate balance between the original intention of the lesson and the needs of U.S. educators. The powerful ideas of those involved will do much to answer the call for materials that enliven, personalize and enrich the curriculum.

During the course of the 1996-1997 school year, a review process strengthened and improved the materials. In the fall of 1996, twenty-two classroom teachers agreed to review and pilot teach lessons from these materials. Their notes and comments clarified directions and options and dealt with issues about intended audience and ability level. We also shared the materials with teachers from the United States and other countries during a series of presentations at national and regional conferences of the National Council for the Social Studies. Participants in each session received draft copies of the resource book and were invited to share their comments and suggestions with us. Their comments and suggestions are reflected in this final document.

Concurrently, all lessons and materials that related to a particular country were sent to the partner center in that country. For example, all materials and lessons related to Hungary were sent to the center in Hungary that had contributed materials. Each center then recruited an individual to read, review, and comment on the lessons. Their comments proved most important and helpful. Changes in lessons are, in many cases, the result of their input.

Finally, two other groups were involved in the review process. Several law-related education centers across the United States identified a teacher to review lessons. Many of these teachers reminded us of the realities of American classrooms, leading us to question how to maintain the complex nature of the issues without alienating students with overly difficult materials. The "Editor's Note" that has been added at various points in the student readings reflect our attempt to address the concerns of these teachers.

We also identified four content reviewers familiar with expertise in the region, constitutionalism, and history. Each provided extensive comments that had an impact on the lessons in critical ways. Seen in concert with the comments from classroom teachers, these reviews identified directions, holes, and directed the review process that followed.

The process for developing *Comparative Lessons for Democracy* was complex and challenging. The task of collaborating with educators from five Central and Eastern European countries, as well as with teachers in the United States, sometimes seemed overwhelming and was often ambiguous. Participants in this "collaboration" shared the same purpose (the resource book) but were severely limited in terms of communication because of language barriers and distance. However, throughout the process, the developers of the book continued to be acutely aware of our Central and Eastern European counterparts. Consequently, numerous issues arose during the project: What are the similarities and differences regarding expectations of students from these different contributing areas? How do our various experiences and histories affect the way in which we define such fundamental principles as human rights, open society, free press, etc.? How can we maintain the voices of the contributors from Central and Eastern Europe while still meeting the needs of American teachers and students? Many of the answers to these questions remain incomplete. The process described above, however, forced us to at least raise the issues, and, sometimes, the greatest learning takes place not in finding the answers but in asking the questions.

Looking to the Future

As participants in the International Civic Education Exchange, we have gained a greater understanding of the enormous cost to societies governed far too long by governments lacking the consent of those governed. We learned of the yearning to create a society open to vast possibilities for all its citizens, yet concerned that no one be left behind.

The five U.S. centers that served as primary sites for visits from Czech, Hungarian, Latvian, Polish, Russian civic educators facilitated the creation of the materials and ideas in this resource book. Participants' experiences with lesson development varied widely. However, from each country educators communicated what may be most difficult to convey, their thoughts and beliefs about the nature of freedom, democracy and the relationship between the state and the individual.

For the American teachers involved in the project, the work forced us to examine our assumptions about life in a liberal constitutional democracy. At the beginning of the project, the group of teachers from the U.S. were prepared to simply edit and elaborate on the materials we had been provided. Instead this project encouraged us to reexamine what it means to "teach democracy." Reading about the histories of this region, the courage of individuals striving to make a difference, and the struggle of dealing with almost 50 years of communist rule seemed to touch a core, to revitalize what we wanted to teach in our classrooms. The power of comparison does much to illuminate our own existence. These lessons for democracy do much to illuminate our future in a world where the struggle for justice, freedom and an open society are ongoing.

MAPS OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA

> ***Yet compared with Central Europe in 1848 or 1918/19...most nations have states, and have [grown accustomed] to their new frontiers. Ethnically, the map is far more homogenous than it was in 1848 or 1918.***
>
> —*Timothy Garton Ash in* The Magic Lantern

Summary of the Lesson

Students will benefit from the geographical and historical background these maps provide as they work with the content in this resource book. The maps may be used to create student handouts and/or overhead transparencies. The set includes matched pairs that may be placed on top of one another (on an overhead projector) to demonstrate ways in which the political geography changed. Comparisons of state borders during the last 100 years will help students better understand the development of contemporary states in Central and Eastern Europe.

Materials

This map set contains the following maps (some in blank form as well):

- Europe, 1996
- Europe, 1912
- Central and Eastern Europe, 1929
- Central and Eastern Europe, 1996
- Poland, 1996
- Russia, 1996
- Europe, 1945-1989
- Europe, 1929
- Central and Eastern Europe, 1945-1989
- The Czech Republic, 1996
- Latvia, 1996
- Hungary, 1996

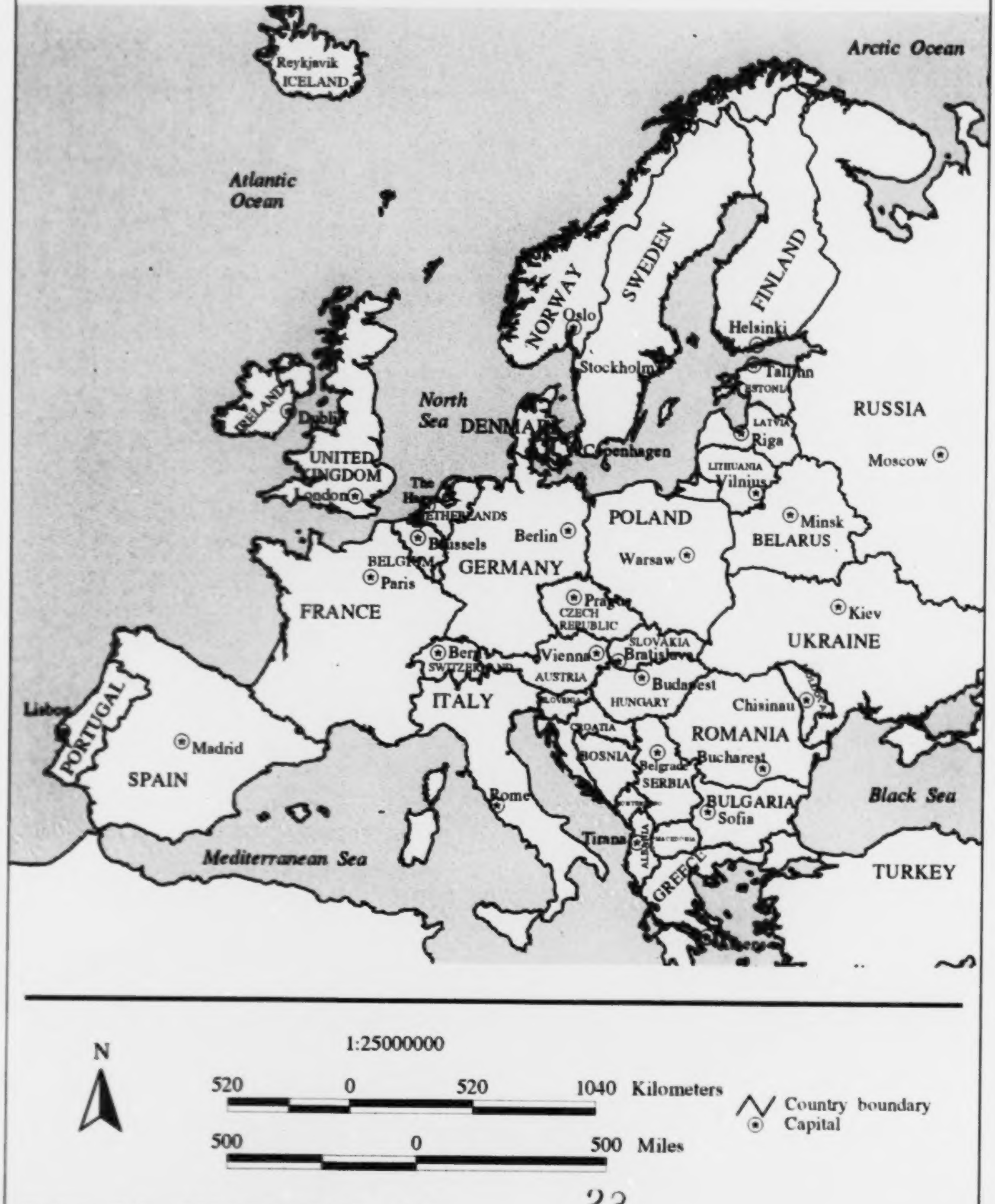
In some instances the maps have been designed to facilitate the creation of "overlay pairs." "Overlays" are two maps that have been sized by scale and orientation so that comparisons across time can be made.

The following pairs are included in these materials:

Europe, 1912	Europe, 1929
Central and Eastern Europe, 1912	Central and Eastern Europe, 1929
Europe, 1945-89	Europe, 1996
Central and Eastern Europe, 1945-89	Central and Eastern Europe, 1996

These maps are designed to support the lessons contained in this resource book. Teachers might use them in a variety of ways. For those interested in having students label the maps themselves, blank masters have been included of all but those maps of individual countries.

Europe 1996


Arctic Ocean
Reykjavik
ICELAND
Atlantic Ocean
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
Tallinn
ESTONIA
LATVIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
RUSSIA
Moscow
IRELAND
Dublin
UNITED KINGDOM
London
North Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
Berlin
GERMANY
POLAND
Warsaw
Minsk
BELARUS
Kiev
UKRAINE
Prague
CZECH REPUBLIC
SLOVAKIA
Bratislava
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Budapest
HUNGARY
Chisinau
ROMANIA
Bucharest
ITALY
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Rome
Tirana
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
Athens
Black Sea
TURKEY
Mediterranean Sea
N
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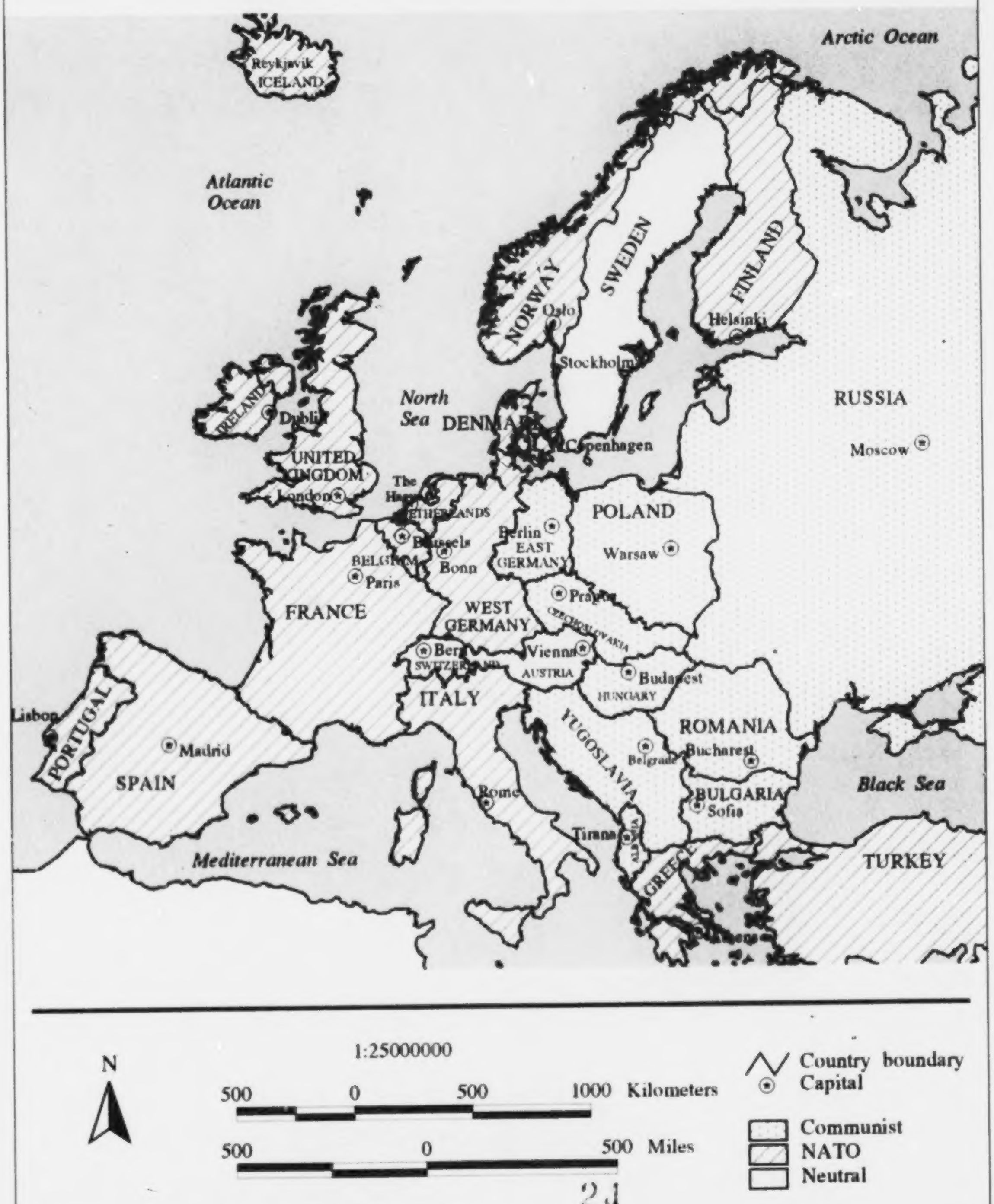
520
1040 Kilometers
500
0
500 Miles
Country boundary
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Student Handout

Europe 1945-1989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Reykjavik
ICELAND
Atlantic Ocean
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
RUSSIA
Moscow
North Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
IRELAND
Dublin
UNITED KINGDOM
London
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
BELGIUM
Paris
Bonn
Berlin
EAST GERMANY
POLAND
Warsaw
FRANCE
WEST GERMANY
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
ITALY
ROMANIA
Bucharest
YUGOSLAVIA
Belgrade
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Rome
BULGARIA
Sofia
Black Sea
Tirana
ALBANIA
GREECE
Athens
TURKEY
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Kilometers
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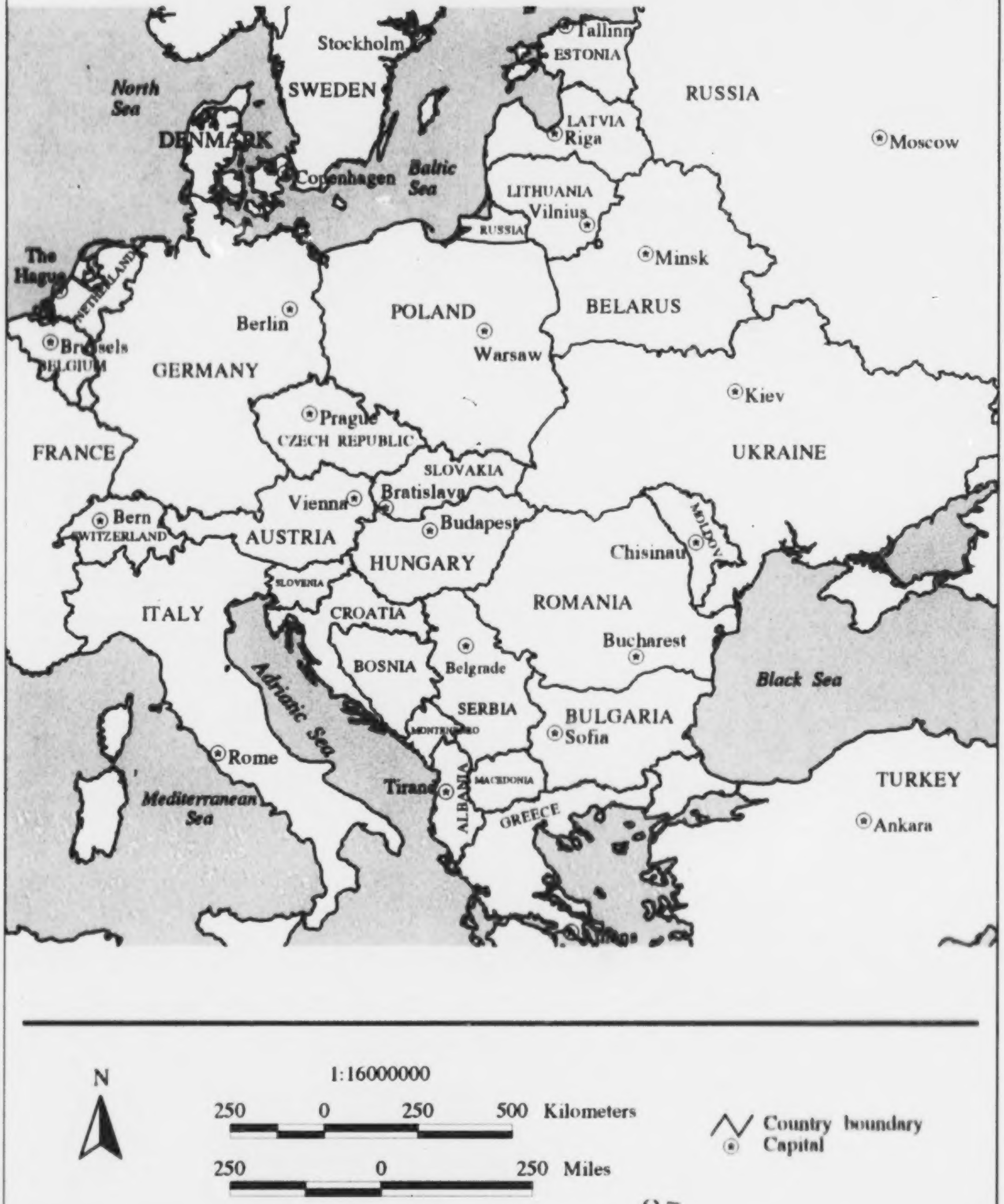
Miles
Country boundary
Capital
Communist
NATO
Neutral

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Central and Eastern Europe 1996


Stockholm
Tallinn
ESTONIA
North Sea
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
LATVIA
Riga
Moscow
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
RUSSIA
Minsk
The Hague
NETHERLAND
Berlin
POLAND
BELARUS
Warsaw
Brussels
BELGIUM
GERMANY
Kiev
Prague
CZECH REPUBLIC
FRANCE
UKRAINE
SLOVAKIA
Bratislava
Vienna
Bern
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
Budapest
MOLDOVA
Chisinau
HUNGARY
SLOVENIA
ITALY
CROATIA
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
BOSNIA
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
Sofia
Rome
TURKEY
Tirana
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
Mediterranean Sea
GREECE
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Athens
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250
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Kilometers
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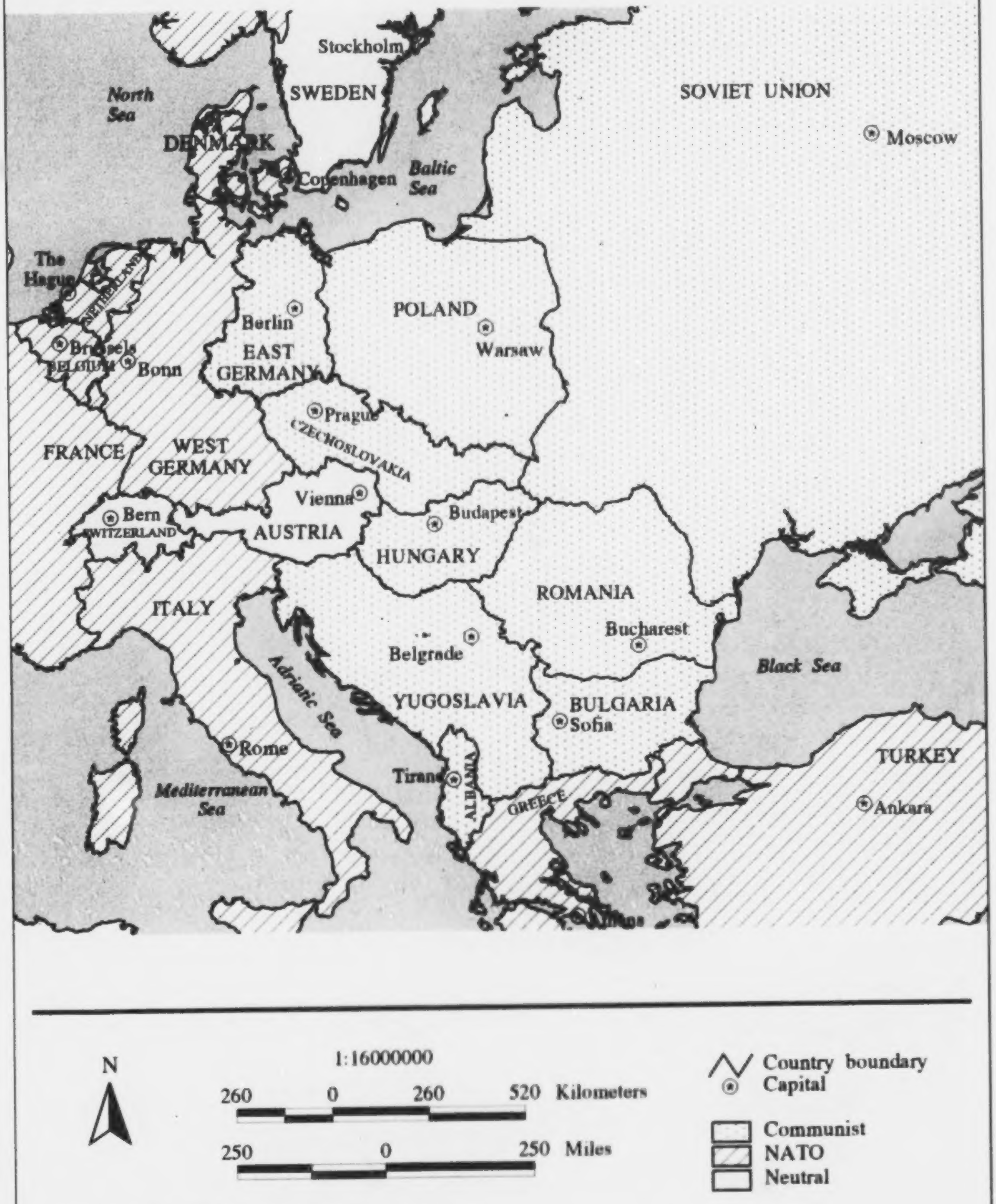
Miles
Country boundary
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1945-1989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SWEDEN
North Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
SOVIET UNION
Moscow
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Brussels
BELGIUM
Bonn
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
WEST GERMANY
Vienna
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SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
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HUNGARY
ROMANIA
ITALY
Bucharest
Belgrade
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
YUGOSLAVIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Rome
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Tirana
ALBANIA
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Mediterranean Sea
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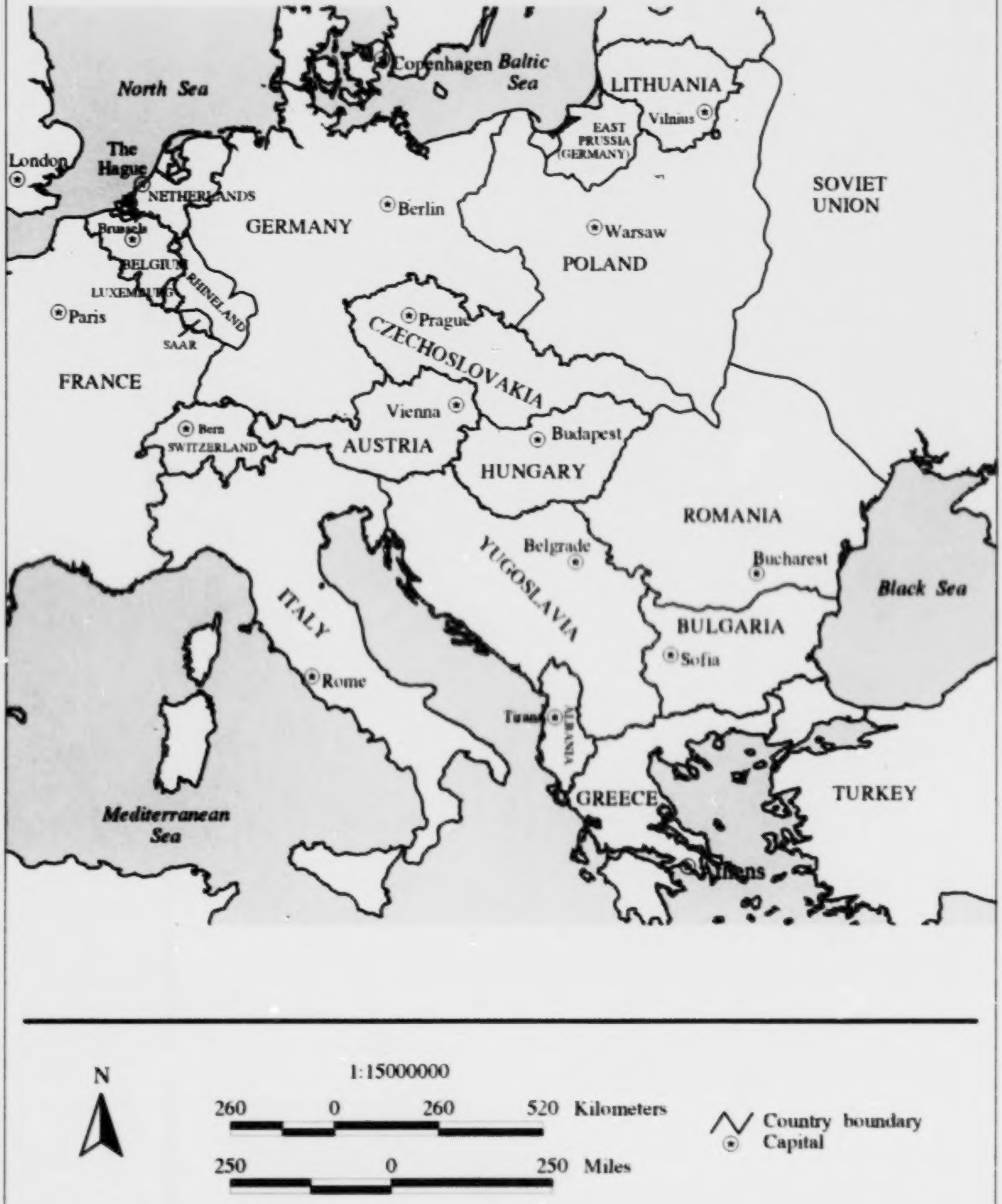
Country boundary
Capital
Communist
NATO
Neutral

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1929


North Sea
Baltic Sea
Copenhagen
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
EAST PRUSSIA (GERMANY)
London
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Berlin
SOVIET UNION
Brussels
GERMANY
Warsaw
BELGIUM
POLAND
LUXEMBURG
RHINELAND
Paris
Prague
SAAR
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
Vienna
Bern
Budapest
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA
Bucharest
ITALY
Black Sea
BULGARIA
Sofia
Rome
Tirana
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Mediterranean Sea
Athens
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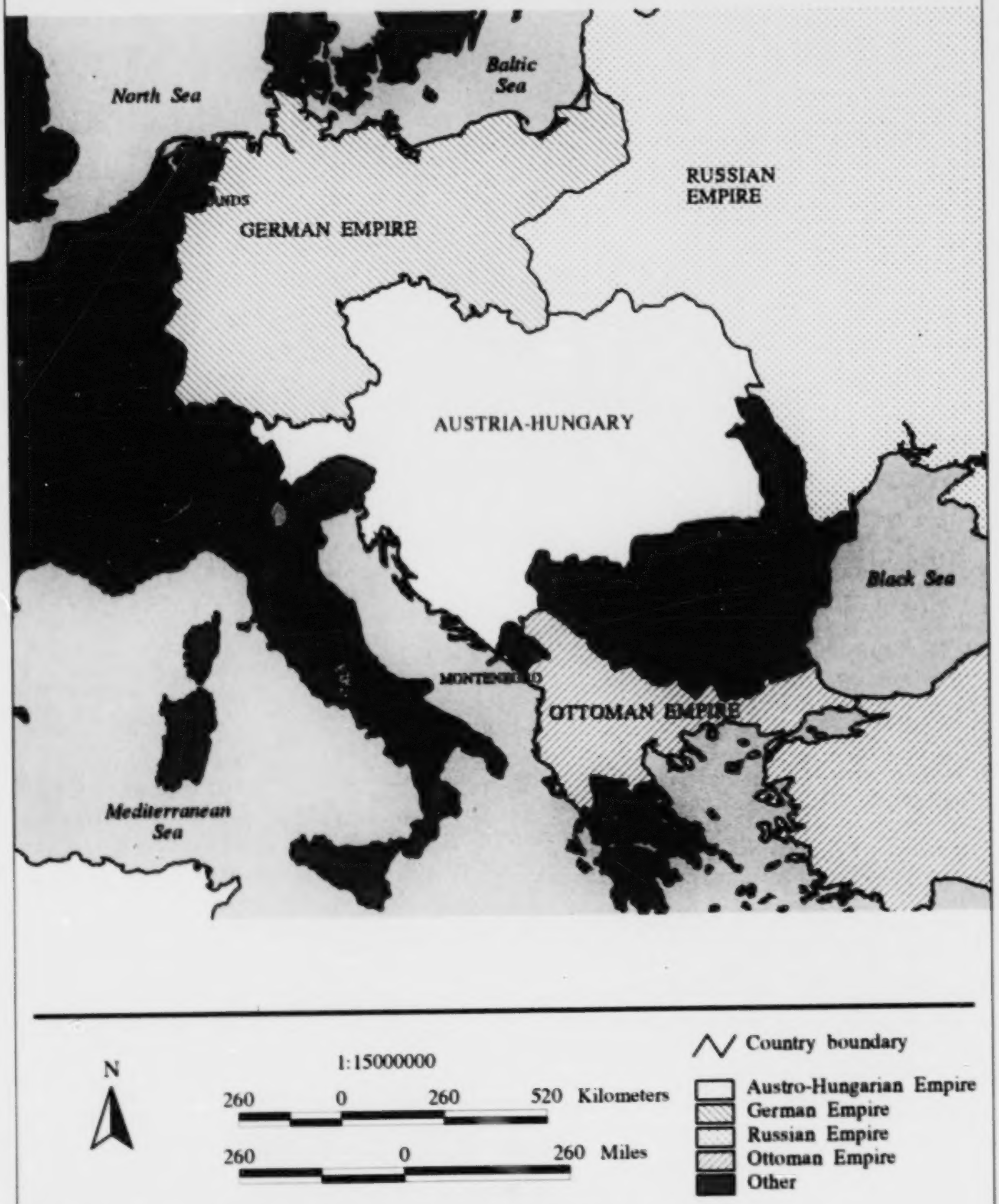
260 0 260 520 Kilometers
250 0 250 Miles
Country boundary
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld and the Atlas of European History 1957
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Student Handout

Central and Eastern Europe 1912


North Sea
Baltic Sea
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
ANDS
GERMAN EMPIRE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Black Sea
MONTENEGRO
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
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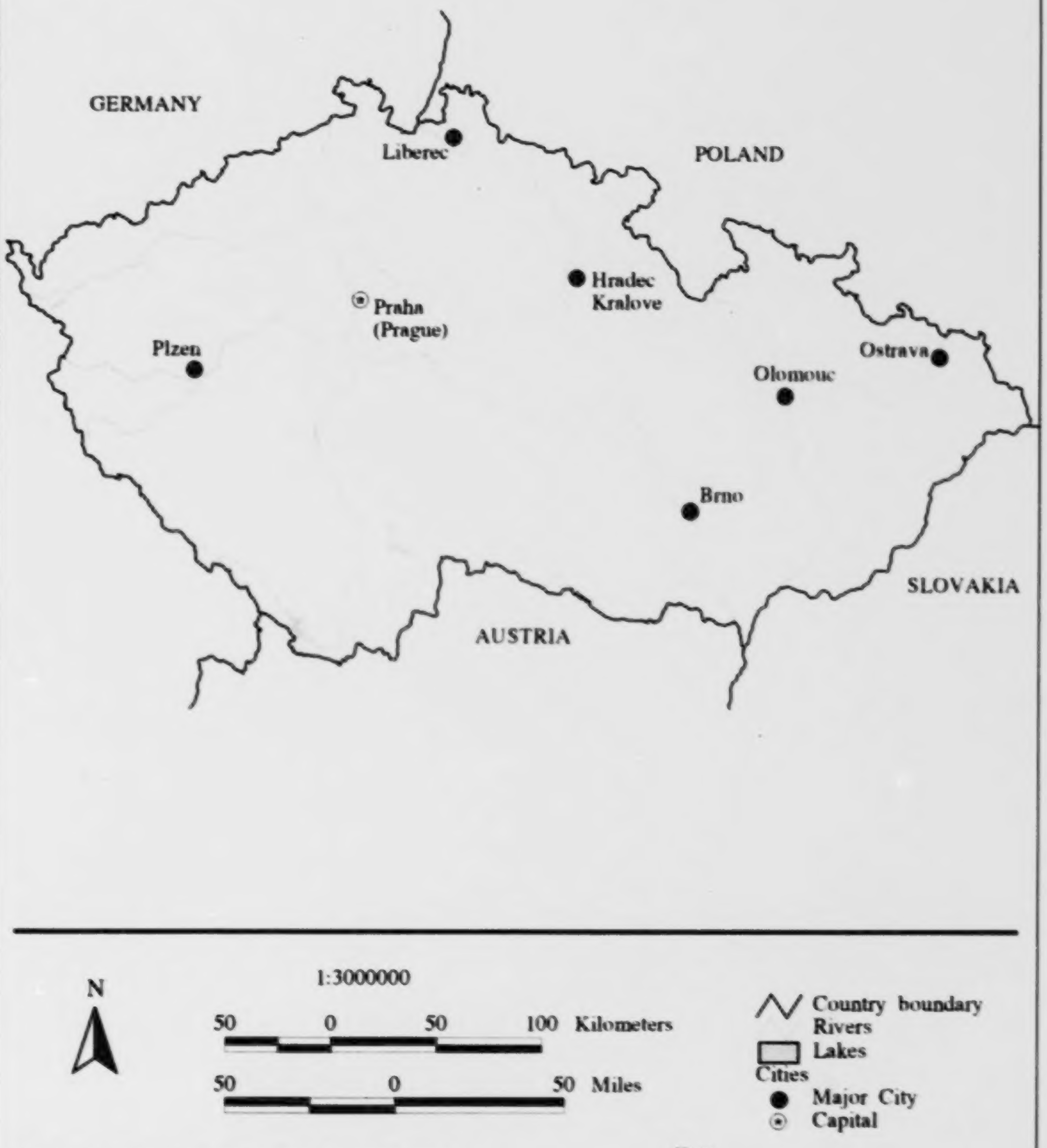
260 0 260 520 Kilometers
260 0 260 Miles
Country boundary
Austro-Hungarian Empire
German Empire
Russian Empire
Ottoman Empire
Other

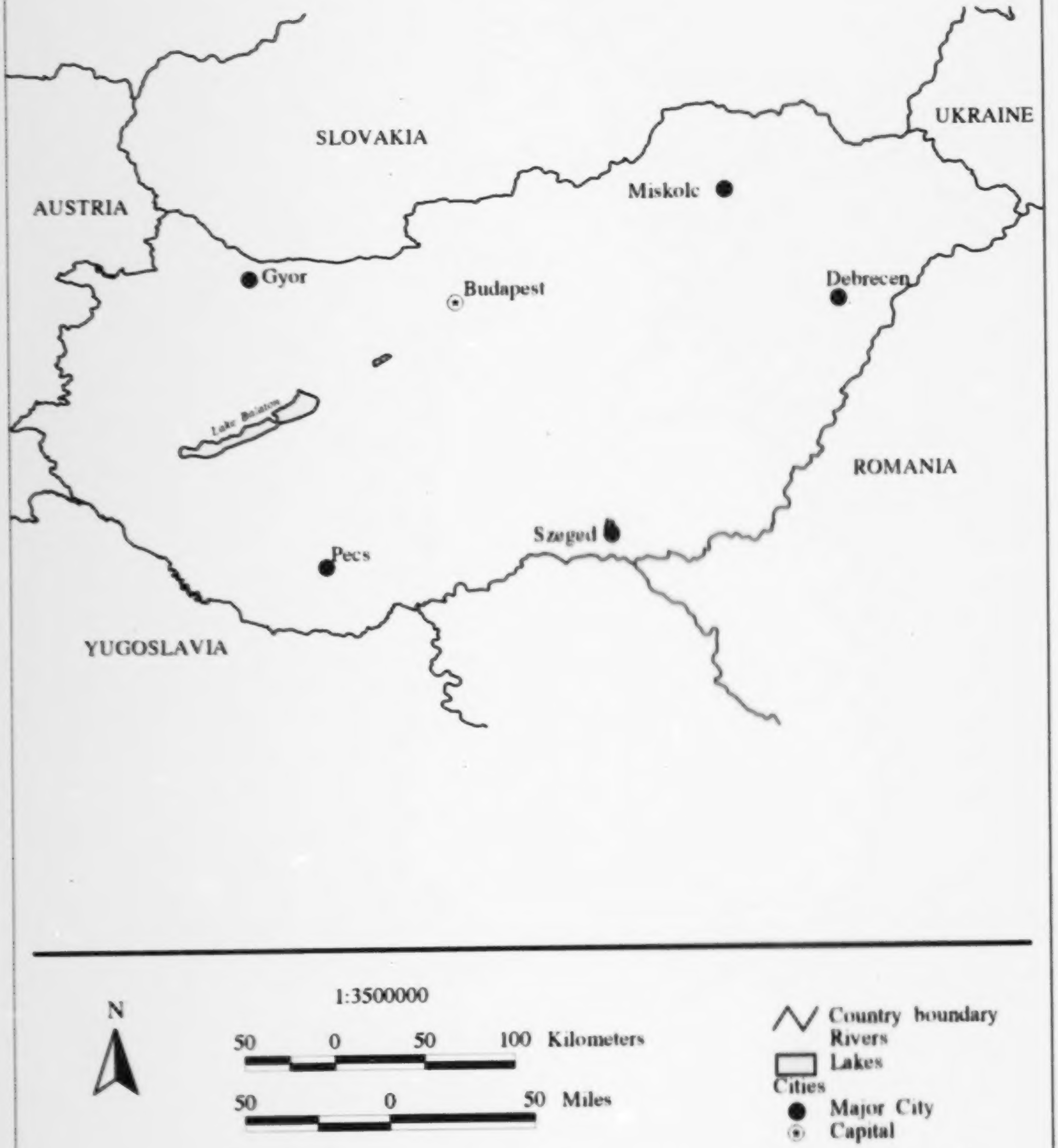
Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld and the Atlas of European History 1957
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Czech Republic 1996


GERMANY
POLAND
Liberec
Hradec Kralove
Praha (Prague)
Plzen
Olomouc
Ostrava
Brno
SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
N
1:3000000
50 0 50 100 Kilometers
50 0 50 Miles
Country boundary
Rivers
Lakes
Cities
Major City
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Hungary 1996


SLOVAKIA
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA
Miskolc
Gyor
Budapest
Debrecen
Lake Balaton
ROMANIA
Szeged
Pecs
YUGOSLAVIA
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50 0 50 100 Kilometers
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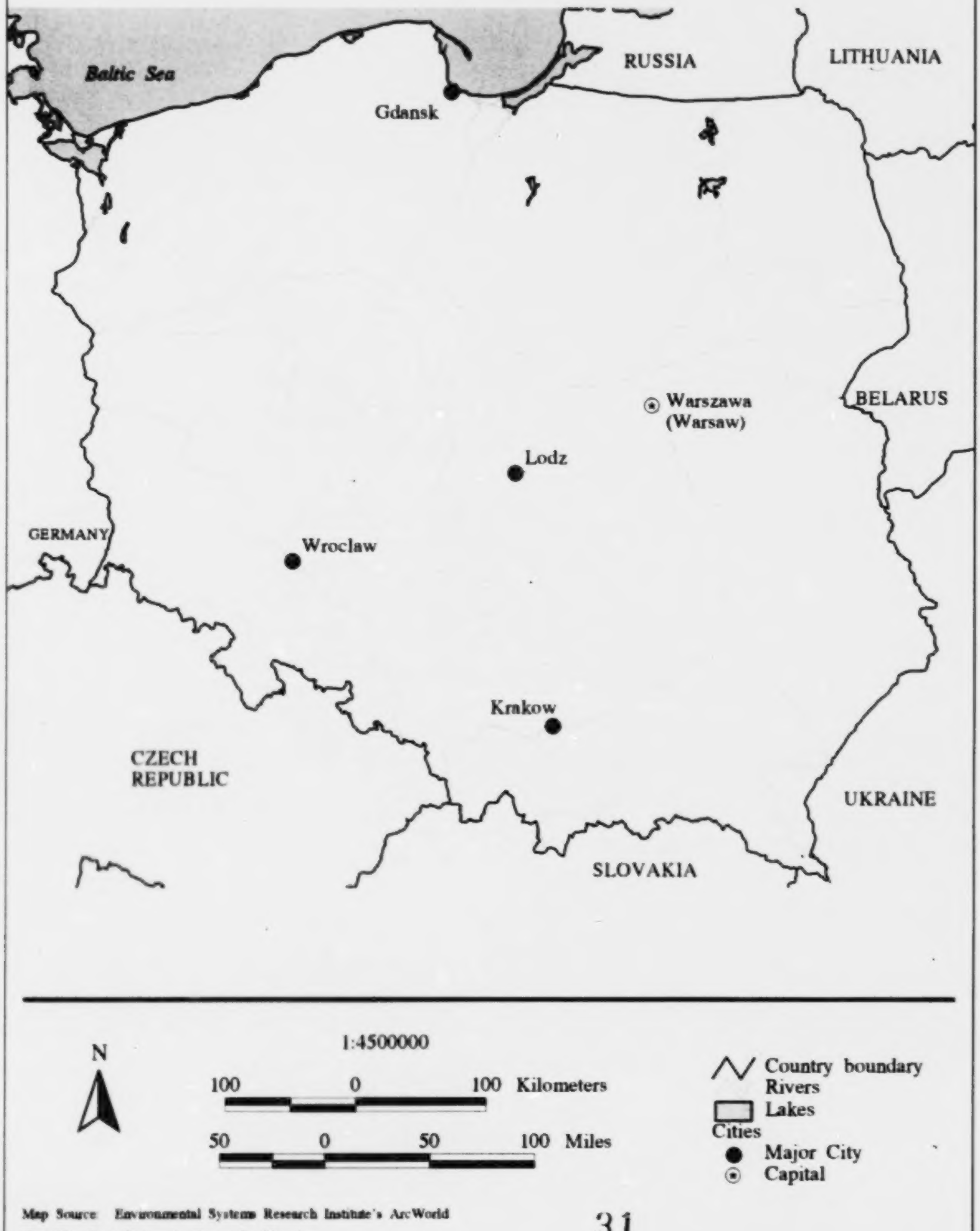
Country boundary
Rivers
Lakes
Cities
Major City
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Poland 1996


Baltic Sea
RUSSIA
LITHUANIA
Gdansk
BELARUS
Warszawa
(Warsaw)
Lodz
GERMANY
Wroclaw
Krakow
CZECH
REPUBLIC
UKRAINE
SLOVAKIA
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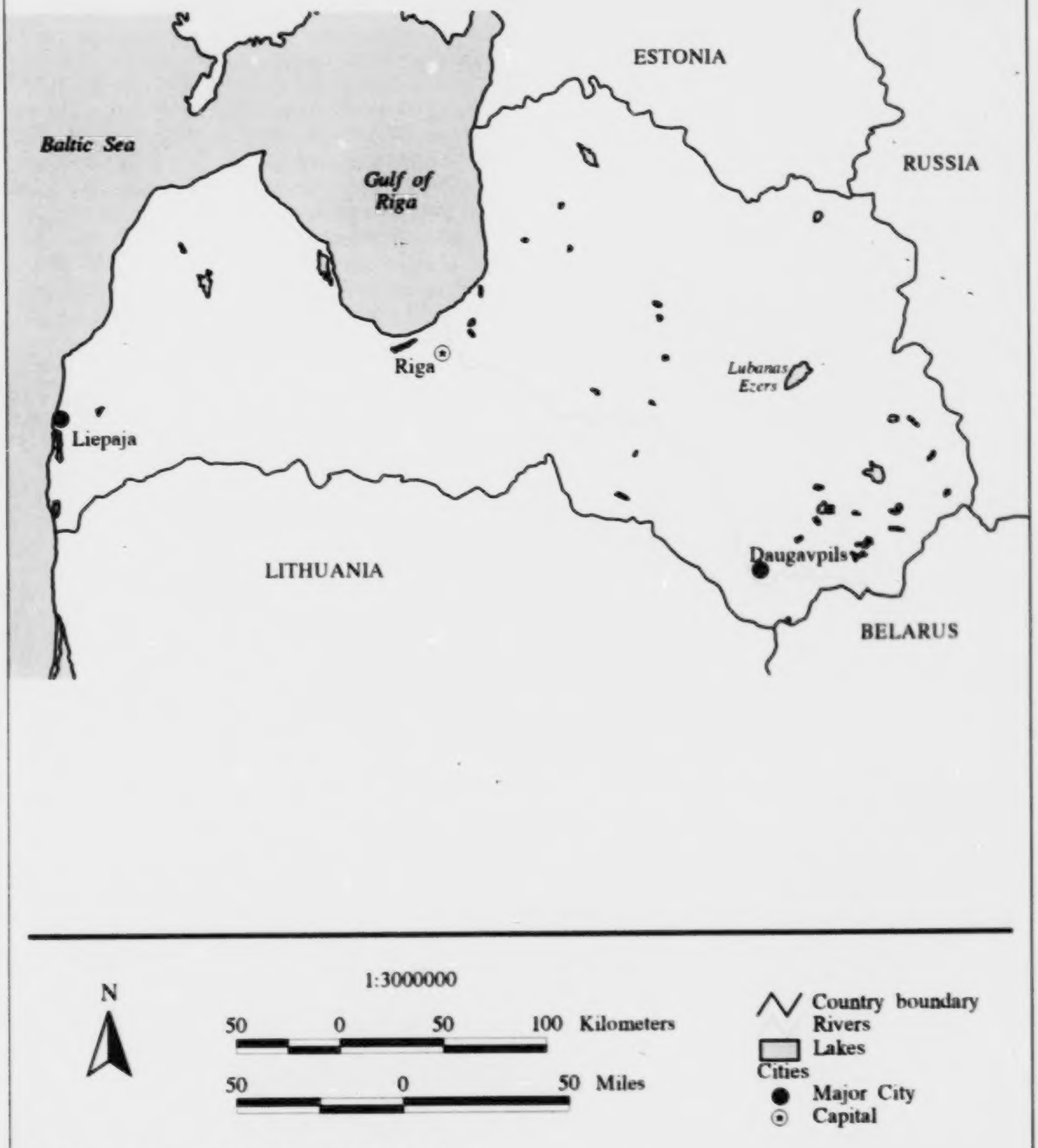
100 0 100 Kilometers
50 0 50 100 Miles
Country boundary
Rivers
Lakes
Cities
Major City
Capital

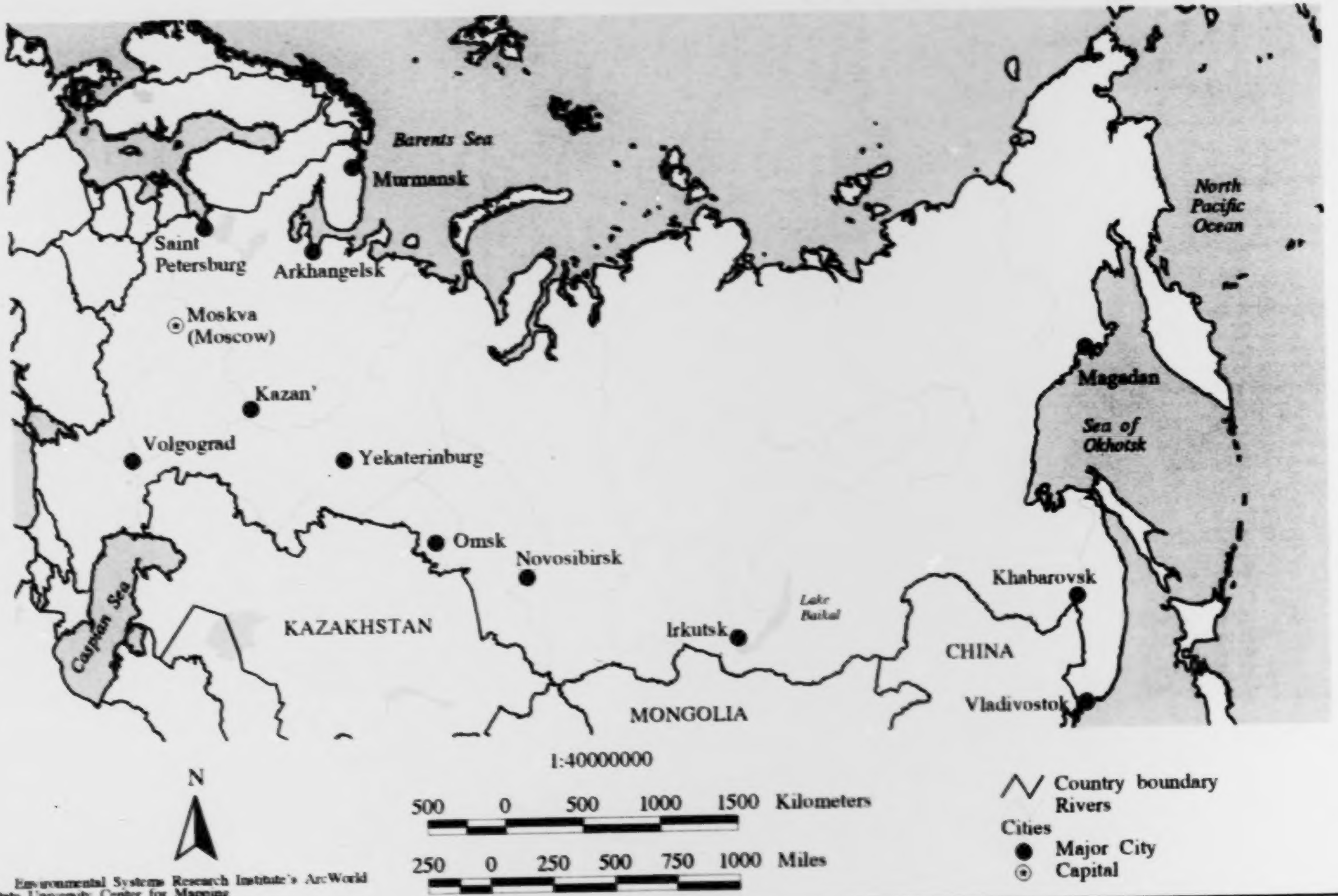
Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Latvia 1996


Baltic Sea
Gulf of Riga
ESTONIA
RUSSIA
Riga
Liepaja
Lubanas Ezers
Daugavpils
LITHUANIA
BELARUS
N
1:3000000
50 0 50 100 Kilometers
50 0 50 Miles
Country boundary
Rivers
Lakes
Cities
Major City
Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Russia 1996


Barents Sea
Murmansk
Saint Petersburg
Arkhangelsk
Moskva (Moscow)
Kazan'
Volgograd
Yekaterinburg
Omsk
Novosibirsk
Caspian Sea
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
CHINA
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
Magadan
Sea of Okhotsk
North Pacific Ocean
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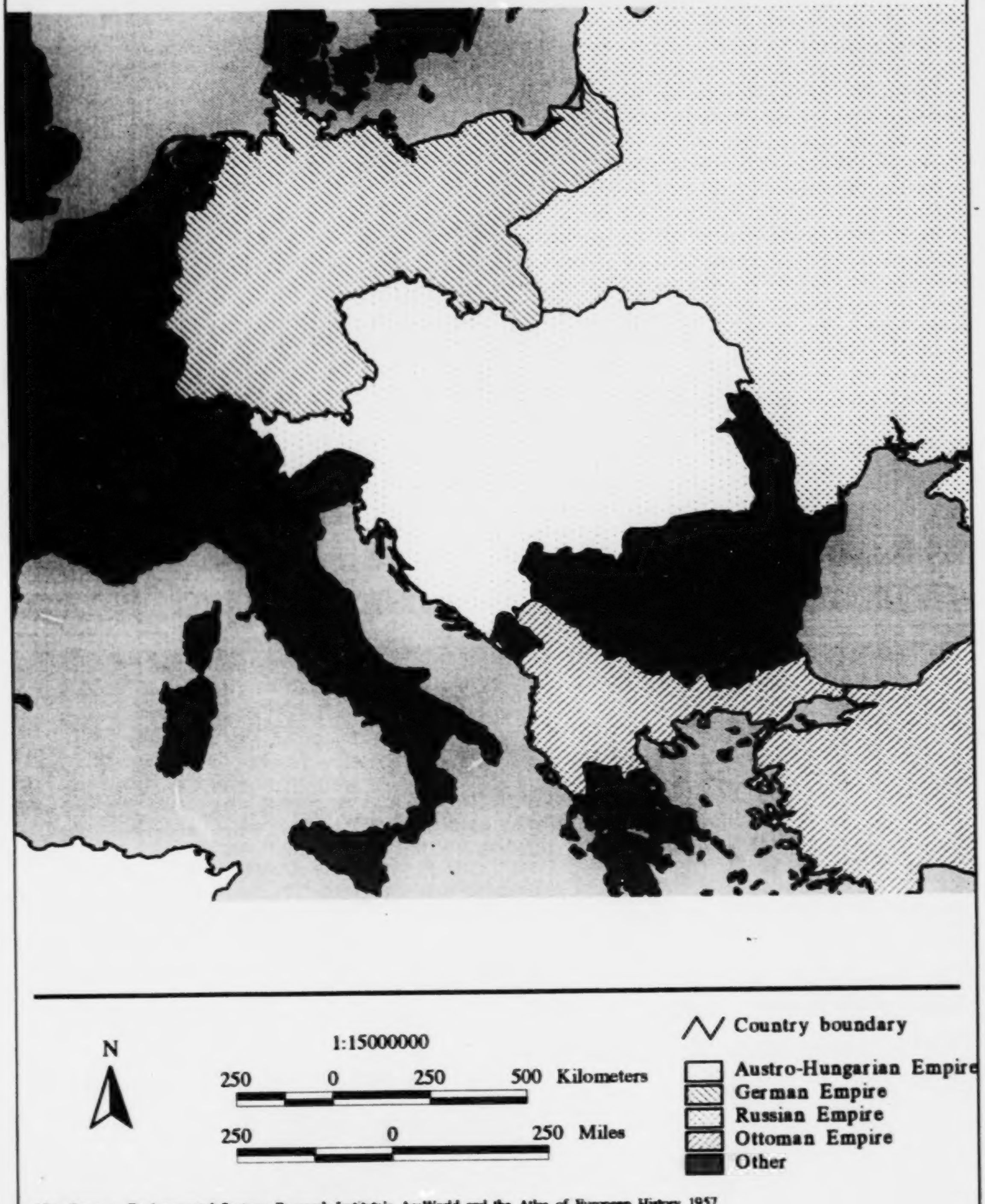
1:40000000
500 0 500 1000 1500 Kilometers
250 0 250 500 750 1000 Miles
Country boundary
Rivers
Cities
● Major City
⊙ Capital

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1912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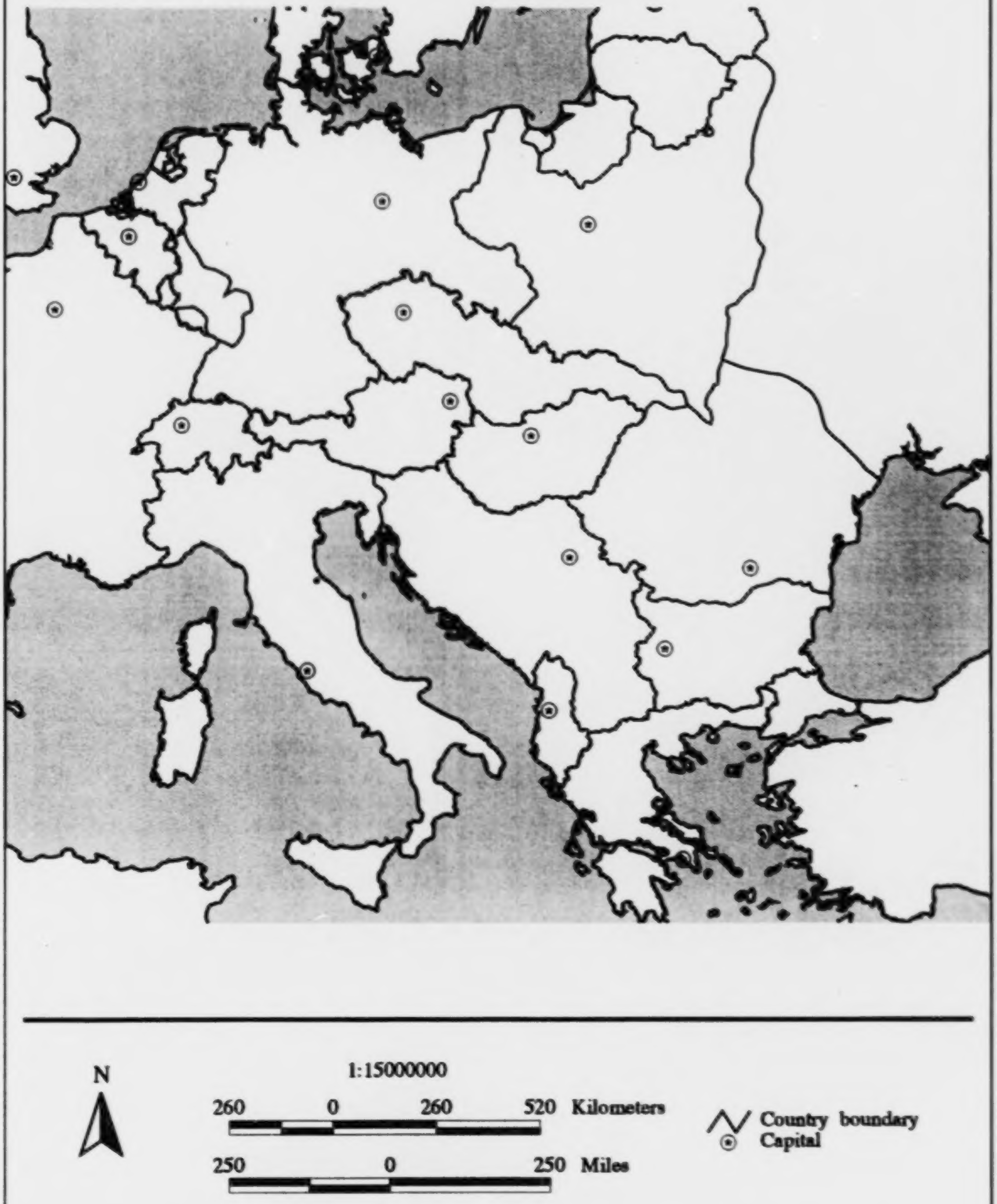
Austro-Hungarian Empire
German Empire
Russian Empire
Ottoman Empire
Other

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld and the Atlas of European History 1957
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1929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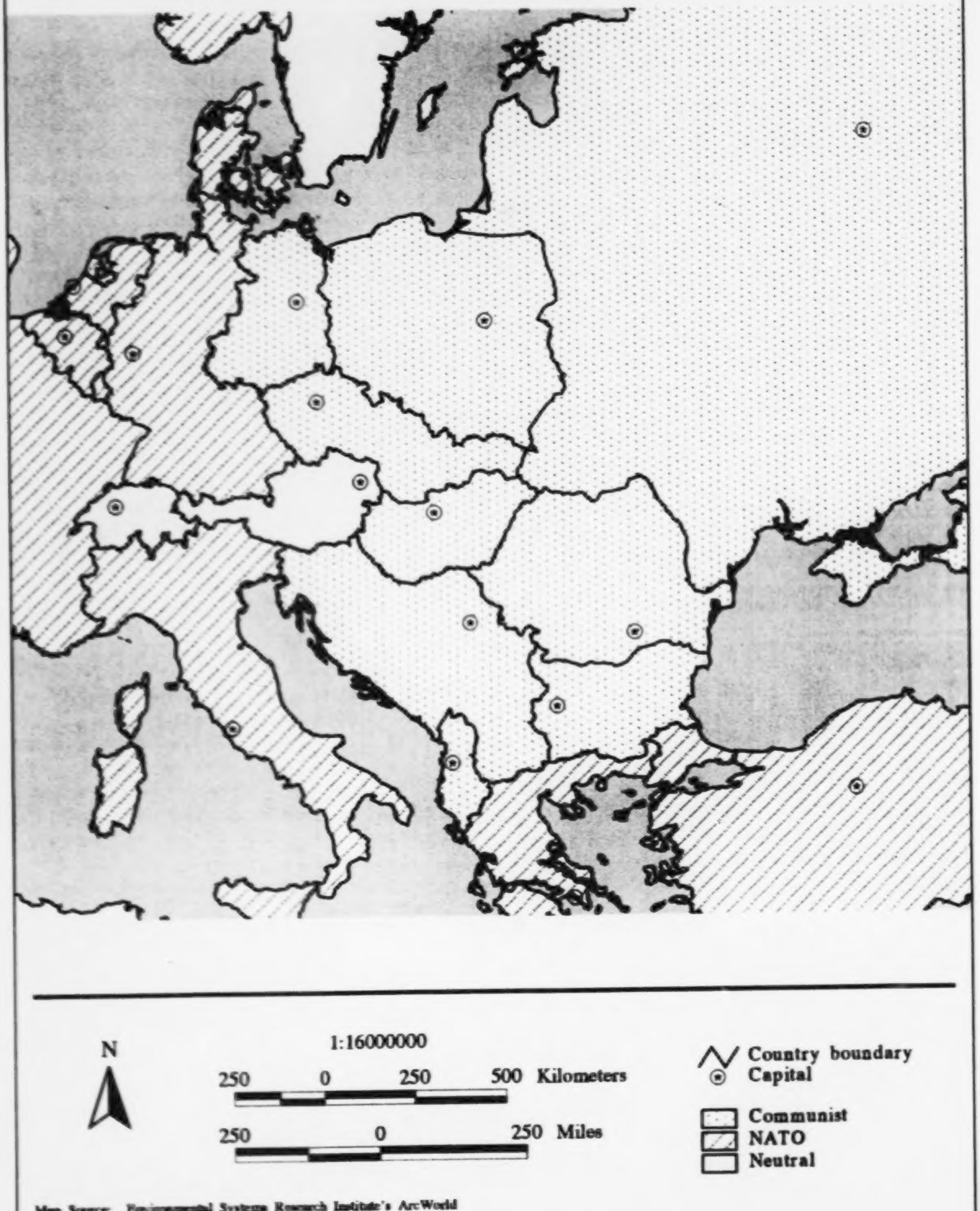
Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld and the Atlas of European History 1957
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1945-1989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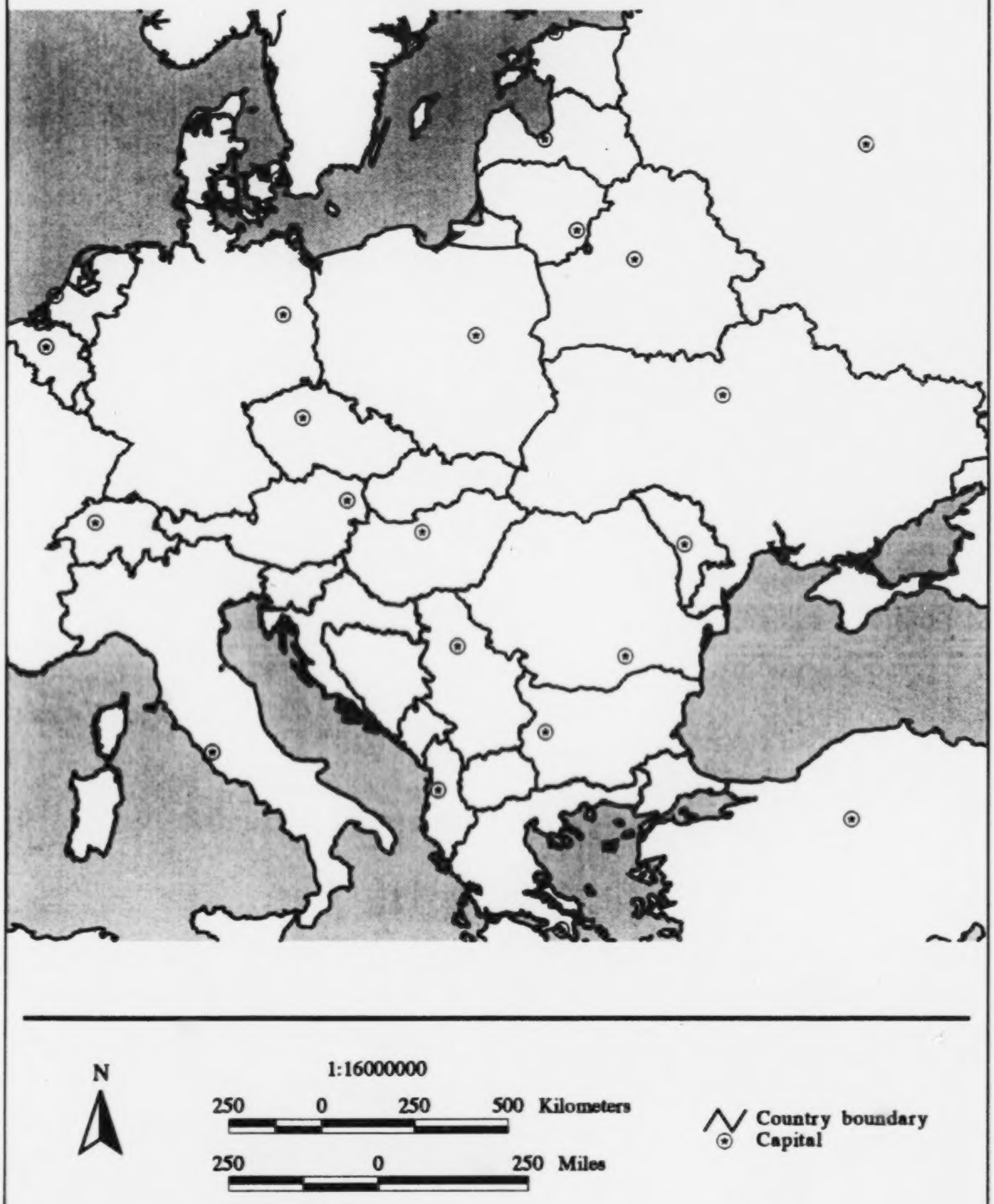
Communist
NATO
Neutral

Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Central and Eastern Europe 1996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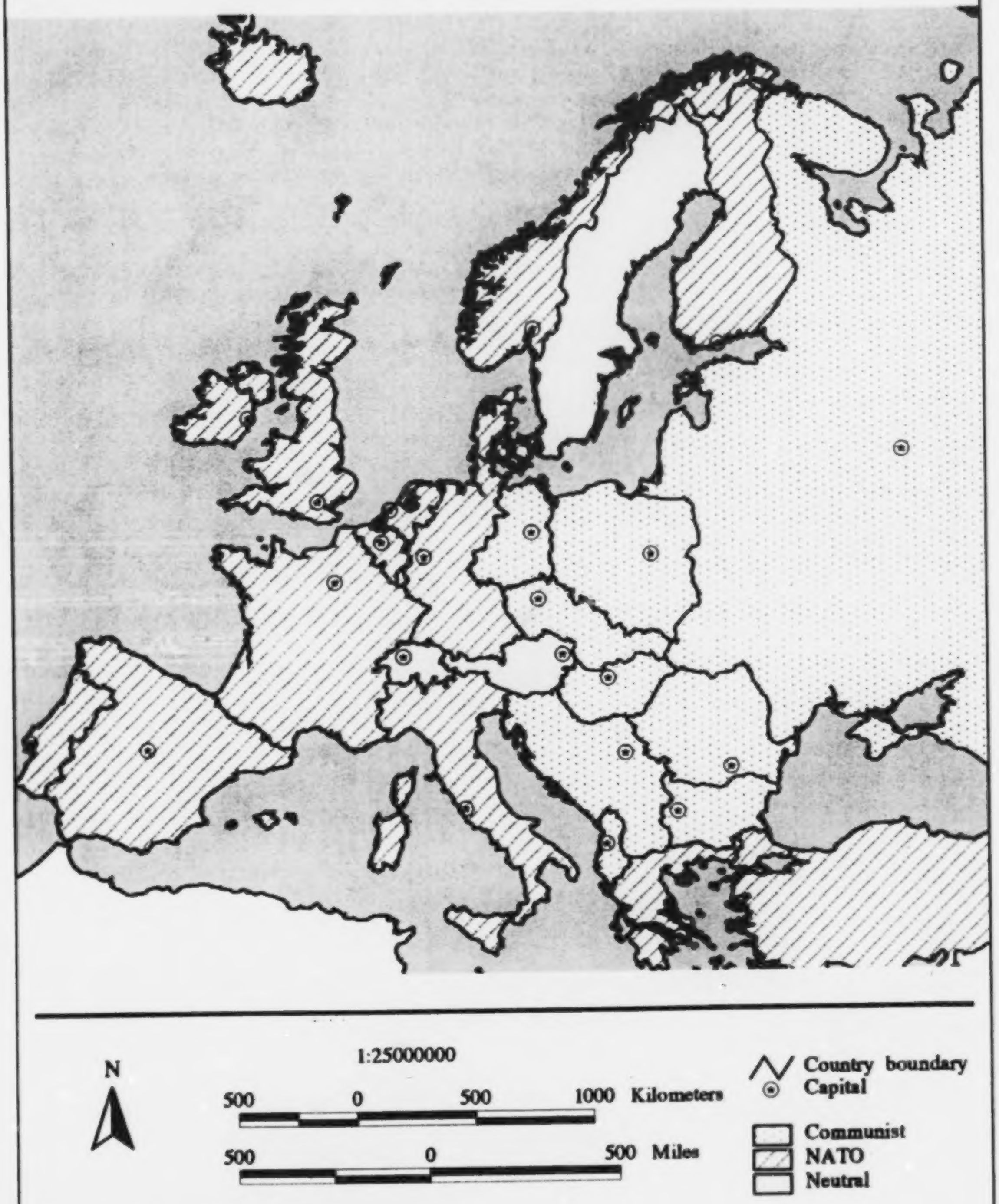
Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Europe 1945-1989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Capital
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NATO
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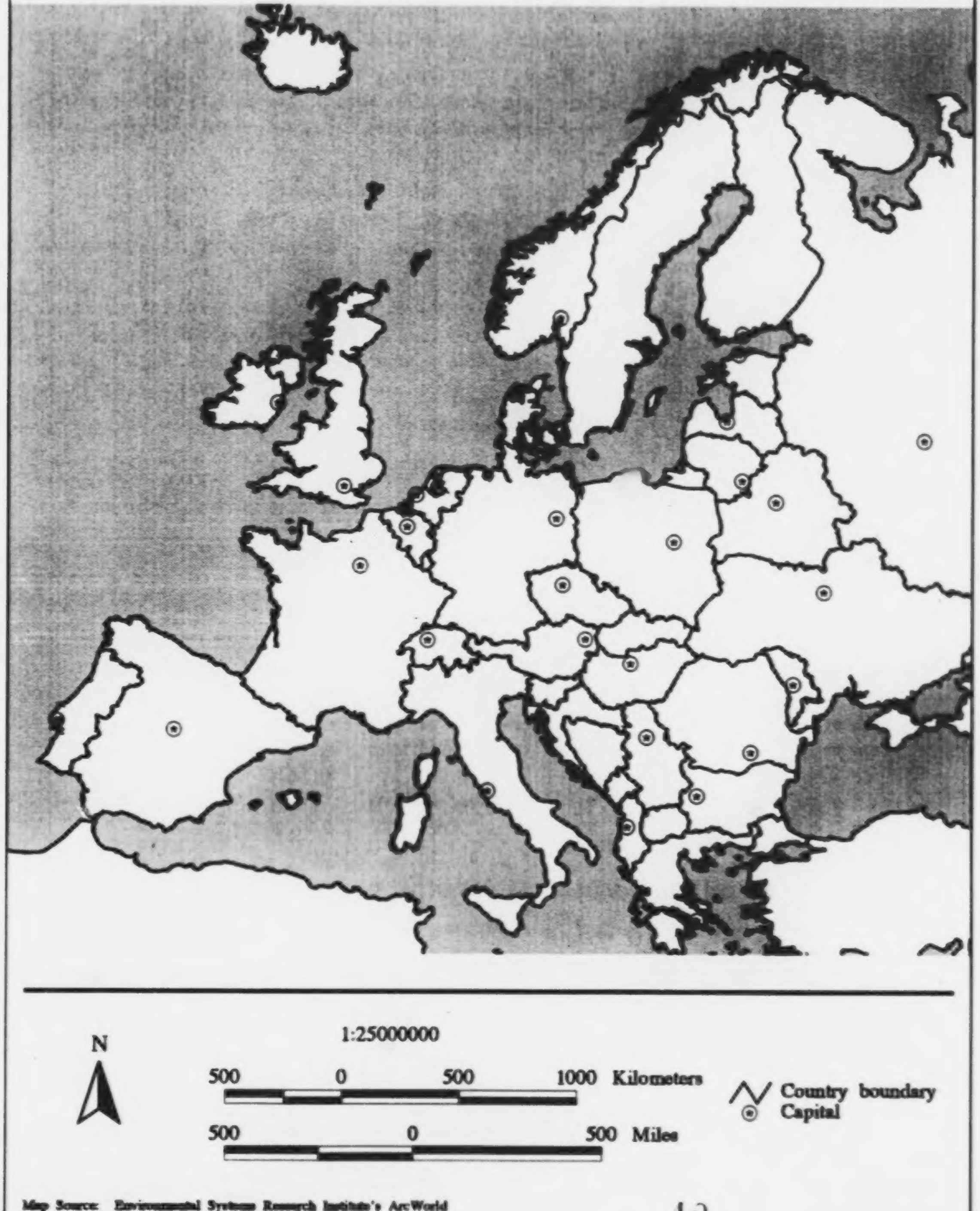
Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld

The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

Europe 1996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Map Source: Environmental Systems Research Institute's ArcWorld
The Ohio State University Center for Mapping

FOUNDATIONS OF IDEOLOGY: LIBERALISM, COMMUNISM AND FASCISM

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal;
that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights;
that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness—
That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men,
deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed….
—*Thomas Jefferson,* Declaration of Independence, *July 4, 1776*

Forward development, i.e. towards Communism, proceeds through
the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise….
— *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin,* State and Revolution, *1917*

Against individualism, the Fascist conception is for the State; and it is
for the individual in so far as he coincides with the State, which is the
conscience and universal will of man in his historical existence…
Therefore, for the Fascist, everything is in the State….
—*Benito Mussolini,* The Doctrine of Fascism, *1932*

Whether we wish it or not we are involved in the world's problems,
and all the winds of heaven blow through our land.
—*Walter Lippmann, 1913*

Summary of the Lesson

Students will learn a four-part framework for understanding the functions of an **ideology**: how it explains, evaluates, orients and supplies a political program to peoples' basic need to make sense of the world around them. This is followed by the major tenets of specific ideologies—**liberalism, communism**, and **fascism** (including **Nazism**)—with a focus upon their historical interrelationship. Such a foundation is critical to understanding the major events of the twentieth century, and their influence upon the future. After engaging in critical thinking about these concepts, through written and group activities, students will become players in a game show entitled "I.D. That Idea!" in which they will identify the ideology represented in contemporary and historical quotes taken from a variety of primary sources.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- understand the four foundations of political ideology: explanation, evaluation, orientation, and political program,
- understand the foundations of liberalism, communism, and fascism,
- analyze liberalism, communism, and fascism within this four-part ideological framework,
- distinguish examples of liberalism, communism, and fascism among examples of political speeches and writings.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Engage students in a simple brainstorming activity by writing the word "communism" on a piece of newsprint. Ask students, "What do you think of when you see this word?" Quickly write down all responses, without sorting through answers.

Do the same with "fascism" and "liberalism." Save all three pieces of newsprint and revisit them at the end of the lesson. Explain that the purpose of this lesson is to gain a clear understanding of all three of these ideologies, and that students will have a chance to demonstrate their understanding in a game show at the end of the lesson.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute the following student handouts to all students: **What Is an Ideology?; About Liberalism; About Communism;** and **About Fascism.** As homework or seatwork, have all students read each handout and answer the questions in *Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas*. If preferred, students could work in pairs or groups.

(Optional: To reinforce understanding of these concepts, divide the class into four (or eight) groups and have each group prepare a short presentation explaining one of the ideologies presented in the handouts.)

Suggested answers are in italic; however, students should be encouraged to effectively present these concepts in their own words. This chart will serve as the basis for students' interpretations of quotations.

Ask students to compare and contrast the three ideologies. Which two most closely resemble one another? Point out that communism and fascism share an emphasis on unlimited government, dictatorship, centralization of power, and disregard for the individual liberties which conflict with the aims of the party or the state. Ask students to analyze the three ideologies in light of this grouping. Do they agree with this classification? Disagree? Why? In what ways does liberalism differ from these qualities of communism and fascism? In what ways do communism and fascism differ?

Concluding the Lesson

Alternative 1: Play the game "I.D. That Idea!" using the attached handouts **Rules and Directions for *I.D. That Idea!*** and **Questions and Answers to *I.D. That Idea!***

Alternative #2: Distribute copies of the "ID That Idea" quotes to students (or display the quotes on a transparency). Depending on the level of difficulty the teacher wishes to introduce, use only the 100 point quotes, or the 200 and 300 as well. Working individually or in small groups, have students indicate by number for each set of quotes (100 to 300) which ideology the quote exemplifies (e.g. #1, 100 points is an example of fascism).

Alternative #2 (cont.): Students could turn in their individual sheets for grading, grade one another's sheets, or the teacher could conduct a class discussion of the students' responses. During the discussion, ask students to give reasons for their answer—why do they think a particular quotation represents one ideology than another?

Option: This game could be extended by having students research and submit additional quotations representative of communism, fascism, and liberalism. Be sure that all quotes are properly cited and identified with specific reasons for why they represent particular ideologies.

Extending the Lesson

Have students explain and evaluate specific current events through the perspectives of different ideologies, and then stage a debate. Topics could be chosen based upon newspaper articles or other media sources.

Assign each student or (pair of students) an ideology, or allow students to choose their own. Have them write speeches reflecting the tenets of their assigned or chosen ideology. Certain students could be asked to deliver their speeches to the rest of the class.

Art, architecture and music are important avenues for perpetuating ideologies. Students could report on any combination of these, do an audio/visual presentation, and/or create artwork, architectural models and/or music to demonstrate their effect.

Students could study the "cult of personality" phenomenon and demonstrate their understanding through reports, plays, radio shows, or other creative means.

Students could research and report upon alternative viewpoints of these ideologies. What do critics of communism, fascism and liberalism say about these ideologies? Have students analyze these perspectives in light of the material in this lesson.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "What Is an Ideology?"

1. Specific wording may vary, but answers should include definitions of explaining, evaluating, orienting, and supplying a political program to adherents.
2. Since this is a preliminary brainstorm question, students may respond in a number of ways. There are many correct responses to this question. The most important thing is that students consider the readings' 4-part definition of ideology. Obvious answers include liberalism, fascism, and communism, but other answers could include conservatism, feminism, environmentalism, ethnocentrism, etc.
3. There are no specific "right" answers to this question. Answers should show critical thinking about environmental factors such as family, school, politics, and media.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "About Liberalism"

1. The connotation of "liberal" in contemporary American politics is usually a non-moderate Democrat who favors more, not less, government spending and programs with the intention of lessening or removing disparities of income, opportunity, education, etc. The tradition of liberalism as portrayed in this piece, however, emphasizes "hands-off," "laissez-faire," government in which individuals are free to pursue their goals—values more often associated with contemporary Republicans. (Note: For further discussion, consider the split of liberalism into two modern camps: *welfare* or *welfare-state liberals* who believe that individual freedom is enhanced when government takes action toward eradicating poverty, ignorance and illness, and *neoclassical liberals* who believe that too much government infringes upon individual freedom and are therefore closer to traditional liberalism. Despite these two alternatives means to the end, both still view "liberty" as their goal.)
2. Both major American parties fall within this definition of liberalism. Clues include the discussion of capitalism, which both parties generally favor (although to varying degrees), and those points expanded upon in the suggested answers to question #1.
3. Liberalism is reflected in many ways. Examples might include but are not limited to a wide range of people, places and things—the Bill of Rights (legal protection of individual rights), John Stuart Mill (author of *On Liberty*), the Statue of Liberty (represents opportunity for self-determination, individual freedom), the ACLU (protection of individual rights), various militia groups (freedom of the individual) and NAFTA (free trade).

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "About Communism"

1. Yes, sometimes. Some European countries, such as Sweden, support socialist values and beliefs through a democratic system of government. (It should be noted, however: a) that it is a *mixed* economic system, i.e. socialism with a market economy, rather than a totally socialist system where the state has the power to control all aspects of political and social life, that is compatible with democracy, and b) that the degree to which a socialistically oriented system is democratic depends upon the extent to which it embodies elements of liberalism.)
2. In theory, Communists evaluate social conditions through material means and class struggles. A just society is one where the public owns and controls the means of production and shares the wealth. An unjust society is one where the bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat. (In reality, however, Communists have often evaluated social conditions based upon party adherence and perceived loyalty.)
3. Answers might include the hammer and sickle (industrial and agricultural work), larger-than-life leaders such as Lenin and Stalin (totalitarianism, humbling of the masses, pressure to conform), large public works such as those shown in Doctor Zhivago (massive industrial output by workers), slogans such as "Workers of the world, unite!" (overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat).

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "About Fascism"

1. There are several ways to answer this question. Responses might include the following:

   Liberalism—individual choices and actions affect conditions;

   Communism—conditions are produced by economic relationships and struggles between classes;

   Fascism—good or bad conditions are the result of heroes or villains of the nation state, race, etc. and can be changed accordingly.

2. Answers may vary, but should show an understanding of fascist ideology. Responses might include the idea of people looking for simple answers to complex social, economic and political problems. Hitler and Mussolini, for example, appealed to German and Italian anger about their respective countries' status following WWI, invoking nationalistic pride and naming enemies of the nation, such as Jews in Germany, Liberals and Communists in Italy, etc.

3. Fascists might respond to ideas of the Enlightenment in the following ways:

   Humanism—it is not human life itself that is valuable, but the life of the nation as a whole;

   Rationalism—human beings must follow a strong leader who will guide them properly and reveal solutions to their problems;

   Secularism—religion can work for or against the state;

   Progressivism—human history is the story of empires and the strong vs. the weak;

   Universalism—human beings are bound by nation, state or race; those on the "outside" are enemies.

Background Material

What Is an Ideology?

From "The Concept of Ideology" by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, from
***Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), p. 1.**
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The persistence of ideologies and ideological conflict throughout modern history should come as no surprise, for ideologies are born of crisis and conflict. People need help to comprehend and cope with turbulent times and confusing circumstances, and ideologies provide this help. An ideology does this by performing four important and perhaps indispensable functions for those who subscribe to it.

First, it helps to ***explain*** *political phenomena that would otherwise remain mysterious or puzzling.* Why are there wars or rumors of war? Why are there conflicts between nations, between classes, and between races? What causes depressions? The answer that one gives to these, and to many other questions, depends to some degree on the ideology to which one subscribes. A Marxian socialist will answer one way, a fascist another....

Second, an ideology provides its adherents [followers] with criteria and standards of ***evaluation****—of deciding what is right and wrong, good and bad.* Are class differences and vast disparities of wealth a good or a bad thing? Is interracial harmony possible, and, if so, is it desirable? Is censorship permissible, and, if so, under what conditions? Again, the answer one gives will depend on which ideology one accepts.

Third, an ideology ***orients*** *its adherents, giving them a sense of who they are and where they belong*—a social and cultural compass with which to define and affirm their individual and collective identity. A fascist, for example, will typically think of himself as a member of a superior nation or race. A Communist will conceive of herself as a defender of the working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation....

Fourth and finally, an ideology supplies its adherents with a rudimentary political ***program****.* This program provides an answer to the question posed by Lenin, among many others: What is to be done? And, no less important: Who is to do it?...

An ideology, in short, serves as a guide and compass through the thicket of political life.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. In your own words, summarize the four functions of ideology.
2. Based upon this definition of ideology, name two ideologies and briefly explain how you can tell they are ideologies and not something else. Use the four criteria to help with your answer.
3. In your opinion, how do people come to believe in one particular ideology or way of thinking? Under what circumstances might one change his or her beliefs?

Student Handout

About Liberalism

From "Liberalism" by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, from
***Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), p. 68.**
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Like "liberty," the word "liberal" derives from the Latin *liber*, meaning free. Liberals usually see themselves as champions of individual liberty who work to create or preserve an open and tolerant society—a society whose members are free to pursue their own ideas and interests with as little interference as possible.

History

An ideology with a long history, liberalism began as a reaction against two features of medieval society in Europe: religious conformity and ascribed status [...wherein a person's social standing was based not on achievement, but on the status of his or her parents. One was simply born a nobleman, a free commoner, a serf...]

...Against this society rooted in ascribed status and religious conformity, liberalism emerged as the first distinctive political ideology. Yet this liberal reaction did not take form until a series of social, economic, and cultural crises shook the medieval order to its foundations. Many of these changes were directly related to the outburst of creativity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries known as the Renaissance.

But the most important change leading to the rise of liberalism was probably the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. When Martin Luther (1483-1546) and other "reformers" taught that salvation comes through faith alone, they encouraged people to value the individual conscience more than the preservation of unity and orthodoxy. Without intending to do so, then, they prepared the way for liberalism. The step from individual conscience to individual liberty was still radical for the time, but it was a step that liberals began to take in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries....

Economic Implications

In their efforts to remove obstacles to individual liberty, many liberals began to argue that economic exchanges are a private matter between persons who ought to be free from government regulation. In France a group of thinkers called the Physiocrats captured this view in the phrase, "Laissez faire, laissez passer"—let it be, leave it alone. This is the core of capitalism, which found its most influential defense in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith argued that an economic policy that would allow individuals to compete freely in the marketplace would be not only the most efficient, but the fairest policy, since it gives everyone an equal opportunity to compete.

Changes in Liberalism

Throughout the eighteenth century, then, liberalism was a revolutionary doctrine that reshaped the religious, political, social, and economic relations of people in Europe in North America. Although it continued to play this part in the nineteenth century, liberalism began to take new directions. Perhaps the best way to describe these new directions is to say that the liberal attitude toward democracy and government shifted in the course of the 1800s. Whereas earlier liberals had spoken the language of equality, liberals in the nineteenth century went further to call for expansions of voting rights; and whereas earlier liberals regarded government as, in Thomas Paine's words, a "necessary evil," some in the nineteenth century came to see it as a necessary ally in the struggle to promote individual liberty. In both cases, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) played a vital part.

J.S. Mill: *On Liberty*

An early supporter of women's rights, Mill argued that literate adults should have the right to vote...Now that government is responsible to the people, he said in *On Liberty* (1859), the majority of voters could conceivably use the government to deny liberty to those who do not agree with them. More directly, the "moral coercion of public opinion" can and does stifle freedom of thought and action by making a social outcast of anyone who does not conform to social customs and beliefs. Mill's argument against this new tyranny [of the majority] rests on the claim that not only individuals, but society as a whole will benefit if people are encouraged to act and think freely, for progress is possible only where there is open competition among different ideas, opinions, and beliefs—a marketplace of ideas.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. The term "liberal" is used frequently in contemporary American politics. What connotation

does that word have when used by the media, politicians, etc.? Compare and contrast that connotation with this piece's description of liberalism.

2. What major American party or parties are represented by this description of liberalism? What clues lead you to this answer?
3. Ideologies have symbolic institutions (such as famous words, landmarks, and documents) through which values and beliefs are reflected. List at least three such institutions for liberalism and briefly explain what they represent.

Student Handout

About Communism

From "Communism" by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, from *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), pp. 179–80, 192, 220.
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Similarities Between Socialism and Communism

Although socialism and communism are by no means identical, they belong to a common family of ideologies and spring from a common impulse. Both envision a society in which everyone contributes time, labor, and talent to a common pool and receives in return enough goods to satisfy his or her needs. Both condemn the exploitation of one individual or class by another that occurs, for example, when one profits from another's labor. And both believe that property should be distributed as to benefit not the wealthy few, but the public at large. Both are, therefore, critical of capitalism as an economic system and of liberalism (or liberal individualism) as an ideology.

Differences Between Socialism and Communism

But socialism and communism are different in other respects. One crucial difference concerns the means for attaining their ends. Socialists are more apt to favor peaceful and piecemeal reforms as a way of bringing about a socialist society, while Communists—at least in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries—have often opted for violent revolutionary transformations spearheaded by an elite "vanguard" party. Moreover, the kind of society that each hopes to create differs to some degree. Socialists envision a society in which the major means of production—mines, mills, factories, power plants, and so on—are either publicly owned or at least operated for the public benefit. Modern Communists, by contrast, tend to favor public ownership and bureaucratic control of virtually all enterprises, large and small.

Karl Marx and *The Communist Manifesto*

Originally written at the request of a small group of radicals known as the Communist League, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) has become the most famous, and perhaps the most influential, statement of Karl Marx's views [although Marx's longtime friend and collaborator, Friedrich Engels, did most of the writing]....

Beginning with the statement, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," the *Manifesto* sets out Marx's materialist conception of history in bold terms, then draws on this analysis of history and economics to offer a program for radical change.

Foundations

Marx and Engels' "materialist" view made material production and class struggle the primary determinants of social stability and change. All previously existing societies were divided along class lines. On the one side was the dominant or ruling class, the owners of the means of material production; on the other, a subservient class condemned to do the bidding of the ruling class. Who the rulers and the ruled are depends on the type of society or "social formation" one is talking about. In slave society, masters rule over slaves; in feudal society, lords rule over serfs; in capitalist society, the ruling capitalist class or *bourgeoisie* rules over the working class or *proletariat*.

Marxism-Leninism

...The only Marxism worthy of the name, [Vladimir] Lenin [revolutionary leader of the U.S.S.R., 1917-1924] argued, was radical in its aims and revolutionary in its strategy. The aim was nothing less than the creation of a classless communist society. And this aim, he argued, could be accomplished only with the assistance of a revolutionary vanguard party whose leadership was composed of radicalized "bourgeois" intellectuals like himself. Left to themselves...workers would organize themselves into trade unions and form working-class political parties in hopes of "reforming" the capitalist system from within. To cooperate with the capitalist system, said Lenin, was to be corrupted by it. Better to bury it once and for all. Hence the need for a relatively small, tightly knit, highly organized conspiratorial party to raise class consciousness, educate the workers about where their "real" interests lay, and prepare the way for a revolution made in the name of, but not directly by, the proletariat.

...It is indeed this version of Marxism—"Marxism-Leninism"—that proved to be the single most influential and important variant of Marxism through the twentieth century. In the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere, the Marxist-Leninist model, as modified by

Josef Stalin (1879-1953), Mao Zedong (1893-1976), and others, served as an ideology to legitimize an all-powerful party ruling over a highly centralized government and a planned economy managed by government bureaucrats. It is this ideology, and the system it spawned and justified, that in the 1980s and early 1990s came under withering attack from within these countries and even from factions within their respective Communist parties. Communism as we have known it is rapidly ceasing to exist.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Lenin advocated a revolution, led by an elite political vanguard, to accomplish the goals of communism. Socialists, however, favor piecemeal reforms to create less division between classes. Is it possible for socialism to coexist with democracy?
2. One of the four functions of ideology is evaluation. How do communists evaluate social conditions? What do "just" vs. "unjust" conditions look like?
3. What symbols have been used to promote Communism? What values, as portrayed in this piece, are represented by those symbols?

Student Handout

About Fascism

In order to understand fascism when it emerged as a political ideology in the 1920s, it is helpful to first examine the ideas against which it was reacting: the premises of the Enlightenment, from which liberalism and socialism flowed.

From "Fascism" by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, from *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), pp. 181+.
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Fascism as Counter-Enlightenment Ideology

...The two great political currents that flow from the Enlightenment are liberalism and socialism. Different as they are in other respects, these two ideologies are alike in sharing the premises of the Enlightenment.

These premises include:

1. *Humanism*—the idea that human beings are the source and measure of value, with human life valuable in and of itself...
2. *Rationalism*—the idea that human beings are rational creatures and that human reason, epitomized in scientific inquiry, can solve all mysteries and reveal solutions to all the problems that men and women face...
3. *Secularism*—the idea that religion may be a source of comfort and insight, but not of absolute and unquestionable truths for guiding public life...
4. *Progressivism*—the idea that human history is the story of progress, or improvement...in the human condition...
5. *Universalism*—the idea that a single universal human nature binds all human beings together, despite differences of race, culture, or religious creed...

From "Fascism" by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), pp. 181+.
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Foundations

Fascism emerged after World War I as a reaction against the two leading ideologies of the time, liberalism and socialism. Both liberalism and socialism, the fascists complained, divide the members of society against one another—liberals by emphasizing individualism, socialists by stressing the conflict between social classes. In contrast, fascism presents a picture of individuals and classes as merely parts of a larger, all-embracing whole—the society or state—which can be strong only when all the parts unite behind a single party and a supreme leader.

Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini

This was the core of fascist ideology as it developed in Italy under Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) and in Germany under Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). Mussolini's Fascist party took its name from the Italian word *fasciare*, to fasten or bind, and its derivative *fasci*, meaning group. Fascism was the force that could bind Italy together, Mussolini declared. Fascism would lead Italy to a new empire as glorious as the Roman Empire of ancient times. Everything and everyone would have to be dedicated to the service of the state, which was the legal and institutional embodiment of the power, unity, and majesty of the Italian people, or nation. As Mussolini and his followers repeated over and over, "Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."

Totalitarianism

As this slogan suggests, fascism in its pure form is a totalitarian ideology. In fact, the Italian Fascists coined the word "totalitarian" to define their antidemocratic aims and to distinguish themselves from liberalism and socialism, which they saw as advocating democracy.

Democracy requires equality of some sort, whether it be in the liberals' insistence on equal opportunity for individuals or the socialists' insistence on equal power for all in a classless society.

But Mussolini and his followers had no use for either democracy or equality. Democracy is all talk and no action; equality merely restrains the strong in order to protect the weak. The Fascists did appeal to the masses for support, to be sure, but in their view the common people were to exercise power not by thinking or speaking for themselves, but by blindly following their leaders to victory. As another of Mussolini's many slogans put the point, "Believe, obey, fight!"

Race Supremacy

Hitler and his National Socialists[1], or Nazis for short, adopted a similar position in Germany in the 1920's and 1930s. With Hitler as supreme leader, the Nazi party was to unify all German-speaking peoples into a single state that would go on to become a great new empire (or Reich). Hence the Nazi slogan, "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer"—one people, one empire, one leader.

The chief difference between German Nazism and Italian Fascism was the racial element in Nazi theory. For Nazis, the fundamental fact of human life is race. There is no such thing as a single or universal human nature, for human beings belong to different races. Far from being equal, furthermore, each race has its own unique characteristics and its own destiny. One race, the Aryan [of which the Germanic people were the purest remnant], is naturally stronger, more intelligent, and more creative than all the others, and the destiny of this "master race" is to subject all other races to its rule.

Nationalism

...Finally, and perhaps most significantly, fascists are intensely nationalistic. Nationalism is the belief that the world is naturally divided into distinct nations, or peoples, each of which ought to be united in its own political unit, or nation-state. Although nationalistic tendencies have been evident in many parts of the world throughout history, they became especially powerful in the nineteenth century, particularly in Italy and Germany—two countries that were not forged into distinct nation-states until the 1860s and 1870s. The desire to preserve and strengthen this unity seems to have played a large part in the rise of Italian fascism and German Nazism.

Mussolini and Hitler both died in 1945, the former killed by anti-Fascist Italian guerillas, the latter of a suicide in his bunker in Berlin. Their defeat in World War II dealt a crushing blow to the Fascists and Nazis, if not a fatal one. For we should not forget that fascism was not confined to Italy and Germany, nor has it altogether disappeared—as the activities of various Fascists and neo-Nazis in Europe, South Africa, and the Americas clearly remind us. Hitler and Mussolini may be dead, but their legacy lingers.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. How do fascists explain political phenomena, according to the explanation function of ideology?
2. Under what circumstances, in your opinion, would people be attracted to fascism?
3. How, specifically, would fascists respond to each of the five premises of the Enlightenment? How might they reword each premise to fit their ideology?

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[1] Editor's Note: This use of the word "socialist" is potentially confusing. For Hitler, "socialism" emphasized the one-party state, in which the state (in this case, ruled by the Nazi Party) commanded all aspects of life, including the economy.

Background Material

Functions of Three Ideologies

Directions: Outline the following chart on the chalkboard or large newsprint. Include all but the suggested answers (in italics). These suggested answers should be used only as guidelines for the teacher, as students should be encouraged, via group discussion, to develop their own accurate responses.

Based upon a discussion by Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1995), pp. 9+. Reprinted by permission of Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, Inc., Glenview, Illinois.

An Ideology...	Liberalism	Communism	Fascism
Explains— why (social, political, economic) conditions are as they are	*Social conditions are the result of individual choices and actions.*	*Economic & class relationships shape one's life & choices.*	*Society is divided into groups of heroes (for the cause) & villains (the enemy).*
Evaluates— supplies standards for right & wrong, good & bad	*The more freedom of the individual, the better; the less freedom, the worse.*	*When one class of people (bourgeois) controls wealth, it exploits the working class (proletariat).*	*The more people are united behind their party/ leader, the better; the more fragmented, the worse.*
Orients— gives followers a sense of who they are, where they belong	*People are rational individuals with interests to pursue and choices to make.*	*People are defined by their positions in class structure. This consciousness is a necessary step toward achieving a classless society.*	*People are of value only as members of nation-state/race.*
Supplies Political Program— tells followers what to do, how to proceed	*In general, support programs that promote individual liberty and opportunity.*	*Do whatever is necessary to bring about a classless society.*	*Do whatever is necessary to bring glory to the nation-state/race. Follow leaders, fight enemies: "Believe, obey, fight!"*

Background Material

What You Need to Play I.D. That Idea!

Materials

Background Material ***I.D. That Idea!*** **Questions and Answers**

Chalk and chalkboard OR markers and newsprint

Roles

1-4 *Game Show Hosts* (either use 1 for the whole game or rotate them each round)

2-8 *Judges*, who will determine the accuracy of answers. (*Suggestion* use teacher-student teams, with the student as lead judge and the teacher as back-up, for trickier judgement calls.)

Up to 20 *Players*, in evenly divided teams of up to 5 each

Rules and Directions

Outline the "game board" on the chalkboard or large piece of newsprint as follows:

100	200	300
100	200	300
100	200	300

Divide students into teams of five. Begin with two teams competing against one another. The winner of that game will then play the third team, and so on. Each team should line up (standing or seating), facing one another. Teams should choose one person to lead each question, although he or she will have the opportunity to collaborate with the team for actual answers. Each time a new category is chosen, the team should rotate the lead player.

Begin the game by having one team choose a category according to desired level of difficulty: 100, 200, or 300. The *game show host* will then read a quote from one of the following "cards" from that category. Whomever is quickest with the bell, buzzer or other contraption gets the first shot at answering the question. Team players have 30 seconds to collaborate with the team and produce an answer. ***An answer is considered correct if it both names the correct ideological perspective of the quotation (liberalism, communism, or fascism) and gives at least one appropriate "clue" or reason for the answer.*** When the answer is read correctly, the number should be erased/crossed off the board/newsprint. If an answer falls short of this criteria, the other team has 30 seconds to produce a correct answer and therefore win the points. Continue in this fashion, rotating team players, until all 9 categories are through. The team with the most points is the winner of that round and will then play the next team.

There are enough questions for 3 rounds, and therefore 4 teams to play at least once. (Note: For additional games, have students research and write additional questions.) Use the following questions as "cards" for the *Game Show Host* to read, and the *Judge* to judge.

Note: The purpose of this game is to strengthen students' ability to recognize the foundations of these three different ideologies—even when they come from sources outside their historical contexts. An attempt has been made to include a wide variety of sources, spanning a couple centuries and many different countries. Despite the fact that some of the contemporary American groups' quotes represent what some might call "fringe" perspectives, it should be stressed that these ideologies (fascism and communism) represent what have at times been widespread, popular beliefs.

Background Material

I.D. That Idea!

100 Points

1. "We believe that the White race is the Master Race of the earth."

2. "Human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings, are inalienable and are guaranteed by law."

3. "Organize the proletariat, build the Marxist-Leninist party!"

4. "We demand the union of all White Aryans in North America in a White People's Republic."

5. "Believe! Obey! Fight!"

6. "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion."

7. "The best government is that which governs least."

8. "To meet the challenge of the capitalist offensive, the times demand one thing: steadfast revolutionary work."

9. "Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

I.D. That Idea!

200 Points

1. "There will never really be a free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly."

2. "The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, both to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the enormous mass of the population…in the work of organizing [the] economy."

3. "The authority of the Leader is not limited by checks and controls, by special autonomous bodies or individual rights, but it is free and independent, all-inclusive and unlimited….It exists for the people and has its justification in the people."

4. "I thoroughly disagree with what you say, but I shall defend to the death your right to say it."

5. "Democrat and Republican, liberal capitalist and conservative capitalist, are united in waging war on the working masses, slashing wages, arming the Pentagon to the hilt and stepping up racist attacks."

6. "The weak must be chiseled away…I want a violent, arrogant, unafraid, cruel youth who must be able to suffer pain."

7. "History has proved that only a thoroughly democratic and centralized vanguard party can lead the working class and its allies to political victory."

8. "In the struggle for daily bread all those who are weak and sickly or less determined succumb…And struggle is always a means for improving a species' health and power of resistance and, therefore, a cause of its higher development."

9. "Objective: to consolidate the dictatorship and the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the over throw of imperialism in all countries."

I.D. That Idea!

300 Points

1. "The most natural privilege of man, next to the right of acting for himself, is that of combining his exertions with those of his fellow-creatures, and of acting in common with them."

2. "We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press on your behalf."

3. "...the tyranny of the majority is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard."

4. "The classical argument for freedom in economic affairs rests on the tacit postulate that the rule of law should govern policy in this as in all other spheres....Freedom of economic activity had meant freedom under the law."

5. "Outside the State there can be neither individuals nor groups (political parties, associations, syndicates, classes)."

6. "France must be given a leader who can see things clearly, plan, know, give orders, act, endure....For parliamentary intrigue...we must substitute method, authority, continuity, all that dictatorship alone can bring about..."

7. "The word *degenerate*, when applied to a people, means (as it ought to mean) that the people has no longer the same intrinsic value as it had before, because it has no longer the same blood in its veins, continual adulterations having gradually affected the quality of that blood."

8. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments in the hands of the state."

9. "A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture...A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."

Background Material

I.D. That Idea Answer Key

100 Points

1. ID: *Fascism* (race supremacy)
   Source: American Nazi Party, 1981

2. ID: *Liberalism* (freedom of the individual)
   Source: Charter of Paris for a New Europe

3. ID: *Communism* (proletariat, Marx-Lenin references)
   Source: (American) Marxist-Leninist Party, 1983

4. ID: *Fascism* (race supremacy)
   Source: National Socialist White People's Party, 1987

5. ID: *Fascism* (emphasizes unquestioning conformity)
   Source: Benito Mussolini

6. ID: *Liberalism* (individual liberty)
   Source: The International Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 (Article 18)

7. ID: *Liberalism* (little interference in peoples' lives)
   Source: The Democratic Review, 1837 (quoting a Jeffersonian principle)

8. ID: *Communism* (fight and surpass capitalism)
   Source: (American) Marxist-Leninist Party, 1983

9. ID: *Liberalism* (individual is most important)
   Source: John Stuart Mill

200 Points

1. ID: *Liberalism* (individual rights)
   Source: Henry David Thoreau

2. ID: *Communism* (power to the proletariat, who will lead the masses)
   Source: Vladimir Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, 1917

3. ID: *Fascism* (idea that a leader should have unlimited power (totalitarianism), and exists for the people (state))
   Source: Ernst Huber, *Constitutional Law of the Greater German Reich*, 1939

4. ID: *Liberalism* (individual expression is protected)
   Source: (attributed to) Voltaire

5. ID: *Communism* (capitalism vs. working masses)
   Source: (American) Marxist-Leninist Party, 1973

6. ID: *Fascism* (strong vs. weak, emphasis on brutality)
   Source: Adolf Hitler

7. ID: *Communism* (emphasis on working class struggle)
   Source: Freedom Socialist Party, 1976

8. ID: *Fascism* (survival of the "fittest," emphasis on species)
   Source: Adolf Hitler

9. ID: *Communism* (power to the proletariat via dictatorship, overthrow imperialism)
   Source: Josef Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, 1924

300 Points

1. ID: *Liberalism* (individual freedom to pursue interests)
   Source: Alexis de Tocqueville, early 1830s

2. ID: *Liberalism* (individuals have rights to pursue their interests)
   Source: Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions (for women's rights), 1848

3. ID: *Liberalism* (minority rights vs. tyranny of majority)
   Source: John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

4. ID: *Liberalism* (rule of law should govern economic activity, and all other spheres)
   Source: Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 1960

5. ID: *Fascism* (the State above all else—even groups)
   Source: Benito Mussolini

6. ID: *Fascism* (emphasis on order, authority, dictatorship)
   Source: Charles Maurras, leader of the Action Française, 1924

7. ID: *Fascism* (emphasis on pure vs. "mixed" blood)
   Source: Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, 1853-1855

8. ID: *Communism* (power of the proletariat should replace power by bourgeoisie)
   Source: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1847

9. ID: *Communism* (revolution by clash of classes)
   Source: Mao Zedong, 1949

NARRATIVES FROM POLISH SURVIVORS OF NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS: EXPLORING PERSPECTIVES THROUGH LITERATURE AND PRIMARY SOURCES

The first duty of Auschwitzers is to make clear just what the camp is...But let them not forget that the reader will unfailingly ask: But how did you survive?

—Tadeusz Borowski, survivor of Auschwitz

It happened, it passed and almost doesn't matter.
But maybe someone will find this interesting.

—Stanisław Strzemieczny, survivor of Nazi concentration camps,
in the dedication to his unpublished memoir

Summary of the Lesson

Students will read and analyze the experiences of two Polish **survivors of Nazi concentration camps**. These narratives are unique in that they describe daily camp life from the perspective of non-Jewish **political prisoners** interned in the camps. While many outstanding resources exist on the **Jewish Holocaust,** the voices of Slavs, Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals, political prisoners, and other groups who suffered under **Nazi persecution** are often absent. The materials in this lesson provide insights into the camps' **hierarchies**, as well as the ways in which people who faced horrible atrocities each day dealt with these realities. In addition, the lesson is intended to broaden students' understanding of the extent to which Nazi occupation during World War II affected the lives of individuals in Central and Eastern Europe. ***NOTE:*** **The readings in this lesson contain graphic references to incidents in Nazi concentration camps which students might find disturbing. These passages have not been edited in order that students might more fully understand the complexities of a world in which survival was tenuous and brutality commonplace.**

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- compare and contrast the experiences of the Polish political prisoners (presented in the lesson) with their previous knowledge about victims of the Jewish Holocaust,
- analyze the impact of violence and atrocities becoming integrated into people's daily lives,
- evaluate the ways in which human dignity is both victim to and conqueror of inhumane treatment.

Background Material for the Teacher

The materials contained in this lesson are drawn from two sources: the unpublished memoirs of Stanisław Strzemieczny (pronounced Stan'-is-swahv Shtrehme-yets'-nuh) and a collection of short stories from Tadeusz Borowski (pronounced Tah-day'-ush Bo-rov-skee), entitled *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen*. Strzemieczny and Borowski were prisoners in Nazi concentration camps and, though housed in different parts of the camp, both were inmates at Auschwitz in 1943. Both arrived shortly after a change in camp policy that stopped the execution of non-Jewish prisoners. Strzemieczny's account is a first person narrative of his experiences in the camps. Strzemieczny survived the camps, returned to his wife and daughter following the war, and currently resides in Warsaw, Poland with his son (born after the war) and grandson.

Additional information about Borowski is contained in the background material handout entitled **Tadeusz Borowski** by Jan Kott.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Begin by reading the following excerpt from Stanisław Strzemieczny's memoirs. Do not, however, provide students with any background information about the author.

> *After waiting for a while the Germans started to write down records of all the people gathered in front of the school. We were called by our names into the school building. A young German SS officer asked us formal questions. The answers were typed by a young German woman. When I gave my marital status, he dictated to the typist: "Also erledid" (hooked). This joke was intended for the young woman....*
>
> *After writing down the records they began loading us on trucks covered with canvas that arrived in front of the school. Among the people watching us from the street I noticed my wife. When I mounted the truck I went to the rear end and I saw her through the slit in the canvas. She ran to the truck and was trying to push a big bottle of milk through the slit. My hands were still tied so I had some troubles grabbing the milk. My friends helped me. While I was grabbing the milk, the truck started and I saw my wife trying to run after it in a gesture of helpless despair. Later in life I saw many such scenes in films about war and every time I recalled again my reaction to that hopeless run after the speeding truck. It was the beginning of our separation that could be final. I did not ask her about that incident after coming back. Now I regret that very much. After the war, we rarely spoke about those sad memories. It is evident that she risked her life giving me the milk and running after the truck. The German reaction in such cases were merciless.*

Ask students to hypothesize about this story and its narrator. If necessary, the following questions might be used to get students involved:

1. What time period could the narrator be describing?
2. Why might the narrator be in the truck?
3. Where could the truck be going?
4. What do you know about the narrator?

If students have previous knowledge about WWII and the Jewish Holocaust, it is likely that they will hypothesize that the narrator is Jewish, has been arrested by the Nazis because of their persecution of the Jews, and is being transported to a concentration camp.

If students are not familiar with facts about the Holocaust, the following information may be helpful:

1. Estimates regarding the total number of people murdered in Nazi concentration camps range from 12-15 million.
2. Approximately 6 million of these victims were Jewish.
3. Estimates of Roma (Gypsy) deaths range from 220,000 to 500,000.
4. 5,000-15,000 "officially defined homosexuals" were incarcerated in concentration camps. It is unknown how many of these perished in the camps but some scholars estimate that the death rate was as high as 60%.
5. Between 200,000 and 250,000 mentally and physically handicapped persons were murdered between 1939 and 1945 in Nazi "cleansing" actions.
6. An estimated 2,500 to 5,000 Jehovah Witnesses died in Nazi camps or prisons.

(Source for #s 2-6: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum)

Explain to students that, in fact, the narrator is not Jewish but was a Polish political prisoner at Auschwitz arrested for his involvement in Poland's underground movements—clandestine organizations who worked against the Nazi occupation through sabotage, information-gathering, and counter-invasion tactics. (Share additional information about Stanisław Strzemieczny from the "Background Material for the Teacher" section above.)

Read the excerpt again and ask students the following questions:

1. Why did some of them assume that the narrator was Jewish?
2. What do any of them know about the experiences of non-Jewish prisoners in Nazi concentration camps? Were their experiences the same as or different from the Jewish prisoners?
3. What do they think Strzemieczny was thinking about as he waited in line?

4. Why does it seem strange that the SS officer would be making jokes with the clerk?
5. Why do they think that Strzemieczny and his wife never discussed his memory of her running after the truck?
6. Why would Strzemieczny's wife risk her life by giving him the milk and running after the truck?

Developing the Lesson

Provide students with a summary of the information from the background material handout **Tadeusz Borowski.** (This information was included for use by the teacher but, particularly for students or classes interested in literature, the handout might be shared in its entirety. Stress the graphic nature of this piece by warning students that they may find parts of the story very disturbing.) Some of the key points about Borowski include:

1. Details about life in Warsaw during the German occupation (the numerous illegal publications, the secret and "floating" high school and university classes, the workers who held "legal" jobs in order to obtain food rations but often bought and sold items on the black market).
2. A description of Borowski's arrest, after the disappearance of his fiancée, and the way in which the S.S. "trapped" members of the intelligentsia and underground opposition groups.
3. Explain that Borowski, like Strzemieczny, arrived at Auschwitz within weeks of the change in camp policy which meant that non-Jews were no longer sent to the gas chambers and crematoria except in extreme circumstances. However, until this change in policy, any groups who were considered "inferior" (including Roma/Gypsies, people of Slavic origin, homosexuals, and others who resisted Nazi domination), were subject to the possibility of automatic extermination.
4. Review the concept of a "first-person narrative." Clarify with students that, although these stories were created from Borowski's personal experiences at Auschwitz, he tells his story through the voice of a fictional character named Vorarbeiter ("foreman" in German) Tadeusz. Ask students why they think Borowski might have chosen to use the voice of a fictional character instead of his own—even though the experiences were very similar? (If students don't reach this conclusion on their own, suggest that these were very painful memories for Borowski and perhaps he needed to distance himself from the story.)
5. Briefly describe the hierarchy that existed in the camp. Both the story **The People Who Walked On** and the background material on Borowski provide some insights into this structure. While most of the Jews were immediately killed, some of the Jews and most of the other prisoners formed a workforce which was responsible for the daily operation of the camp. Duties included working in nearby fields, building and maintaining the camp, sorting through the enormous amounts of clothing, bags, valuables, and personal items taken from the victims who died in the gas chambers, and taking bodies from the gas chambers to the crematoria and pits for disposal. In addition, prostitution was common at the camp. Women and men were often forced to sell their bodies in order to obtain enough food to survive. Virtually everything was available at enormous material and personal cost on a black market that operated at Auschwitz. While some prisoners starved or were worked to death, others managed to exist fairly comfortably within the confines of the camp. Often, these individuals achieved their own comfort and security by turning against or manipulating other prisoners. Between these two extremes, people like Vorarbeiter Tadeusz existed. Members of this group existed by protecting their own interests but were limited in what they did (or could do) to help those around them.
6. Share the following quote from Borowski which is included in the background material:

> *The first duty of Auschwitzers [survivors of Auschwitz] is to make clear just what a camp is... But let them not forget that the reader will unfailingly ask: But how did it happen that you survived?... Tell, then, how you bought places in the hospital, easy posts, how you shoved the 'Moslems' [prisoners who had lost the will to live] into the oven, how you bought women, men, what you did in the barracks, unloading the transports, at the gypsy camp; tell about the daily life of the camp, about the hierarchy of fear, about the loneliness of every man. But write that you, you were the ones who did this.*

That a portion of the sad fame of Auschwitz belongs to you as well.

7. Ask students what Borowski meant in this statement. Why does Borowski feel so guilty when he was also a victim? (Help students get a sense for the complexity of the dual roles of "executioner and victim" that Borowski describes. This discussion will help them understand the layers of meaning in Borowski's story in which he describes horrifying details of camp life in the language of the mundane and commonplace.)

Distribute copies of **The People Who Walked On** and the **Reader's Guide.** *(Given that this is a lengthy and emotional reading, it may be best to have students read this at home or individually in class. Emphasize, again if necessary, the graphic nature of this piece.)*

Explain that students will be asked to share their responses from the **Reader's Guide** in small groups. The **Reader's Guide** is intended to provide students with a basis for comparing and contrasting what they learn from this piece with their previous knowledge about the camps. In addition, the activities are designed to help students better understand the victim/executioner role that Borowski discussed.

Concluding the Lesson

After students have completed the reading (either later in the period or the following class), divide them into groups of 3-4. Using their responses from the **Reader's Guide** as a foundation, ask students to respond to the following questions:

1. Which character did students find most tragic? Why?
2. What makes the narrator's discussion about the everyday operation of the camp so disturbing?
3. In what ways was the narrator in this story a victim? In what ways does he feel responsible for the suffering of others? (Provide examples from the story for each.)

Explain that discussions about the Holocaust and questions about responsibility continue to be a sensitive issue for many Central and Eastern Europeans, particularly in Poland where the Nazis built some of the most notorious concentration camps. In addition, after the war, many communist governments distanced themselves from accepting any responsibility for the atrocities that occurred during Nazi occupation—explaining that they were also victimized under the Nazi regime.

Consequently, for a period, a condition of "public amnesia" emerged in which the events were simply not raised in the public arena. For this reason, Borowski (as a communist and one who felt a sense of responsibility for the genocide) offers a particularly unusual perspective. Borowski's dual roles of victim and executioner captures the tension surrounding this tragic period. What do students conclude about these roles? *Do people who bear witness to such atrocities, or who assume any role in such actions—even if their own survival depends on it—share responsibility for what happened? Why or why not?*

Extending the Lesson

Students could develop an essay in which they respond to the italicized questions above. Students should be evaluated on whether or not they support their conclusions with illustrations from the story.

Students might create a dialogue between Borowski and a Jewish survivor from Auschwitz. Some students may want to develop a play or readers' theater including these two perspectives.

Students could put themselves in the place of one of Borowski's characters (other than the narrator) and develop a story that further develops one of the incidents he describes.

Students may wish to explore other ways in which literature and art emerged from the horrors of the Holocaust. The following references might be helpful in getting them started:

1. *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology*, ed. Lawrence L. Langer.
2. *Bearing the Unbearable: Yiddish and Polish Poetry in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps*, ed. Fridea W. Aaron.

Students might create their own artwork, poetry or short stories—generated from the images created by Borowski's piece.

Students might explore (i.e. in an essay or debate) the impact of the Roma (Gypsy) Holocaust experience upon society when so few narratives exist. What is the relationship between this largely non-literate, loosely-knit group's lack of recorded history and the fact that the general public knows very little about this tragic part of their history? What implication does this relationship have for the ways we, as a society, value people and their culture? Additional information is also available on the Nazi persecution of the Roma (Gypsies). For more information see:

1. *And the Violins Stopped Playing: A Story of the Gypsy Holocaust* by Alexander Ramati.
2. The sections pertaining to the Holocaust in *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey* by Isabel Fonseca.
3. *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* by David Crow and John Kolsti.
4. *Gypsies and the Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essays* by Gabrielle Tynmauer.
5. *The Story of Karl Stojka: A Childhood in Birkenau* published by The United States Holocaust Museum.

Additional resources about other groups targeted for persecution by the Nazi regime (identified in literature from The United States Holocaust Museum) follow.

General

1. *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* edited by Michael Berenbaum.
2. *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* by Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wipperman.
3. *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis* by Ina R. Friedman.

Handicapped

1. *By Trust Betrayed: Patients, Physicians, and the License to Kill in the Third Reich* by Hugh G. Gallagher.
2. *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* by Robert J. Lifton.
3. *Racial Hygiene: Medicine Under the Nazis* by Robert Proctor.

Homosexuals

1. *The Men with the Pink Triangle* by Heinz Heger.
2. *Christopher and His Kind* by Christopher Isherwood.
3. *The Pink Triangle* by Richard Plant.

Jehovah's Witnesses

1. *The Nazi State and the New Religions: Five Case Studies in Non-Conformity* by Christine E. King.
2. On video: *Purple Triangles,* the story of the Kusseow family. A Starlock Pictures Production for TVS, 1991. English version distributed by Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., 25 Columbus Heights, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

Background Material

Tadeusz Borowski

by Jan Kott

From "Introduction" pp. 11–26, from *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* by Tadeusz Borowski, translated by Barbara Vedder. Translation copyright © 1967 by Penguin Books Ltd. Original text copyright © 1959 by Maria Borowski. Used by permission of Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Books USA Inc.

Tadeusz Borowski opened a gas valve on July 1, 1951. He was not yet thirty. Borowski's suicide was a shock....Borowski was the greatest hope of Polish literature among the generation of his contemporaries decimated by the war. He was also the greatest hope of the Communist party, as well as its apostle and inquisitor; many years had to pass before many of us realized that he was also its martyr. The five-volume posthumous edition of his collected works contains poetry, journalistic writings, news articles, novels, and short stories; among the latter are at least a hundred pages published by a boy of twenty-four one year after his release from the concentration camps at Dachau and Auschwitz, pages that—as was written after Borowski's death— "will very likely last as long as Polish literature exists." Borowski's Auschwitz stories, however, are not only a masterpiece of Polish—and of world—literature. Among the tens of thousands of pages written about the holocaust and death camps, Borowski's slender book continues to occupy...a place apart. The book is one of the cruelest of testimonies to what men did to men, and a pitiless verdict that anything can be done to a human being.

Borowski also left behind the story of his life. There are lives of writers which not only belong to the history of literature but are also literature themselves—that is, human destiny epitomized. These are primarily the biographies of poets who abandoned literature... who fell into madness...or who committed suicides... The existential experience is contained in those life stories; the boundaries where literature ends and the realm of silence begins are revealed. Borowski's biography is different. It reveals what I would call the historical destiny of man...There are years and places, sometimes whole decades and entire nations, in which history reveals its menace and destructive force with particular clarity...In such places and years history is—as my teacher used to say— "let off the leash." It is then that individual human destiny seems as if shaped directly by history, becoming only a chapter in it.

Borowski received a full "European education." One might even say overeducation. He was born in 1922 in Zhitomir in the Soviet Ukraine, to Polish parents. His father, a bookkeeper, was transported in 1926 to Karelia, above the Arctic Circle, to dig the famous White Sea Canal. That was one of the harshest labor camps. He was exiled for his participation in a Polish military organization during World War I. When Tadeusz was eight, his mother was in turn sent to a settlement a little nearer, on the Yenisei River, in Siberia. Those were the years of collectivization and hunger [in the Soviet Union]. The monthly food allowance amounted to two pounds of flour. During this time young Tadeusz was taken care of by his aunt; he went to school and tended cows.

In 1932 the elder Borowski was exchanged for Communists imprisoned in Poland, and Tadeusz was repatriated by the Red Cross. His mother joined the family in Warsaw two years later. The father worked in a warehouse, and the mother made a little money sewing dresses at home; life was difficult. They put their son in a boarding school run by Franciscan monks, where he could study for next to nothing. When the war began, he was not yet seventeen. During the German occupation secondary school and college were forbidden to Poles. Borowski studied in underground classes. In the spring of 1940 the first big roundups began in Warsaw. He was just then taking his final examinations. That day is described [in one of his stories]: "A long column of automobiles stationed itself at the end of the avenue and waited for streetcars like a tiger tracking antelope. We spilled out of the moving trolley like pears and tore diagonally across a field newly planted with vegetables. The earth smelled of spring....And in the city, on the other side of the river, as in a deep jungle, people were being hunted." This final exam during the roundup was a "European" certificate of maturity [a comprehensive exam which comes at the end of secondary education].

Borowski obtained a job as a night watchman and stock boy in a firm that sold building materials. At that time, of course, young people worked mainly in order to have a work card, which kept them from being shipped off to the Reich. One made one's actual living through illegal or semilegal trade. Building materials were hard to come by; on the black market they were sold for ten times more than the regulated prices.

Borowski tried to makes ends meet and studied literature in underground university courses. The lectures took place in private apartments and, for safety, in small groups....

He began writing early. In a seminar on English literature he drew attention with his translation of the fool's songs from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* He wrote, of course, his own poems too. He published them in the winter of 1942, in an edition of 165 copies.

With the exception of the official collaborationist daily newspaper and a couple of semipornographic weeklies, not a single Polish periodical appeared legally in German-occupied Poland. Yet in Warsaw alone there appeared each day several dozen underground leaflets and war bulletins transcribed from radio stations in the West. Political periodicals of every orientation came out. "Censorship" did not exist —the printing, distribution, and even possession of such underground literature was punishable by death or, at the very least, the concentration camp. As never before and as never again, Warsaw under Hitler's occupation was a city of the clandestine press. The periodicals were not only from political parties and military groups; a club of mountain climbers published its own underground yearbook, and chess players put out an underground monthly devoted to end games.

There were also underground editions of poetry. Borowski ran off his first volume of poetry himself on a mimeograph, which—he was to recollect afterward with irony in a postwar story— "while used to run off extremely precious radio bulletins and good advice (along with diagram) on how to conduct street battles in the larger cities, served also to print up lofty, metaphysical hexameters [line or verse consisting of six meters]." His volume, *Wherever the Earth*, predicted in classical cadences the extermination of mankind. Its dominant image was that of a gigantic labor camp. Already, in that first volume of poetry, there was no hope, no comfort, no pity. The last poem, "A Song," concluded with a prophecy delivered like a sentence: "We'll leave behind us iron scrap/ and the hollow, mocking laugh of generations."

A few weeks later Borowski was arrested. His fiancée, with whom he was living, had not returned for the night. She had fallen into a trap set by the Nazis at the apartment of some mutual friends. The following day Borowski began searching the city for her. He ended up at that very same apartment—and that very same trap. He had with him his poems and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.

He sat in prison a little over two months. The prison was on the border of the Warsaw ghetto. From the cell window he could see soldiers throwing grenades at the tenements and systematically setting fire to one house after another along the opposite side of the street. At the end of April he was sent with a transport of prisoners to Auschwitz. On his arm they tattooed the camp serial number 119 198. His fiancée was brought to the camp in another transport. They were both "lucky." Three weeks earlier "Aryans" had stopped being sent to the gas chambers—except for special cases. From then on only Jews were gassed en masse.

At first he worked carrying telegraph poles. Then he wound up in the camp hospital with pneumonia... When Borowski was on his feet again, he was kept at the hospital and given the light work of a night watchman. Then he took a class to become an orderly.

In Auschwitz the third chapter of Borowski's "European education" was acted out, and the second chapter in the history of his love. His fiancée was in the F.K.L. (*Frauen Konzentration Lager*—Women's Concentration Camp), the women's barracks, at Birkenau, near Auschwitz...

...Later Borowski was able to see his fiancée. He was sent to the women's camp to pick up infant corpses. [Her] head was shaven, and her entire body raw with scabies. Tadeusz was reported to have said: "Don't worry; our children won't be bald." Late in the spring of 1944 he was assigned to a brigade of roofers working in the F.K.L. From then on he saw his fiancée every day. At Auschwitz this was the most dreadful time. The Soviet offensive was approaching, and the Germans stepped up the liquidation of the Jews from the occupied lands. In May and June of 1944 more than four hundred thousand Jews from Hungary were gassed.

In the summer of 1944 the inmates of Auschwitz began to be evacuated into the heart of Germany.

Borowski found himself first in a camp outside Stuttgart, then in Dachau. On May 1, 1945, that camp was liberated by the U.S. Seventh Army. The prisoners were transferred to a camp for displaced persons in a former barracks for the S.S. on the outskirts of Monachium [a German town]. Once again Borowski was behind barbed wire. He left the camp in September and searched desperately for his fiancée. In December he learned from the Red Cross that she had been moved from Birkenau and was alive and living in Sweden. That first year in Europe after the war, however, "the displaced lovers" could not come together across the borders and cordons.

On the land liberated by Allies there were more than ten million men and women driven from all the German-occupied countries into camps and forced labor, former prisoners of war, and refugees from bombed-out cities. Never before was there such a thin line between the demand for vengeance and the call for justice, between anarchy and law, between the violent need to begin everything anew and the equally desperate need to return to that which was. In those new "Indies in the middle of Europe," as one Polish writer called postwar Germany, young Americans from every state in the Union, from California to Maine, from Nebraska to Texas, had to fill a fourfold function: judges, gendarmes, missionaries, and food suppliers. It was too difficult a task.

Borowski wrote in his Monachium diary at the time: "No doubt the purpose of this whole great war was so that you, friend from Chicago, could cross the salt water, battle your way through all of Germany, and reaching the barbed wire of Allach, share a Camel cigarette with me....And now they've put you on guard duty, to keep an eye on me, and we no longer talk to one another. And I must look like a prisoner for you, for you search me and call me boy. And your slain comrades say nothing."

Europe was divided, right down the middle, into the spheres of influence of the non-Communist Allies and of Russia. Confronting millions of former prisoners of war and refugees was this choice: to remain in exile or to return to the countries in which the Communists had seized power. From Monachium Borowski went for a short while to Murnau, in Bavaria [a region in Germany], the headquarters of those Polish soldiers and officers who had decided not to go back.

From there he wrote in a letter: "They would give us American pineapples and products of the white man's civilization not seen in Europe for ages: toothbrushes, razor blades, and even chewing gum and powdered eggs, with which we sprinkled our beds, since they were great for keeping off the fleas....All the same I ran from Murnau. I wasn't soldier material—I avoided the meetings, I was no flag-waver, I took to the fields with a stack of books and wandered—the lake in that region was very pretty too."

He went for a short while to Paris...Borowski returned to his country in a repatriation transport on the last day of May 1946. He did not want, as he wrote in one of his last letters from Monachium, "to live with corpses."

For a long time his fiancée did not want to leave Sweden to go to Communist Poland. She returned only in November, after Tadeusz's desperate letters. Borowski rode out to meet her at the border point. "Their first night together, no longer in war but in the liberated homeland," writes Borowski's biographer, "took place behind barbed wire, in the quarantine of a repatriation camp." They were married in December.

Two stories by Borowski, "This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen" and "A Day at Harmenz," written back at Monachium as soon as he had been freed, were published in Poland before his arrival. They produced a shock. The public was expecting martyrologies; the Communist party called for works that were ideological, that divided the world into the righteous and the unrighteous, heroes and traitors, Communists and Fascists. Borowski was accused of amorality, decadence, and nihilism. Yet at the same time it was clear to everyone that Polish literature had gained a dazzling new talent. All the publications and all the possibilities the party offered young writers were opened up to Borowski. He was as distrustful as he was ambitious, but he could not resist the most diabolical of temptations—to participate in history, a history for which both stones and people are only the material used to build the "brave new world." At the beginning of 1949 he became a member of the Communist party.

Farewell to Maria, a volume containing his Auschwitz stories, was published around this time, and then the short-story cycle *World of Stone*, about the D.P. (displaced persons) camps in Germany and the return to his hometown, where people carry their food and bedding wrapped in bundles from place to place among the ruins like ants. These were the last of Borowski's great stories. After this he wrote stories each week for the Sunday edition of a Warsaw daily which are nothing more than the impassioned journalism of hate. For this, the weakest of his work, he received a government prize. In the summer of 1949 he was sent to Germany to work in the Press Section at the Polish Military Mission in Berlin. The Polish Bureau of Information was located in the Soviet sector of Berlin, the Military Mission in the American sector. These were already the years of the cold war. Borowski found himself at the juncture of two worlds, in a Europe divided down the middle after Yalta [referring to the agreements reached by the Allied leaders—Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin—regarding the future of Central and Eastern Europe].

At that time a few dozen young writers and college graduates in the party traveled from Poland to the East and the West, either to study or to carry out special missions. From Moscow, they returned with an incurable ache, depressed and frightened; from the West they returned with smiles and much contempt for decaying capitalism. When Borowski returned to Warsaw after a year in Berlin, it seemed that he no longer had any doubts. In the party they were saying he had "grown into an activist." Literature was supposed to help the party build socialism. Borowski took upon himself the role of taskmaster.

"Literature is not as hard as you think," he wrote. For him literature had become only agitation. "I don't care if they lament my wasting myself on journalism. I don't consider myself a vestal virgin consecrated to prose." It was only to his closest friends that he confided in nightly conversations that...he had "stepped on the throat of his own song." I think he was fully aware of the meaning of those words; he had, after all, described many times how the guards in the camps would place a shovel across the neck of a prisoner and jump on it with their boots until he expired. Less than fifteen months after his return from Berlin Borowski committed suicide...

...Borowski's Auschwitz stories are written in the first person. The narrator...is a deputy Kapo, Vorarbeiter Tadeusz. The identification of the author with the narrator was the moral decision of a prisoner who had lived through Auschwitz—an acceptance of mutual responsibility, mutual participation, and mutual guilt for the concentration camp. "It is impossible to write about Auschwitz impersonally," Borowski wrote in a review of one of the...books about the camp. "The first duty of Auschwitzers is to make clear just what a camp is...But let them not forget that the reader will unfailingly ask: But how did it happen that *you* survived?...Tell, then, how you bought places in the hospital, easy posts, how you shoved the 'Moslems' [prisoners who had lost the will to live] into the oven, how you bought women, men, what you did in the barracks, unloading the transports, at the gypsy camp; tell about the daily life of the camp, about the hierarchy of fear, about the loneliness of every man. But write that you, you were the ones who did this. That a portion of the sad fame of Auschwitz belongs to you as well."

The four million gassed, led straight from the ramp to the crematoriums, had no choice to make, nor did the prisoners selected for the ovens. In Auschwitz there were individual acts of heroism and a clandestine international military network. Auschwitz has its saint, a Catholic priest who went to an underground cell and a slow death by starvation in order to save the life of an unknown fellow prisoner, but the Auschwitz "of the living," like all the other German camps—and Soviet camps too—was based on the cooperation of the prisoners in the "administering" of terror and death. From the Kapos, who almost without exception were German criminals, to the lowliest functionaries like Vorarbeiter Tadeusz, everyone was assigned a double part: executioner and victim....

Auschwitz was not only, as Borowski writes, "the bloodiest battle of the war," but also a gigantic transshipping station, where the plunder from the murdered victims was diverted to the Reich. Scraps of this plunder fell to the privileged prisoners. "Work is not unpleasant," says Vorarbeiter Tadeusz, "when one has eaten a breakfast of smoked bacon with bread and garlic and washed it down with a tin of evaporated milk." When life is cheap, food and clothing are worth their weight in gold...

Auschwitz—with its black smoke from the crematoriums and its ditches clogged with corpses, there being no room for them in the ovens—is nothing out of the ordinary. "The camps, aren't they for people?" Auschwitz—with its whorehouse and its museum containing exhibits made of human skin, with its sports field where soccer is played and its concert hall where Beethoven is played—is merely an inevitable part of the world of stone...For Borowski, the son of Soviet prisoners and the posthumous child of Auschwitz, the whole world is a concentration camp—was and will be. "What will the world know of us if the Germans win?"

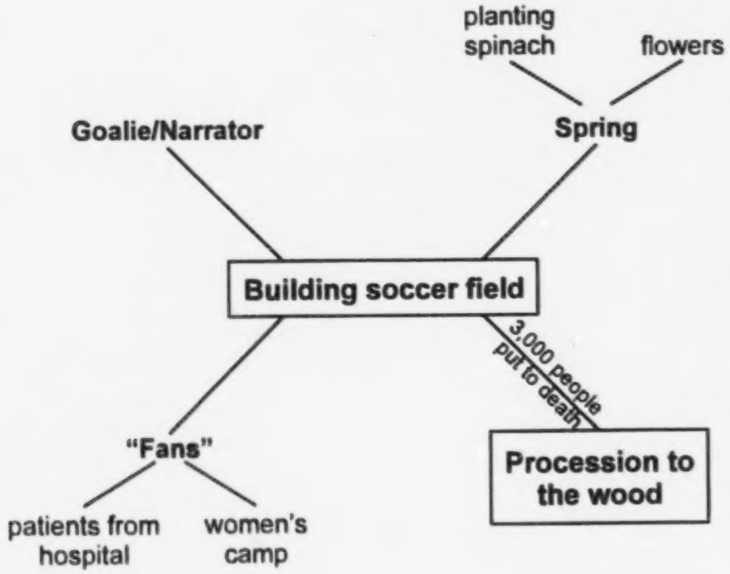
Borowski called his book about Auschwitz "a voyage to the limit of a particular experience." At the limit of that experience Auschwitz is no exception but the rule. History is a sequence of Auschwitzes, one following the other. On his typhus-ridden straw mattress in the Auschwitz hospital he wrote, in a letter to his bald fiancée in the women's barracks: "You know how much I used to like Plato. Today I realize he lied. For the things of this world are not a reflection of the ideal, but a product of human sweat, blood and hard labor...."

The Polish biographer entitled his book on Borowski *Escape from the World of Stone.* Borowski did not escape the world of stone. "The living," he wrote, "are always right, the dead are always wrong"—an optimistic statement. If the dead are wrong and the living are always right, everything is finally justified; but the story of Borowski's life and that which he wrote about Auschwitz show that the dead are right, and not the living.

Student Handout

Reader's Guide

Directions: Creating a story web is one way to organize information in a graphic form. These webs provide a foundation for analyzing the ways in which characters and events relate to one another. The story, **The People Who Walked On**, contains numerous events depicting daily life at the Auschwitz concentration camp. All of these events are connected with the recurring theme of a "procession" of people to the "little wood" as they move along "two roads." Using this theme as the center of your web, map out the events described. For each incident, include extending lines for the characters (with some descriptive details) and details about the event. In addition, on a line from the event to the central theme, explain the connection between the two. (Use the map of the first event as an example.)


planting spinach
flowers
Goalie/Narrator
Spring
Building soccer field
3,000 people put to death
"Fans"
Procession to the wood
patients from hospital
women's camp

Student Handout

The People Who Walked On

From "The People Who Walked On" pp. 82–97, from *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen* by Tadeusz Borowski, translated by Barbara Vedder. Translation copyright © 1967 by Penguin Books Ltd. Original text copyright © 1959 by Maria Borowski. Used by permission of Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Books USA Inc.

It was early spring when we began building a soccer field on the broad clearing behind the hospital barracks. The location was excellent: the gypsies to the left, with their roaming children, their lovely, trim nurses, and their women sitting by the hour in the latrines; to the rear—a barbed-wire fence, and behind it the loading ramp with the wide railway tracks and the endless coming and going of trains; and beyond the ramp, the women's camp—*Frauen Konzentration Lager*. No one, of course, ever called it by its full name. We simply said F.K.L.—that was enough. To the right of the field were the crematoria, some of them at the back of the ramp, next to the F.K.L., others even closer, right by the fence. Sturdy buildings that sat solidly on the ground. And in front of the crematoria, a small wood which had to be crossed on the way to the gas.

We worked on the soccer field throughout the spring, and before it was finished we started planting flowers under the barracks windows and decorating the blocks with intricate zigzag designs made of crushed red brick. We planted spinach and lettuce, sunflowers and garlic. We laid little green lawns with grass transplanted from the edges of the soccer field, and sprinkled them daily with water brought in barrels from the lavatories.

Just when the flowers were about to bloom, we finished the soccer field.

From then on, the flowers were abandoned, the sick lay by themselves in hospital beds, and we played soccer. Every day, as soon as the evening meal was over, anybody who felt like it came to the field and kicked the ball around. Others stood in clusters by the fence and talked across the entire length of the camp with the girls from the F.K.L.

One day I was goalkeeper. As always on Sundays, a sizeable crowd of hospital orderlies and convalescent patients had gathered to watch the game. Keeping goal, I had my back to the ramp. The ball went out and rolled all the way to the fence. I ran after it, and as I reached to pick it up, I happened to glance at the ramp.

A train had just arrived. People were emerging from the cattle cars and walking in the direction of the little wood. All I could see from where I stood were bright splashes of color. The women, it seemed, were already wearing summer dresses; it was the first time that season. The men had taken off their coats, and their white shirts stood out sharply against the green of the trees. The procession moved along slowly, growing in size as more and more people poured from the freight cars. And then it stopped. The people sat down on the grass and gazed in our direction. I returned with the ball and kicked it back inside the field. It traveled from one foot to another and, in a wide arc, returned to the goal. I kicked it towards a corner. Again, it rolled out into the grass. Once more I ran to retrieve it. But, as I reached down, I stopped in amazement—the ramp was empty. Out of the whole colorful summer procession, not one person remained. The train too was gone. Again the F.K.L. blocks were in unobstructed view, and again the orderlies and the patients stood along the barbed-sire fence calling to the girls, and the girls answered them across the ramp.

Between two throw-ins in a soccer game, right behind my back, three thousand people had been put to death.

In the following months, the processions to the little wood moved along two roads: one leading straight from the ramp, the other past the hospital wall. Both led to the crematoria, but some of the people had the good fortune to walk beyond them, all the way to the Zauna (Sauna), and this meant more than just a bath and a delousing, a barber's shop and a new prison suit. It meant staying alive. In a concentration camp, true, but—alive.

Each day, as I got up in the morning to scrub the hospital floors, the people were walking—along both roads. Women, men, children. They carried their bundles.

When I sat down to dinner—not a bad one either—the people were walking. Our block was bathed in sunlight we threw the doors and the windows wide open and sprinkled the floors with water to keep the dust down. In the afternoons I delivered packages which had been brought that morning from the Auschwitz post office. The clerk distributed mail. The doctors dressed wounds and gave injections. There was, as a matter of fact, only one hypodermic needle for the entire block. On warm evenings I sat at the barracks reading …while the procession continued on and one, along both roads.

Often, in the middle of the night, I walked outside; the lamps glowed in the darkness above the barbed-wire fences. The roads were completely black, but I could distinctly hear the far-away hum of a thousand voices—the procession moved on and on. And then the entire sky would light up; there would be a burst of flame above the wood…and terrible human screams.

I stared into the night, numb, speechless, frozen with horror. My entire body trembled and rebelled, somehow even without my participation. I no longer controlled my body, although I could feel its every tremor. My mind was completely calm, only the body seemed to revolt.

Soon afterwards, I left the hospital. The days were filled with important events. The Allied Armies had landed on the shores of France. The Russian front, we heard, had started to move west towards Warsaw.

But in Birkenau, day and night long lines of trains loaded with people waited at the station. The doors were unsealed, the people started walking—along both roads.

Located next to the camp's labor sector was the deserted, unfinished Sector C. Here, only the barracks and the high voltage fence around them had been completed. The roofs, however, were not yet covered with tar sheets, and some of the blocks still had no bunks. An average Birkenau block, furnished with three tiers of bunks, could hold up to five hundred people. But every block in Sector C was now being packed with a thousand or more young women picked from among the people on the ramp…Twenty eight blocks—over thirty thousand women. Their heads were shaved and they were issued little sleeveless summer dresses. But they were not given underwear. Nor spoons, nor bowls, nor even a rag to clean themselves with. Birkenau was situated on marshes, at the foot of a mountain range. During the day, the air was warm and so transparent that the mountains were in clear view, but in the morning they lay shrouded in a thick, icy mist. The mornings were cold and penetrating. For us, this meant merely a refreshing pause before a hot summer day, but the women, who only twenty yards to our right had been standing at roll-call since five in the morning, turning blue from the cold and huddled together like a flock of partridges.

We named the camp—Persian Market. On sunny, warm days the women would emerge from the barracks and mill around in the wide aisles between the blocks. Their bright summer dresses and the gay kerchiefs on their shaved heads created the atmosphere of a busy, colorful market—a Persian Market because of its exotic character.

From afar, the women were faceless and ageless. Nothing more than white blotches and pastel figures.

The Persian Market was not yet completed. The Wagner Kommando began building a road through the sector, packing it down with a heavy roller. Others fiddled around with plumbing and worked on the washrooms that were to be installed throughout all the sectors of Birkenau. Still others were busy stocking up the Persian Market with the camp's basic equipment—supplies of blankets, metal cups and spoons—which they arranged carefully in the warehouses under the direction of the chief supervisors, the assigned S.S. officer. Naturally, much of the stuff evaporated immediately, expertly "organized" by the men working on the job.

My comrades and I laid a roof over the shack of every Block Elder in the Persian Market. It was not done on official order, nor did we work out of charity. Neither did we do it out of a feeling of solidarity with old serial numbers, the F.K.L. women who had been placed there in all the responsible posts. In fact, we used "organized" tar-boards and melted "organized" tar, and for every roll of tar-boards, every bucket of tar, an Elder had to pay. She had to pay the Kapo, the Kommandoführer, the Kommando "bigwigs." She could pay in various ways: with gold, food, the women of her block, or with her own body. It depended.

On a similar basis, the electricians installed electricity, the carpenters built and furnished the shacks, using "organized" lumber, the masons provided metal stoves and cemented them in place.

It was at that time that I came to know the anatomy of this strange camp. We would arrive there in the morning, pushing a cart loaded with tar-sheets and tar. At the gate stood the S.S. women-guards, hippy blondes in black leather boots. They searched us and let us in. Then they themselves went to inspect the blocks. Not infrequently they had lovers among the masons and carpenters. They slept with them in the unfinished washrooms or the Block Elders' shacks.

We would push our cart into the camp, between the barracks, and there, on some little square, would light a fire and melt the tar. A crowd of women would immediately surround us. They begged us to give them anything, a penknife, a handkerchief, a spoon, a pencil, a piece of paper, a shoe string, or bread.

"Listen, you can always manage somehow," they would say. "You've been in the camp a long time and you've survived. Surely you have all you need. Why won't you share with us?"

At first we gave them everything we happened to have with us, and then turned our pockets inside out to show we had nothing more. We took off our shirts and handed them over. But gradually we began coming with empty pockets and gave them nothing.

These women were not so much alike as it had seemed when we looked at them from another sector, from a distance of twenty meters.

Among them were small girls, whose hair had not been shaved, stray little cherubs from a painting of the Last Judgment. There were young girls who gazed with surprise at the women crowding around us, and who looked at us, coarse, brutal men, with contempt. Then there were married women, who desperately begged for news of their lost husbands, and mothers trying to find a trace of their children.

"We are so miserable, so cold, so hungry," they cried. "Tell us, are they at least a little bit better off?"

"They are, if God is just," we would answer solemnly, without the usual mocking and teasing.

"Surely they're not dead?" the women asked, looking searchingly into our faces.

We would walk away without a word, eager to get back to work.

The majority of the Block Elders at the Persian Market were Slovak girls who managed to communicate in the language of their new inmates. Every one of these girls had behind her several years of concentration camp. Every one of them remembered the early days of the F.K.L., when female corpses piled up along the barracks walls and rotted, unremoved, in hospital beds—and when human excrement grew into monstrous heaps inside the blocks.

Despite their rough manner, they had retained their femininity and human kindness. Probably they too had their lovers, and probably they too stole margarine and tins of food in order to pay for blankets and dresses, but…

…but I remember Mirka, a short, stocky "pink" girl. Her shack was all done up in pink too, with pink ruffled curtains across the window that faced the block. The pink light inside the shack set a pink glow over the girl's face, making her look as if she were wrapped in a delicate misty veil. There was a Jew in our Kommando with very bad teeth who was in love with Mirka. He was always running around the camp trying to buy fresh eggs for her, and then throwing them, protected in soft wrapping, over the barbed-wire fence. He would spend many long hours with her, paying little attention to the S.S. women inspecting the barracks or to our chief who made his rounds with a tremendous revolver hanging from his white summer uniform.

One day Mirka came running over to where several of us were laying a roof. She signaled frantically to the Jew and called, turning to me:

"Please come down! Maybe you can help, too!"

We slid off the roof and down the barracks door. Mirka grabbed us by the hands and pulled us in the direction of her shack. There she led us between the cots and pointing to a mass of colorful quilts and blankets on top of which lay a child, she said breathlessly:

"Look, it's dying! Tell me, what can I do? What could have made it so sick so suddenly?"

The child was asleep, but very restless. It looked like a rose in a golden frame—its burning cheeks were surrounded by a halo of blond hair.

"What a pretty child," I whispered.

"Pretty!" cried Mirka. "All you know is that it is pretty! But it can die any moment! I've had to hide it so they wouldn't take it to the gas! What if an S.S. woman finds it? Help me!"

The Jew put his arm around her shoulders. She pushed him away and suddenly burst into sobs. I shrugged, turned around, and left the barracks.

In the distance, I could see the trains moving along the ramp. They were bringing new people who would walk in the direction of the little wood….I seated myself next to the boiling bucket of tar and, stirring it slowly, sat thinking for a long time. At one point a wild thought suddenly shot across my mind: I too would like to have a child with rose-colored cheeks and light blond hair. I laughed aloud at such a ridiculous notion and climbed up on the roof to lay the hot tar.

And I remember another Block Elder, a big redhead with broad feet and chapped hands. She did not have a separate shack, only a few blankets thrown across a piece of rope.

"I mustn't make them feel," she would say, pointing to the women packed tightly in the bunks, "that I want to cut myself off from them. Maybe I can't give them anything, but I won't take anything from them either."

"Do you believe in life after death?" she asked me once in the middle of some lighthearted conversation.

"Sometimes," I answered cautiously. "Once I believed in it when I was in jail, and once again when I came close to dying here in the camp."

"But if a man does evil, he'll be punished, won't he?"

"I suppose so, unless there are some criteria of justice other than the man-made criteria. You know…the kind that explain causes and motivations, and erase guilt by making it appear insignificant in the light of the overall harmony of the universe. Can a crime committed on one level be punishable on a different one?"

"But I mean in a normal, human sense!" she exclaimed.

"It ought to be punished. No question about it."

"And you, would do good if you were able to?"

"I seek no rewards. I build roofs and want to survive the concentration camp."

"But do you think that they," she pointed with her chin in an indefinite direction, "can go unpunished?"

"I think that for those who have suffered unjustly, justice alone is not enough. They want the guilty to suffer unjustly too. Only this will they understand as justice."

"You're a pretty smart fellow! But you wouldn't have the slightest idea how to divide bread justly, without giving more to your own mistress!" she said bitterly and walked into the block. The women were lying in the rows of bunks, head to head. Their faces were still, only the eyes seemed alive, large and shining. Hunger had already started in this part of the camp. The redheaded Elder moved from bunk to bunk, talking to the women to distract them from their thoughts. She pulled out the singers and told them to sing, the dancers—and told them to dance, the poets—and made them recite poetry.

"All the time, endlessly, they ask me about their mother, their fathers. They beg me to write to them."

"They've asked me too. It's just too bad."

"Ah, you! You come and then you go, but me? I plead with them, I beg them—if anyone is pregnant, don't report to the doctor, if anyone is sick, stay in the barracks! But do you think they believe me? It's no good, no matter how hard you try to protect them. What can you do if they fall all over themselves to get to the gas?"

One of the girls was standing on top of a table singing a popular tune. When she finished, the women in the bunks began to applaud. The girl bowed, smiling. The red-headed Elder covered her face with her rough hands.

"I can't stand it any longer! It's too disgusting!" she whispered. And suddenly she jumped up and rushed over to the table. "Get down!" she screamed at the singer.

The women fell silent. She raised her arm.

"Quiet!" she shouted, though nobody spoke a word. "You've been asking me about your parents and children. I haven't told you, I felt sorry for you. But now I'll tell you, so that you know, because they'll do the same with you if you get sick! Your children, your husbands and your parents are not in another camp at all. They've been stuffed into a room and gassed! Gassed, do you understand? Like millions of others, like my own mother and father. They're burning in deep pits and in ovens…The smoke which you see above the rooftops doesn't come from the brick plant at all, as you're being told. It's smoke from your children! Now go on and sing." She finished calmly, pointing her finger at the terrified singer. Then she turned around and walked out of the barracks.

It was undeniable that the conditions in both Auschwitz and Birkenau were steadily improving. At the beginning, beating and killing were the rule, but later this became only sporadic. At first, you had to sleep on the floor lying on your side because of the lack of space, and could turn over only on command; later you slept in bunks, or wherever you wished, sometimes even in bed. Originally, you had to stand at roll-call for as long as two days at a time, later—only until the second gong, until nine o'clock. In the early years, packages were forbidden, later you could receive 500 grams, and finally as much as you wanted. Pockets of any kind were at first strictly taboo, but eventually even civilian clothes could sometimes be seen around Birkenau. Life in the camp became "better and better" all the time—after the first three or four years. We felt certain that the horrors could never be repeated, and we were proud that we had survived. The worse the Germans fared at the battlefront, the better off we were. And since they fared worse and worse…

At the Persian Market, time seemed to move in reverse. Again we saw the Auschwitz of 1940. The women greedily gulped down the soup which nobody in our block would even think of touching. They stank of sweat and female blood. They stood at roll-call from five in the morning. When they were at last counted, it was almost nine. Then they were given cold coffee. At three in the afternoon the evening roll-call began and they were given dinner: bread with some spread. Since they did not work, they did not rate the *Zulage*, the extra work ration.

Sometimes they were driven out of the barracks in the middle of the day for an additional roll-call. They would line up in tight rows and march along the road, one behind the other. The big, blonde S.S. women in leather boots plucked from among them all the skinny ones, the ugly ones, the big-bellied ones—and threw them inside the Eye. The so-called Eye was a closed circle formed by the joined hands of the barracks guards. Filled out with women, the circle moved like a macabre dance to the camp gate, there to become absorbed but the great, camp-wide Eye. Five hundred, six hundred, a thousand selected women. Then all of them started on their walk—along the two roads.

Sometimes an S.S. woman dropped in at one of the barracks. She cased the bunks, a woman looking at other women. She asked if anyone cared to see a doctor, if anyone was pregnant. At the hospital, she said they would get milk and white bread.

They scrambled out of the bunks and, swept up into the Eye, walked to the gate—towards the little wood.

Just to pass the time of day—for there was little for us to do at the camp—we used to spend long hours at the Persian Market, either with the Block Elders, or sitting under the barracks wall, or in the latrines. At the Elders' shacks you drank tea or dozed off for an hour or two in their beds. Sitting under the barracks wall you chatted with the carpenters or bricklayers. A few women were usually hanging around, dressed in pretty little pullovers and wearing sheer stockings. Any one of them could be had for a piece of bright silk or a shiny trinket. Since time began, never has there been such an easy market for female flesh!

The latrines were built for the men and the women jointly, and were separated only by wooden boards. On the women's side, it was crowded and noisy, on ours, quiet and pleasantly cool inside the concrete enclosure. You sat there by the hour conducting love dialogues with Katia, the pretty little latrine girl. No one felt any embarrassment or thought the set-up uncomfortable. After all, one had already seen so much…

That was June. Day and night the people walked—along the two roads. From dawn until late at night the entire Persian Market stood at roll-call. The days were warm and sunny and the tar melted on the roofs. Then came the rains, and with them icy winds. The mornings would dawn cold and penetrating. Then the fair weather returned once again. Without interruption, the trains pulled up to the ramp and the people walked on…Often we had to stand and wait, unable to leave for work because they were blocking the roads. They walked slowly, in loose groups, sometimes hand in hand. Women, old men, children. As they passed just outside the barbed-wire fence they would turn their silent faces in our direction. Their eyes would fill with tears of pity and they threw bread over the fence for us to eat.

The women took the watches off their wrists and flung them at our feet, gesturing to us to take them.

At the gate, a band was playing foxtrots and tangos. The camp gazed at the passing procession. A man has only a limited number of ways in which he can express strong emotion or violent passions. He uses the same gestures as when what he feels is only petty and unimportant. He utters the same ordinary words.

"How many have gone by so far? It's been almost two months since mid-May. Counting twenty thousand per day…around one million!"

"Eh, they couldn't have gassed that many every day. Though…who the hell knows, with four ovens and scores of deep pits…"

"Then count it this way: from Koscyce and Munkacz, almost 600,000. They got 'em all, no doubt about it. And from Budapest? 300,000 easily."

"What's the difference?"

"Ja, but anyway, it's got to be over soon. They'll have slaughtered every single one of them."

"There's more, don't worry."

You shrug your shoulders and look at the road. Slowly, behind the crowd of people, walk the S.S. men, urging them with kindly smiles to move along. They explain that it is not much farther and they pat on the back a little old man who runs over to a ditch, rapidly pulls down his trousers, and wobbling in a funny way squats down. An S.S. man calls to him and points to the people disappearing round the bend. The little old man nods quickly, pulls up his trousers and, wobbling in a funny way, runs at a trot to catch up.

You snicker, amused at the sight of a man in such a big hurry to get to the gas chamber.

Later, we started working at the warehouses, spreading tar over their dripping roofs. The warehouses contained mountains of clothing, junk, and not-yet-disemboweled bundles. The treasures taken from the gassed people were piled up at random, exposed to the sun and the rain.

Every day, after lighting a fire under the bucket of tar, we went to "organize" a snack. One of us would bring a pail of water, another a sack of dry cherries or prunes, a third some sugar. We stewed fruit and then carried it up on the roof for those who took care of the work itself. Others fried bacon and onions and ate it with corn bread. We stole anything we could get our hands on and took it to the camp.

From the warehouse roofs you could see very clearly the flaming pits and the crematoria operating at full speed. You could see the people walk inside, undress. Then the S.S. men would quickly shut the windows and firmly tighten the screws. After a few minutes, in which we did not even have time to tar a piece of roofing board properly, they opened the windows and the side doors and aired the place out. Then came the *Sonderkommando*[1] to drag the corpses to the burning pits. And so it went on, from morning till night—every single day.

Sometimes, after a transport had already been gassed, some late-arriving cars drove around filled with the sick. It was wasteful to gas them. They were undressed and Oberscharführer Moll [camp commander] either shot them with his rifle or pushed them live into a flaming trench.

Once, a car brought a young woman who had refused to part from her mother. Both were forced to undress, the mother led away. The man who was to guide the daughter stopped, struck by the perfect beauty of her body, and in his awe and admiration he scratched his head. The woman, noticing this coarse, human gesture, relaxed. Blushing, she clutched the man's arm.

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[1] Author's Note: The Sonderkommando [was] a labor gang composed mostly of Jews and assigned specifically to crematorium duties.

"Tell me, what will they do to me?"

"Be brave," said the man, not withdrawing his arm.

"I am brave! Can't you see, I'm not even ashamed of you! Tell me!"

"Remember, be brave, come. I shall lead you. Just don't look."

He took her by the hand and led her on, his other hand covering her eyes. The sizzling and the stench of the burning fat and the heat gushing out of the pit terrified her. She jerked back. But he gently bent her head forward, uncovering her back. At that moment the Oberscharführer fired, almost without aiming. The man pushed the woman into the flaming pit, and as she fell he heard her terrible, broken scream.

When the Persian Market, the gypsy camp and the F.K.L. became completely filled with women selected from among the people from the ramp, a new camp was opened up across from the Persian Market. We called it Mexico. It, too, was not yet completed, and there they also began to install shacks for the Block Elders, electricity, and windows.

Each day was just like another. People emerged from the freight cars and walked on—along both roads.

The camp inmates had problems of their own: they waited for packages and letters from home, they "organized" for their friends and mistresses, they speculated, they schemed. Nights followed days, rains came after the dry spells.

Towards the end of the summer, the trains stopped coming. Fewer and fewer people went to the crematoria. At first, the camp seemed somehow empty and incomplete. Then everybody got used to it. Anyway, other important events were taking place: the Russian offensive, the uprising and burning of Warsaw, the transports leaving the camp every day, going West towards the unknown, towards new sickness and death; the revolt at the crematoria and the escape of a *Sonderkommando* that ended with the execution of all the escapees.

And afterwards, you were shoved from camp to camp, without a spoon, or a plate, or a piece of rag to clean yourself with.

Your memory retains only images. Today, as I think back on that last summer at Auschwitz, I can still see the endless, colorful procession of people solemnly walking—along both roads; the woman, her head bent forward, standing over the flaming pit; the big redheaded girl in the dark interior of the barracks, shouting impatiently:

"Will evil be punished? I mean in human, normal terms!"

And I can still see the Jew with bad teeth, standing beneath my high bunk every evening, lifting his face to me, asking insistently:

"Any packages today? Couldn't you sell me some eggs for Mirka? I'll pay in marks [German money]. She is so fond of eggs...."

SHAPING POST-WORLD WAR II EUROPE

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust—or with fear.

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, February 3, 1945, Yalta Conference

Summary of the Lesson

Students will analyze descriptions of meetings between the leaders of the Allied forces near the end of WWII to determine the impact of these events on post-war Europe. Students will be asked to evaluate whether the communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe was the result of internal, **domestic political movements**; an effort to create **"spheres of influence"** among leading powers to promote a more stable Europe; and/or if this was another example of Western powers "selling out" to Stalin as they did to Hitler in the **Munich Agreement.** The lesson includes primary source documents from the **Yalta and Tehran Conferences**, as well as Winston Churchill's account of the "**Percentages Agreement**."

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the ways in which the leaders of the Allied countries had an impact on the political structures of post-WWII Europe,
- analyze various motives for the agreements between the Allied leaders,
- evaluate, from a variety of perspectives, the events that led to the communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe.

Background Material for the Teacher

The readings in this lesson contain narratives from Winston S. Churchill, Charles Bohlen (Roosevelt's interpreter at Yalta and an advisor to the American delegation) and Jakub Berman (a leader in the Polish United Workers' Party (Communist) that was supported by Stalin at the end of WWII. These three excerpts provide students with different perspectives on the negotiations and events that occurred near the end of the war. As is usually the case with drastic political changes, the eventual communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe was the result of complicated domestic and international relations. Increased understanding of how these issues influenced the political structures in the post-WWII world will aid students' comprehension of the Cold War, the U.S. policy of containment, and the demise of communism in the region by 1989.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Make three copies of the handout entitled **The Accident.** After reading the introduction, ask three students to read each of the three "testimonies" which describe the same accident to the rest of the class.

Ask students why these three "eyewitness accounts" from people at the accident are different.

Discuss the concept of perspective and the ways in which the same events are often interpreted differently. What biases did each of the eyewitnesses have? How might that have affected their perceptions of what happened? How do we define the "truth" when there are so many conflicting ideas about the cause of what happened? Ask students what implications this has for the study of history.

Developing the Lesson

Place students into three (or six, depending on the class size) equal groups and distribute copies of student handouts A, B, and C. Teachers will need to make adjustments in the groupings according to each class size. Each group should have a different handout—unless there are six groups, in which case two groups will have Handout A, two groups will have Handout B, and two will have Handout C.

Explain that students have received "Eyewitness Accounts" of the meetings and events which led to the communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe at the end of WWII.

Each group should read its account and respond to the questions at the end of the reading. Remind them that everyone in the group should be prepared to answer all of the questions because each person will be responsible for sharing the information with others who have not read this account.

Allow groups sufficient time to read and discuss the questions. Check with each group to insure that all students understand the questions and are prepared to discuss the reading with others.

Have the students in each group number off from 1 to 3. After each person has a number, ask all #1s to form a group (if there are six groups, students should be divided into two groups of three). Each person in the group is responsible for presenting the information and a summary of the discussion about his/her reading. Based on the amount of time available, give students an idea of the amount of time allotted for each student (i.e. "Each person has five minutes to explain the most important details of the reading and summarize the discussion questions").

Concluding the Lesson

As students are working in these second groups, write the following question on the board or overhead transparency:

> *Was the communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe after WWII the result of internal domestic political movements; an effort to create "spheres of influence" among leading powers in order to promote a more stable Europe; or an example of Western powers "selling out" to Stalin in order to avoid another war?*

After students have finished the "debriefing" session, ask the class to consider the question on the board or overhead. What conclusions can they draw from the information provided in the "eyewitness accounts"? Who is responsible for the communist totalitarian regimes that evolved in Central and Eastern Europe? (Students may have a variety of answers to these questions. Be sure to ask students to justify their answers.)

Ask students what can be gained by analyzing history from a variety of perspectives. In what ways does this strategy help us understand history in a deeper and more meaningful way? Why is it important to examine personal narratives of historical events?

Extending the Lesson

Students might write a position paper or prepare a statement in which they argue that the eventual communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe could be most effectively attributed to one of the forces discussed in class. These papers or statements could serve as the basis of a class debate. Students should be evaluated on their ability to present clear, reasoned arguments and defend their positions. In addition, students should be expected to anticipate the viewpoint of others and address those points ("the best offense is a good defense" strategy).

Students might be asked to construct an essay in which they address all of the perspectives presented as part of the class discussion. In this manner students could practice the skills of historians who evaluate all of the evidence and present historical events as the culmination of a variety of forces and factors.

Have students construct three different "news" broadcasts in which startling "new" information has recently been discovered which sheds light on the beginning of the Cold War… "Details at 11."

Students could investigate more information about the prominent players in the post-WWII era. Students might create a personality profile and, based on their increased knowledge about the individuals involved, hypothesize about the personal and political motivations of these people.

Another period of history might be selected by the class or teacher. Students should be asked to identify the individuals and/or groups who might have had a stake in the outcome of the particular period or event. Students could research information that reflects the various perspectives of those involved. The information could be used to create a readers' theater in which the various voices and perspectives are presented.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Percentages Agreement"

1. Churchill's attitude about the people living in the Balkans seemed rather paternalistic. He seemed to think that it was appropriate for leaders from stronger countries (Great Britain and the Soviet Union) to determine the future of these people. Stalin also appeared to accept the idea that a few countries should have influence over others.
2. Stalin may have felt confident in pursuing dominance in the region because Churchill gave no indication that any of these countries had the right to determine their own futures. Churchill, representing one of the few countries in any position to challenge the Soviet Union, did not mention "free elections" or "democracies" in this description. Consequently, Stalin may have concluded that such things were not a priority to Great Britain or its close ally, the United States.
3. Churchill's description supports the accusation that the major powers carved out spheres of influence because of the way in which he and Stalin divided up the Balkans. By indicating that they could divide the region—even to the extent of determining the percentage of influence—Churchill established a desire to exert control over a region outside the borders of Great Britain. These spheres of influence were considered important for stabilizing both political and economic conditions in the world and securing the position of the country exerting the control. The advantages for this strategy for the Soviet Union and Great Britain (the U.S. is also implicated in this description) are that they are able to maintain their status as a world power. In addition, spheres of influence expanded economic interests for more powerful countries. The disadvantages of this strategy come when one country interferes in the sphere of influence of another. Major powers must determine whether or not a region outside its own borders is worth defending. Most importantly, this strategy limits the rights of those living under the domination of other countries.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "An Interview with Jakub Berman"

1. Berman indicates that Polish communists were responsible for bringing communism to Poland. While he acknowledges that the Soviet Union provided some assistance, he argues that this was an internal, domestic movement that was for the benefit of Poland.
2. Berman justifies ignoring election results and the party's unpopularity because, he claims, communism is the only way for Poland to survive. He claims that people are unable to understand what the communists are doing for them. Consequently, it is up to the communist party members to act for the benefit of the people—even if it is contrary to what the people say they want.
3. Berman describes democracy in very negative terms—as a process in which nationalistic leaders would take over and, while they might be popular with the people, they would fail to lead Poland successfully.
4. Berman states in many places that he believes the Polish communists were acting in the interests of Poland. For example, he mentions the difficult position of Poland in terms of its location (proximity to the Soviet Union) and indicates that Poland would not have been allowed to survive had it not been for the Polish communists (indicating that the Soviet Union would have annexed Poland had Stalin perceived it as a threat).

5. Students answers may vary but Berman's interview best supports the idea that communism in Poland was the result of internal forces which, to some extent, acted on external pressures. Berman rejects the idea that communism was imposed by the Soviet Union and asserts that Polish communists maintained a certain level of independence from the U.S.S.R.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Yalta Negotiations"

1. Students' answers may vary but should include references to the exhibition of power and the impressive display of resources and military strength.
2. Students may decide the following: that Roosevelt's priorities were well-founded; that without the Soviet commitment to the war in Asia the war would have continued for a longer period (increasing casualties); and that the United Nations has played an important role in maintaining world peace. Students may also conclude that, given what we now know about the United States' atomic weapon capabilities and the impact of Soviet domination in Central and Eastern Europe, Roosevelt should have done more to protect the democratic interests in those countries.
3. Stalin's comment indicates that, while measures could be taken to make it appear that Poland's elections were "pure" (free and fair elections), they could, in fact, be manipulated to favor pro-Soviet groups.
4. Students' answers may vary. Bohlen certainly lays the foundation for concluding that Roosevelt had to "sell out" to Stalin because of the position of the Red Army and domestic interests at home. Bohlen indicates that the United States' public would not support a war against the Soviet Union.

Handout

"The Accident"—An Account by Three Eyewitnesses

INTRODUCTION: At 3:26 p.m. yesterday evening a car accident occurred just three blocks from school. Fortunately, no one was seriously injured, but the two cars involved suffered extensive damage. No citations have been issued because who was at fault is a matter of considerable debate. Each of the drivers is blaming the other for the accident—both claiming that he or she had the right of way and the other drove through the stop sign. Three eyewitnesses have given their account to a police officer. Listen carefully to the details from these eyewitness reports and determine who is responsible for the collision.

EYEWITNESS #1 (JOHN): Yeah, well, I saw the whole thing, officer. I was walking down the street when I heard the squeal of tires. I turned around and saw two cars coming toward the stop sign. The old woman in the blue car didn't even try to stop. You know how women drivers are—they always pretend that stop signs are optional. She might have slowed down a little but then she just pulled right out in front of that kid with that beautiful '68 Mustang. I can't believe that car. The kid must be sick. I think that was all original and now he'll have to do some major rebuilding.

EYEWITNESS #2 (SHANNON): I was standing on the corner waiting for the bus to come. The bus is always late, you know. So I'm standing there when I see this black sports car come racing up to the stop sign. This woman in a blue car was already there. It was a four-way stop and since she got there first, she had the right of way. But this guy in the black car acted like he was in some big hurry or something and pulled into the intersection before she could do anything. You know how guys with sports cars act—like they own the world or something. My car got hit by some kid in a sports car just last year.

EYEWITNESS #3 (LISA): I saw exactly what happened. These two cars were coming to the stop sign at the same time. Both of them looked like they were going to stop but neither one of them came to a complete halt. I teach drivers' education and I tell my students all the time that they have to make a complete stop. None of this "rolling stop" kind of stuff that drivers do all the time. They should both be cited, officer. They simply weren't following the "Good Drivers' Rules."

Student Handout A

The Percentages Agreement

by Winston S. Churchill

Background Information from the Editor

The future of Central and Eastern Europe was a point of considerable debate among the Allied forces (with Great Britain, the United States and France holding similar positions and the Soviet Union taking an opposing view). In addition to the three major conferences (Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam), this issue was raised in other meetings between the leaders of the major Allied countries.

In December of 1943, the leaders of the "Big Three" (Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States) had met in Teheran to lay strategies for the war against the Axis powers and begin negotiations for control of territories after the war ended. During the Teheran (Iran) Conference, Stalin advocated that the borders of Poland be pushed 150 kilometers to the west—expanding the Soviet occupied territories and creating a buffer-zone between the Soviet Union and threats from western Europe, particularly Germany. In addition, Stalin refused to acknowledge the Polish government in exile in London and declared the provisional government, located in Lublin (Poland) and headed by Soviet-backed communists, as the legal Polish government. Stalin's position on Poland at the Teheran Conference made it clear that he intended to play a significant role in the post-war government in Poland.

President Roosevelt indicated that he believed such negotiations should wait until the war ended. In addition, an upcoming U.S. presidential election made Roosevelt hesitant to take positions which might be used against him later—Stalin had been presented to the American people as an "ally" and publicized divisions between the Allied forces might diminish his support. Consequently, many of these preliminary agreements were made between Stalin and Churchill. Churchill, eager to maintain part of the pre-war British Empire, placed enormous emphasis on protecting British interests in Greece and parts of the Middle East. The following excerpt from the memoirs of Great Britain's leader, Sir Winston S. Churchill, describes his meeting with Josef Stalin (the leader of the Soviet Union) in October of 1944. During this meeting, Churchill's and Stalin's interests in establishing control over particular regions became quite clear. This meeting laid the foundation for the Yalta Conference which was held in February 1945.

Excerpt from *Triumph and Tragedy*, Volume VI of *The Second World War*, pp. 226–27. Copyright 1953 by Houghton Mifflin Co. © renewed 1981 by the Honourable Lady Sarah Audley and the Honourable Lady Soames. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co. All rights reserved.

We [arrived] at Moscow on the afternoon of October 9 and were received very heartily and with full ceremonial by Molotov [Soviet foreign minister] and many high Russian personages. This time we were lodged in Moscow itself, with every care and comfort. I had one small, perfectly appointed house, and Anthony another nearby. [Referring to Anthony Eden, Britain's foreign secretary.] We were glad to dine alone together and rest. At ten o'clock that night we held our first important meeting in the Kremlin. There were only Stalin, Molotov, Eden, Harriman [U.S. ambassador to Moscow], and I, with Major Birse and Pavlov as interpreters. It was agreed to invite the Polish prime minister, M. Romer, the foreign secretary, and M. Grabski, a gray-bearded and aged academician of much charm and quality, to Moscow at once. I telegraphed accordingly to M. Mikołajczyk[1] that we were expecting him and his friends for discussions with the Soviet Government and ourselves, as well as with the Lublin Polish Committee. I made it clear that refusal to come to take part in the conversations would amount to a definite rejection of our advice and would relieve us from further responsibility toward the London Polish government.

The moment was apt for business, so I said, "Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Romania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 percent predominance in Romania, for us to have 90 percent of the same in Greece, and for fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?" While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

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[1] Editor's Note: Stanisław Mikołajczyk was the leader of the Polish Peasant Party and presented the most significant opposition to Polish communists. Under increasing pressure from the Soviet-supported Polish Communist Party, he left Poland in the autumn of 1947.

Romania	
Russia	90%
The others	10%
Greece	
Great Britain	90%
(in accord with United States)	
Russia	10%
Yugoslavia	50-50%
Hungary	50-50%
Bulgaria	
Russia	75%
The others	25%

I pushed this across to Stalin, who by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down.

Of course we had long and anxiously considered our point, and were only dealing with immediate wartime arrangements. All larger questions were reserved on both sides for what we then hoped would be a peace table when the war was won.

After this there was a long silence. The penciled paper lay in the center of the table. At length I said, "Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper." "No, you keep it," said Stalin.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Based on Churchill's description of this meeting, how would you describe his attitude about the future of the people living in the Balkans? What about Stalin's position on this issue?
2. In this narrative, Churchill indicates that this agreement was "only dealing with immediate wartime arrangements." However, Soviet dominance in the most of the Balkan states continued for the next 50 years. What details from Churchill's description of this meeting might have provided clues about why Stalin felt confident in aggressively pursuing dominance in the region?
3. The major powers after WWII (U.S., Great Britain, France and U.S.S.R.) have been accused of carving out "spheres of influence" after the war. A sphere of influence can be described as a territory in which an outside nation exercises some control over internal affairs. How does Churchill's description support these accusations? Why might the major powers have wanted to establish these spheres of influence? What were the advantages and disadvantages of this strategy?

Student Handout B

An Interview with Jakub Berman (a leader in the Polish United Workers' [Communist] Party)

"Stalinists," from *From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe Since 1945, Second Edition*, p. 43, edited by Gale Stokes. Copyright © 1991, 1996 by Oxford University Press, Inc. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc.

One of the participants in the formation of the Polish communist government as World War II was ending was Jakub Berman. Berman was "a member of the top leadership of the Polish United Workers' [Communist] party that Stalin and the Red Army imposed on Poland in 1945 and 1946. Berman was a "Muscovite,"[1] as were many of the new leaders in the communist states of Eastern Europe, in the sense that he had spent much of World War II in the Soviet Union. He remained in power until 1956. In 1980, under the relatively relaxed conditions of Solidarity Poland, Teresa Torańska conducted a series of interviews with several old-line Polish communists, including Berman. The remarkable thing is…that he was not alone in the early postwar period in his enthusiasm for the new regime. Many were fed up with the squabbling of interwar parliaments, the narrow religious or nationalistic views of old politicians, and the economic backwardness of their countries. Berman's justifications and passions reflect the worldview of men and women who imposed Stalinism for what seemed to them good reasons.

Excerpts from *Them: Stalin's Polish Puppets* by Teresa Torańska, pp. 256-57, 277-78, 298-99, 351-54. English translation copyright © 1987 by William Collins Sons & Company, Ltd, and Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

The interviewer's comments are indicated in italicized text:

On 21 April 1945, when you signed the treaty of friendship, mutual aid, and postwar cooperation with the Soviet Union, which was supposed to provide a "guarantee of the independence of the new democratic Poland," as well as "assure its strength and well-being," you could have included a clause requiring the release of Poles from Soviet prisons and camps, could you not?

It wasn't a question of us or of the Soviet Union in that treaty. It was drawn up as a compromise with the coalition against Hitler. But what exactly are you getting at?

At the fact that you brought yet another disaster upon this nation.

That's not true. We brought it liberation.

Did you?

Yes, we did. We didn't come to this country as its occupiers, and we never even imagined ourselves in that role. After all the disasters that had befallen this country, we brought it its ultimate liberation, because we finally got rid of those Germans, and that counts for something. I know these things aren't simple. We wanted to get this country moving, to breathe life into it; all our hopes were tied up with the new model of Poland, which was without historical precedent and was the only chance it had throughout its thousand years of history; we wanted to use that chance 100 percent. And we succeeded. In any case we were bound to succeed, because we were right; not in some irrational, dreamed-up way we'd plucked out of the air, but historically—history was on our side.

So how did they vote [in the referendum held in 1946]? PSL [Polish Peasant Party—the leading opposition against the communists] statistics show, on a necessarily fragmentary scale, that in 2,004 out of the 11,070 voting districts, 83.54 percent of the vote was against you.[2]

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[1] Editor's Note: Many of the communists who eventually seized power in Central and Eastern Europe in the period immediately following WWII spent extended periods of time (including most of the war) in the Soviet Union. Stalin's support of these "Muscovites" made it easier for them to consolidate their power but, in many cases, also raised the suspicions of their compatriots.

[2] Author's Note: The PSL *(Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe)* was the Polish Peasant party, which Mikołajczyk

I can't say. Probably it was like that in some district, while in others we had a majority.

Why didn't you at least reveal this fact?

My dear lady, you can't, not if you want to stay on. If we'd had an alternative—if we win, we stay, if we lose, we hand over power—then of course you can tell the whole truth. But here we were compelled by the situation: in an election, we can't go by the criterion of a majority, because there isn't anyone we can hand power over to. There wasn't then and there isn't now.

I don't understand.

Well, whom would you have had us hand power over to? To Mikołajczyk [leader of the Polish Peasant Party who the communists accused of being too nationalistic], perhaps? Or to those even more to the right of him? Or to the devil knows who else? You'll be telling me in a moment that it would have been democratic if we had. So what? Who needs that kind of democracy? And we can no more have free elections now that we could ten or twenty years ago, even less so, because we'd lose. There's no doubt of that. So what's the point of such an election? Unless, of course, we wanted to behave like ultrademocrats, such perfect gentlemen, that we took off our top hats and bowed and said: Fine, we're going to get some rest, go ahead and take power.

Well?

Well what (shouting)? Well what? Why do you say "well"?

Because that's just what you should do, exactly that.

I don't want to be rude.

Well, then, I will: You're hated here.

Miss Torańska, politics isn't something you do for pleasure, and it's not something you do in order to be loved and understood. I know things are bad now, but there are some prospects that we'll make them better. We will make them better, I'm deeply convinced of it. We'll find a way out of the situation, despite all its zigzags and contortions. Maybe not in my lifetime, but we will. It's not at all true that Poland is doomed to destruction, to total destruction.

But you're considered to be the cause of all the evil that has befallen this nation, don't you see that?

That's the result of mental backwardness, yes backwardness (shouting)! You can't live by nineteenth-century concepts. Two great powers arose, and spheres of influence were defined and agreed. We found ourselves in the Soviet sphere of influence,[1] which was lucky for us because it helped in implementing a number of changes, although I agree that it also introduced many restrictions—no one's denying their existence. They had to meet with resistance on the part of the population raised on and accustomed to an entirely different set of ideas. But don't people undergo a process of evolution? Don't they change when reality contradicts their ideas?

You really don't see?

It's certainly true that people here are weighed down by complexes which the Czechs, the Romanians, and even the Hungarians don't have, because they didn't experience either the geographical or the social [changes] that we went through. But clinging to absurdities, imagining that we live on the moon instead of the Oder and the Vistula,[2] is completely ridiculous. It's on a different planet that you can reflect, or meditate, or write poetry, not here. Here we have a different world, different threats, different dangers, and different prospects. Was it plausible at any moment to imagine that Poland would be again the country it had been between the wars? In this configuration? With this distribution of forces? Surely that's inconceivable. You have to be deaf and blind not to see that we, the Polish communists rescued Poland from the worst.

Certainly, this sovereignty of ours became stronger, greater, and more independent after Stalin's death—that's why I introduced the division into the years before his death and the years after—but even then, during his lifetime, we tried to ensure the greatest possible autonomy and independence for Poland. That was what the Polish road to socialism was about; that was how we understood it....

organized in 1945 on the basis of a tradition of Polish populism that began in 1895. The Referendum of 1946 asked Polish voters three questions: (1) Are you in favor of a senate? (2) Do you favor nationalization of basic industries while maintaining the rights of private enterprise? and (3) Are you for the Oder-Neisse line, the new western frontier that compensated Poland for losses to the Soviets in the east? Because most Poles favored the second and third questions, Mikołajczyk asked for a no vote on the first question as a symbolic protest against communist repression. In many places proposition 1 lost heavily, but the official tally released by the Communist-dominated government showed it winning handily....

[1] Editor's Note: A sphere of influence can be described as a territory in which an outside nation exercises some control over the internal affairs of another nation.

[2] Editor's Note: Rivers in Poland.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Many people from the U.S. and Western Europe have portrayed the communist domination of Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries as being forced upon these countries by Stalin and the Soviet Union. What does Berman say that contradicts this impression?
2. Why does Berman claim that it was necessary to ignore election results and the party's unpopularity? (What justification does he give for these actions?)
3. How does Berman describe democracy? How does this differ from the ways in which democracy is usually viewed in the United States?
4. Did Berman believe that he and other Polish communists were acting for the good of Poland or the Soviet Union? Support your conclusion with examples from the text.
5. Based on this reading, would you say that establishing a communist government in Poland was the result of internal or external forces? Why did you draw that conclusion?

Student Handout C

The Yalta Negotiations

by Charles E. Bohlen

From *Witness to History: 1929–1969*, by Charles E. Bohlen, pp. 173–201. Copyright © 1973 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

[Editor's Note: Charles E. Bohlen acted as Franklin D. Roosevelt's interpreter at the Yalta Conference and as an advisor to the American delegation. This reading is an excerpt from his description of the conference.]

We took off from Malta [an island in the Mediterranean] in the middle of the night. Although we had no fighter escort, we flew over Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania, all of which were occupied in part by Axis troops. We landed about noon at an airfield at Saki which had been hurriedly repaired. Churchill arrived twenty minutes after the president [Franklin D. Roosevelt].

After being welcomed by a greeting party, headed by Molotov,[1] we were offered refreshments, including vodka and champagne, caviar, smoked sturgeon,[2] and black bread. The eighty-mile drive over the mountains to Yalta was made under lowering clouds that spat rain and a little wet snow. The road was lined with troops of at least two Soviet divisions, each soldier standing within sight of the next, for the entire eighty miles. As the presidential car passed…the soldiers, many of them girls, snapped to the Russian salute—an abrupt move of the arm to put the rifle at a thirty-degree angle from the body. Repeated thousands of times, the salute was impressive. The drive took about five hours. Although the country was mostly uninhabited, we saw signs of destruction—gutted buildings and burned out Nazi tanks, I believe that the wreckage Roosevelt saw on the drive hardened his view on Germany. "I'm more bloodthirsty than a year ago," he told Stalin when they met….

Roosevelt, very much a political animal, went to the Yalta Conference keenly aware of American public opinion. With the war almost over in Europe, Americans wanted Soviet help in the final battle against Japan. Thus one major goal for Roosevelt at the conference was to pin down Stalin on the timing and the extent of entering the war in Asia. Roosevelt also realized that he might have scored only a temporary success in gaining public support during the war for an international organization, which he thought was the only device that could keep the United States from slipping back into isolationism. Thus his other major goal was an accord on the United Nations. The other important problems, principally Eastern Europe and Germany, had to be considered against the overriding importance of Roosevelt's two main goals.

The conference, which lasted for eight days, was organized in such a way that there was no orderly discussion and resolution of each problem by the leaders. Instead, issues were brought up, discussed, then shunted off to the foreign ministers or military chiefs or just dropped for a few hours. There was a plenary session of the three leaders every day at 4 p.m. and meetings of the foreign ministers and the military chiefs every morning. In addition, there were private meetings between any two of the leaders, and discussions by all three at lunch and dinner.

It is a wonder that any agreements could emerge from such confusion. But the constant switch from one subject to another kept tempers cool. It is a matter of fact that despite the difficulties and disappointments, the atmosphere remained pleasant throughout the conference. The good feeling was evident on February 4, at the first Roosevelt-Stalin private meeting before the first plenary session. The two leaders greeted each other as old friends, and in a sense they were, having conferred in Teheran[3] and exchanged many messages during the year. Smiling broadly, the president grasped Stalin by the hand and shook it warmly. Stalin, his face cracked into one of his rare, if slight, smiles, expressed pleasure at seeing the president again.

Underneath this gloss of goodwill, the three leaders were waging a fierce struggle on the shape of the postwar world. The decisions they reached on these questions, while hailed almost universally at the time as great accomplishments, ultimately came under such heavy attack, first from the right and later from the left, that Yalta is undoubtedly the most controversial conference in United States history. From my position at Roosevelt's side, I witnessed almost all the important exchanges with the Soviet Union.

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[1] Editor's Note: Molotov was the Soviet foreign minister under Josef Stalin.

[2] Editor's Note: The fish from which caviar (fish eggs) is extracted.

[3] Editor's Note: Referring to the Teheran Conference, held in December, 1943 in Iran. This meeting included Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt.

The most difficult question of all at Yalta was Poland. The Soviets realized that since they had physical control over Poland, they could, in the last analysis, do pretty much what they wanted to with that country. On the other hand, they also realized that the British and American governments had a strong interest in Poland. The Western goal was absurdly simple—the right of the Poles to govern themselves, even if they chose a Communist government. The task of the Soviet diplomacy therefore was to retain a tight grip on Poland without causing an open break with the Western powers. In this regard, Stalin displayed a considerable astuteness, an extensive knowledge of the geographic elements of the problem, such as the location of the frontiers, and a tenacity for beating back one Western attempt after another to create conditions for a genuinely democratic government.

A sure clue to the gravity of the problem was Stalin's getting up and walking up and down behind his chair while expounding his points. His best debating skill stood out on the Polish question. When Roosevelt said he wanted the Polish election to be pure, like Caesar's wife, Stalin commented, "They said that about her but in fact she had her sins."

The frontiers of the new Poland, although not what we wanted, did not present a difficult problem. Churchill and Stalin had pretty much settled the issue at Teheran. The president did attempt to get Lvov[1] and the adjacent oil fields returned to Poland, but Stalin refused. Churchill had second thoughts about his hasty giveaway of German land at Teheran. While still favoring the movement of Polish frontiers west, he said it would be a pity to stuff the Polish goose so full of German food that it got indigestion. Stalin brushed aside the argument by asserting that most of the Germans in the affected areas had run away from the advancing Red Army....

I do not presume to know what was going on in Roosevelt's mind, but from what he said at Yalta and from his actions there, I feel he did everything he could to help the Poles. He was not acting out of any sympathy for the London Poles (although he had met and admired Mikołajczyk)[2] and was not trying to install an anti-Soviet regime in Warsaw [capital of Poland]. He only wanted to give the Polish people, whose country had been overrun and brutalized by the Nazis and who then faced domination by the Soviet Union, the right to choose their own government. He was trying to balance domestic political considerations—strong Polish sentiment in the United States—with his diplomatic goal of maintaining Allied unity by recognizing Soviet determination to protect its western flank. The compromise failed because Stalin insisted on more than security against attack; he wanted to establish the Soviet system of authoritarian control of every aspect of life in Poland. The Red Army gave Stalin the power he needed to carry out his wishes, regardless of his promises at Yalta. Stalin held all the cards and played them well. Eventually, we had to throw in our hand....

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What kind of impression do you think Roosevelt and Churchill had about Stalin and the Soviet Union during their eighty mile drive to Yalta? Support your response with examples from Bohlen's description of the trip.
2. Bohlen describes Roosevelt's major goals for the meeting at Yalta as getting a commitment from Stalin on entering the war in Asia and reaching an agreement about the United Nations. Problems related to Eastern Europe were, according to Bohlen, considered less important. In retrospect, how would you evaluate Roosevelt's priorities?
3. What did Stalin mean about Polish elections when he made the comment, "They said that about her [referring to Caesar's wife being pure] but in fact she had her sins"?
4. Based on this account, do you think Roosevelt (and Churchill) "sold out" on the issue of Central and Eastern Europe in order to avoid confrontation with Stalin in other areas? Why or why not?

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[1] Editor's Note: In the period between World Wars I and II, the city of Lvov was part of Poland's territory. At the Teheran Conference, Stalin and Churchill negotiated new boundaries for Poland. Poland's borders were shifted to the east. Consequently, large territories which once belonged to Germany now belonged to Poland and most of Poland's former eastern territories were absorbed by the U.S.S.R. Under this new configuration, Lvov and the surrounding territories—rich in oil—became part of Ukraine, one of the republics in the Soviet Union.

[2] Editor's Note: Referring to Poland's government-in-exile located in London. The London group, headed by Mikołajczyk, was considered the "official" representatives for Poland by the United States and Great Britain. The Soviet Union, however, recognized only a Communist-dominated group in the Polish city of Lublin (the city was occupied by Soviet troops).

TURNING POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

> ***[U.S. President Woodrow Wilson was guilty of] the colossal conceit of thinking that you could suddenly make international life over into what you believed to be your own image; when you dismissed the past with contempt, rejected the relevance of the past to the future, and refused to occupy yourself with the reality that a study of the past would suggest.***
>
> *—George F. Kennan, American diplomat and historian,*
> *quoted in William Pfaff,* The Wrath of Nations

Summary of the Lesson

Students will examine documents and readings to understand three turning points in the history of the **Czech Republic.** These events include the **Pittsburgh Agreement,** which assisted in the creation of **Czechoslovakia** in the aftermath of World War I, the **partition** during World War II, and the **"Velvet Divorce"** of January 1, 1993—which followed the **Velvet Revolution** of 1989. While working in small groups, students will be involved in role-plays, an analysis of a chronology and a discussion about a short text. At the end of the lesson students should understand that due to the influence of external forces and internal pressures of the region, many states in Central and Eastern Europe have had a tumultuous history. The histories of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, formerly united as Czechoslovakia, offer good examples.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the origins of the state of Czechoslovakia at the end of World War I,
- analyze the possibilities and limitations of the young state's chance for survival,
- trace the dissolution of a united Czechoslovakia in the 1938-39 period and explain the impact of internal and external forces on the separation,
- discuss the ways in which the origins of Czechoslovakia and the results of World War II were connected to the dissolution of the state in 1993.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Ask students: What 20th-century European state was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 30, 1918? (Answer: Czechoslovakia)

Provide them with the following background information:

- On June 30, 1918, Czech and Slovak nationalist leaders in exile in the U.S. met in Pittsburgh, where many immigrants from both groups had settled. Without formal or legal power to speak on behalf of the other members of their groups, they agreed to join these two ethnic (cultural and language) groups together to form a new, federal state when the Great War (World War I) finally ended.
- The "Pittsburgh Agreement" pledged that the Slovaks, although joined with the Czechs in one state, would have an autonomous legal system and civil administration and would be able to use Slovakian as the official language for education and government business.
- In 1918, both Czechs and Slovaks were the unhappy subjects of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire ruled by the Hapsburg Dynasty. This so-called "dual monarchy" was a result of an agreement between the Austrians and the Hungarians in 1867, by which each was able to rule one part of the empire and dominate the other ethnic groups within it.
- The Czechs, who lived in Bohemia and Moravia, were governed by the Austrians (from Vienna) and treated fairly mildly; Slovakia was more harshly governed from Budapest by the Hungarians (or Magyars). The Pittsburgh Agreement reflected the dissatisfaction of these two nations and their desire for independence.

Maps of this region are included at the beginning of this resource book and may be used to provide students with a geographical sense of the region.

Tell students that they are going to analyze some of the turning points in the histories of the Czech and Slovak people.

Developing the Lesson

Divide the class into groups of 3-4 people and explain that their first task will be to assess the viability of the new state of Czechoslovakia.

- Each group will be a team of advisors to President Franklin D. Roosevelt in early 1938—just before the Munich Agreement in which Hitler annexes the Sudetenland, the part of Czechoslovakia with a large ethnic German population. President Roosevelt has asked these advisors to prepare a statement advising future relations with Czechoslovakia. He wants them to consider the stability of the government, as well as the political implications of encouraging closer relations with Czechoslovakia.
- Each group will be given a set of readings in the student handout **Briefing for Presidential Advisors.** Students may read all of the handout or assume responsibility for the information in a particular section and then share this information with the rest of the group. Each group, however, is collectively responsible for all the materials in the student handout.
- This collection of readings contains excerpts of historical information from a variety of sources. Students should be encouraged to consider the different perspectives presented while reaching their conclusions. Students should be prepared to discuss the following within their groups (also included at the end of the readings):
  1. What factors does Czechoslovakia have in its favor?
  2. What disadvantages and dangers does Czechoslovakia face?
  3. What recommendations would the group of "presidential advisors" give to President Roosevelt regarding U.S.-Czechoslovakian relations? (What kind of economic and political relations do they suggest?)
- Each group member should be able to explain the findings and reasoning of his or her group and may be called upon by the teacher to make a presentation before "President Roosevelt" (a student may be selected for the role) and his cabinet (the rest of the class).

- Members from other groups may ask the group spokesperson for clarification or for an explanation of the group's reasoning.

Ask one or two groups to present their conclusions to the rest of the class. (More groups may share their conclusions if presentations are not redundant.) After the presentations, ask the whole class to:

1. Create a summary list of Czechoslovakia's hopes and liabilities for survival. (Write the list on a chalkboard or overhead transparency.)
2. Make predictions about the likelihood of the Czechoslovak Republic's survival during that period.

Next, give students a copy of the student handout **Chronology.** Have them read it and discuss the questions in their small groups.

As an entire class, discuss the groups' responses to the questions at the end of the handout.

Explain that Czechoslovakia became a unified state again at the end of World War II (minus Carpatho-Ukraine, which was annexed by the Soviet Union), and fell under communist rule in 1948. On January 1, 1993, however, as a result of what we commonly call the "Velvet Divorce," Czechoslovakia ceased to exist as a state.

- Ask them to speculate—without knowing details of the "Velvet Divorce," but knowing what they know so far—how and why the state of Czechoslovakia ceased to exist in 1993.

Distribute the student handout entitled **The Velvet Revolution** and have them read the text. Use the questions at the end of the handout to guide their small group discussions.

- With the entire class, ask students to explain their response to the final questions: What connections can be drawn between the formation and history of Czechoslovakia and the Velvet Revolution? What can we learn from this example that might help us understand other states?

Concluding the Lesson

Ask students:

1. Can a multi-ethnic state survive in an age of nationalism? What disadvantages does it have? What advantages must it have to survive?
2. Was Czechoslovakia ever a real state or was it merely an artificial creation? Could the United States be considered an artificial state? What about other countries which united more that one nation (ethnic or distinct cultural group).
3. What obstacles to survival do small nations such as Slovakia and the Czech Republic face? Are conditions for survival more favorable in today's Europe than immediately following World War I? Explain.
4. Is the dissolution of Czechoslovakia likely to be repeated elsewhere in Europe or in the world? Where? Why?

Extending the Lesson

Students could write an essay reacting to the following statement: "The state of Czechoslovakia was both the product of the desires of ethnic groups for self-determination and a victim of these same desires." Their answers should be supported by information and insights gained from this lesson.

Students could examine similar, actual or desired, dismemberments of Yugoslavia in Europe; Canada in North America; Nigeria, Ethiopia, Sudan in Africa; and Indonesia in Asia. This analysis should include the ways in which outside forces and internal pressures contribute to separations among groups in the same state.

Have students study current relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics by comparing and contrasting resources, assets, political stability, GNP, etc.. What predictions do students have about the future of Czech/Slovak relations?

Students could research American Czech and Slovak communities and report on their customs, language retention, religious affiliations, etc. What similarities do they share? What is the cultural relationship between American Czechs and Slovaks and people living in the Czech and Slovak Republics? What differences exist between them? What roles(s), if any, do Czech- and Slovak-American communities/organizations currently play in Czech and Slovak politics?

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Briefing for Presidential Advisors"

1. Czechoslovakia possessed industrial capabilities, had strong leadership (Masaryk), and should have had international support—based on Wilson's commitments in his "14 Points" document and the League of Nations.

2. Czechoslovakia faced threats from expanding German nationalism—especially in the Czech areas in which large numbers of ethnic Germans lived. There were also tensions between the Czechs and Slovaks.
3. Students answers will vary.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Chronology"

1. Although students answers may vary, it was apparent that the federation between the Czechs and Slovaks was precarious, at best. Increasing activity among fascists in Slovakia and German expansionism in the Czech lands made it unlikely that Czechoslovakia could have survived under the conditions established by the Munich Agreement.
2. No. In fact, internal pressures that resulted from ethnic tensions between Germans and Czechs, as well as Czechs and Slovaks made the dissolution likely.
3. Students answers will vary but should include references to the ethnic tensions, the lack of support from the international community (the "sell-out" of the Munich Agreement), and Hitler's desire to bring all ethnic Germans under one "fatherland" all contributed to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1939.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Velvet Revolution..."

1. Gorbachev's "hands-off" policy towards other Warsaw Pact members and the fall of communism in Poland and Hungary were both external forces that contributed to the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia. Internal forces include the popularity and organization of the Civic Forum and the dynamic leadership of Havel.
2. The Velvet Revolution provided a model for peaceful change in governments. In addition, the Velvet Revolution offered an opportunity for completely restructuring the government. Without the communist party to serve as the unifying (though oppressive) factor, regional and ethnic differences became more pronounced.
3. Students answers may vary but should include the ethnic tensions and regional differences between the Czechs and Slovaks. Students should also demonstrate an understanding of the fact that Czechoslovakia had been created artificially and, as primarily a two-nation state, was bound to experience conflict. This comprehension could be used to understand the conflicts in the Balkans (former Yugoslavian Federation), Russia, and Rwanda.

Student Handout

Briefing for Presidential Advisors

This collection of readings contains excerpts of information from a variety of sources. All of them are written from the perspective of what was known at the beginning of 1938. It is your job to consider these different perspectives as you reach conclusions about how to advise President Roosevelt regarding future relations with Czechoslovakia.

Calendar of Events after WWI

This information provides background for the events that led to the formation of Czechoslovakia:

On October 14, 1918, the Allies declared the Czechoslovak provisional government in Paris the legal government of the new nation they promised to create at the end of the war.

On October 28, 1918, the Czechoslovak provisional government in Paris declared the independence of Czechoslovakia from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

On October 30, 1918, the Slovak national council in Slovakia voted for union with the Czechs.

On June 28, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles (Article 81) referred to "the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians (mountains)."

On February 29, 1920, Czechoslovakia adopted a constitution.

Excerpts from *Wilson's Fourteen Points*

From *The Western Tradition*, 3rd ed., by Eugen Weber, published by D.C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1972.

This information provides an orientation for previous U.S. policy on Czechoslovakia and the rights of independent states. It should be noted, however, that many of Wilson's Fourteen Points were ignored by U.S. legislators and later presidents.

We entered this war because violations of rights had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once and for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and as we see it, is this:

...IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles would be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant...

...We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand.

Information about Tomasz G. Masaryk

This short biography provides some insights regarding the quality and vision of the leadership in Czechoslovakia.

Tomasz G. Masaryk, born in 1850, was a Czech philosopher, statesman, and founder of the democratic Czechoslovak republic in 1918. In the 1890s, he represented the Young Czech Party in the Austrian parliament and was critical of Austrian policies regarding the position of the "small nations." He became the chairman of the Czech National Council in London, 1914. Masaryk raised questions about the question of national identity in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From 1916 onwards, he organized the Czechoslovak legions in Russia, which were fighting with the Allies against the Austro-Hungarian Empire for the independence of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, he won the support of President Wilson and was accepted by the United States as the head of an allied government. In addition, his wife was American. In 1918 he was elected the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic; he was re-elected twice and resigned in 1935. As a political thinker he defined two powerful influences (dangers) on the "small nations" in Central Europe: Germany and the Soviet Union. After the rise of Czechoslovakia, he said that at least 50 years (two generations) should live in democracy to insure that the independence of the new state could be preserved.

From Capitalism to Socialism

This summary provides some information regarding the economic conditions in Czechoslovakia (in 1938) and traces its economic trends since the state's formation.

Among the successor states created on the ruins of Austro-Hungarian Empire, only Czechoslovakia is an industrially advanced nation. Approximately 70% of the industrial capacity of the Monarchy's western provinces was located in the territory of the Czech lands. Consequently the new Czechoslovakia emerged, in 1918, as one of the most industrially developed countries of the world. Similarly, Czechoslovakia's agriculture is well-developed, intensive and specialized. In addition, the new republic has an excellent education system and a highly skilled labor force.

This does not, however, apply to the country as a whole. The Eastern provinces, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia, previously ruled by Hungary, are backward in economic and political, as well as cultural and educational, terms. Slovakia and Ruthenia fit the traditional picture of a rather undeveloped Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia is thus split into two unequal parts: the developed and fairly affluent Czech lands with a sizeable German minority, and the undeveloped Slovakia and Ruthenia (with a sizeable Hungarian minority).

Slovaks and Czechs: An Uneasy Coexistence

This provides a description of the two nations (Czech and Slovak) that comprise the Czechoslovak state. This is of particular interest when considering the stability of the state.

In the history of Czechoslovak statehood, a constant and fundamental problem has defined the relationship between two nations: the Slovaks and Czechs. [The Czechoslovak Republic is a multinational state including Czechs, Slovaks, ethnic Germans, and Jews. The Czechs and Slovaks are the largest of these groups.] The Czechs tend to view the Slovaks as withdrawn, devout Catholics who are timid about embarking on new ventures.

The first clash came in 1919 when thousands of Czechs entered Slovakia to work as civil servants and help organize local governments and school systems. The Czechs were initially welcomed, in part because the Slovaks did not have enough of their own educated, nationally-conscious people to take up the positions vacated by the Hungarians. Many Czechs, however, came with a missionary spirit, and wanted to educate what they perceived to be a backward country.... Hostility has grown towards the Czechs, who occupy positions in the civil service, the educational system, the army and business.... In addition, the majority of the Slovaks see themselves as a distinct nation.... Further dissension has led to a strong Slovak separatist movement, headed by the nationalistic Hlinka's Slovak People Party. This party is demonstrating strong fascist tendencies and has increasingly strong alliances with Hitler's Nazi Party.

Castles on the Landscape: Czech-German Relations

This information pertains to the relationship between Czechs and ethnic Germans (referred to as Sudetenland Germans) who live in the Czech territories known as Bohemia and Moravia. Although these groups have lived in the region for centuries, recently tensions have increased—due in no small part to the rise of German nationalism across Europe.

The fundamental question to be raised here is why the Czechs and the Germans of Bohemia, who shared so much over many centuries, were not able under circumstances of these modern times to reach a *modus vivendi* [way of getting along]. One key to understanding the ethnic hostilities is the modernization process.... Industrialization of the Czech lands started within the German community in the second half of the 19th century.... Towards the end of the 19th century, however, the situation changed dramatically. The Czechs soon proved to be competitive in economic prosperity. In addition, increased numbers of Czechs have moved into previously German-majority towns and cities to take advantage of new industrial opportunities. The modernization process has led to increased competition and hostility instead of assimilation and cooperation.

There are four areas in which one might distinguish similarities and differences between the United States and current conditions in these areas of Czechoslovakia:

1. In the Czech lands both Czechs and Germans had been settled in their communities for hundreds of years. However, recent trends have led many Czechs to migrate from the farm to the cities. A similar pattern has existed in the United States, with ethnic groups forming distinct local settlements. However, more emphasis has been placed on assimilation through the use of education and language in the United States than in the Czech lands.
2. Immigration to the United States has produced somewhat "decapitated ethnic societies." Immigration to the U.S. from the late 1800s to the period following WWI has consisted overwhelmingly of members of the lower classes. Without traditional leadership structures, immigrants have assimilated more quickly into the dominant culture. As Czech workers flocked into German districts, they have been followed by Czechs from higher social strata so that a complete vertical structure inclusive of social, economic and cultural dimensions has emerged.
3. In the United States, large urban areas often include distinct ethnic districts (i.e. "Little Italy" in New York City, or Polish neighborhoods), however, these exist in the context of a larger "American" city—so some assimilation and cross-cultural interaction is somewhat inevitable. In the western regions of Czechoslovakia, the basis of industrialization took place in small towns and villages, ethnic enclaves could survive intact. Without the larger city forcing at least limited integration, these ethnic enclaves exist with virtually no assimilation.
4. The Anglo-Protestant social, political and economic elite tend to dominate in the United States. Consequently, while certain ethnic groups have been successful in gaining political power (the Irish in Boston, for example), most public institutions are designed to promote the interests of this elite. Public schools are one of the primary examples of the ways in which public money is used to socialize immigrants for integration in American society. On the contrary, industrialization in the Czech lands has produced what are in effect two separate "castles on the landscape"—one Czech and one German (each with its own school systems).

Therefore after the rise of Czechoslovakia, the German population rejected initial participation in the new state. Germans have been accustomed to being the dominant nationality, and consider themselves the culture-bearing *Volk* (a group with a more advanced or superior culture) of Central and Eastern Europe. In contrast, the Czechs suffered institutional discrimination under the Hapsburg Monarchy. As the Republic stabilized in the 1920s, a new democratic system that guaranteed the rights of minorities, was established. Over the past decade, the Germans have become a minority and find it difficult to reconcile themselves in this new status.

The Great Depression hit Czechoslovakia in 1932, at the same time the Nazis in Germany seized political power. Many Germans who opposed the Nazis moved to areas of the Czech lands with ethnic German populations. However, this region has also been radicalized as the Nazis provide a new conceptual framework for German ethnicity in a greater German Reich animated by Pan-Germanic racial and imperialist goals.

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What factors does Czechoslovakia have in its favor?
2. What are Czechoslovakia's disadvantages and dangers?
3. What recommendations would the group of "presidential advisors" give President Roosevelt regarding U.S.-Czechoslovakian relations? (What kind of economic and political relations do you suggest?)

Student Handout

Chronology

Read the chronology, then answer the questions that follow.

1937 **(Oct.)** Sudeten Germans demand complete autonomy for 3.3 million ethnic Germans in Czechoslovakia (whose total population then was about 15 million).

1938 **(Feb. 20)** Hitler, Germany's leader, promises protection for German ethnic minorities outside the German Reich (state).

(March 3) The Czechoslovak government declares that it will defend itself against outside interference.

(March 13) Germany annexes Austria without opposition. Czechoslovakia is now bordered on three sides by the German Reich.

(March-Sept.) Munich Crisis. Increasing demands for complete autonomy by Sudeten Germans, backed by Hitler, create an international crisis. Hungary and Poland, who have made claims to parts of Czechoslovakia since the post-war treaties, also make their demands known. Hitler prepares for war, as does Czechoslovakia, its ally France, and Great Britain. But by September Britain and France, convinced that Hitler is not bluffing and anxious to avoid war, decide to appease [pacify or try to keep the peace] Hitler and so put pressure on Prague to agree to Hitler's demands.

(Sept. 29) The Munich Settlement:

- Germany gains 10,000 square miles of Czechoslovakian territory along its border, including that country's fortifications in the mountains, effectively rendering Czechoslovakia defenseless. Germany gains 2.8 million Sudeten Germans and about 700,000 Czechs.
- Poland presents Prague with an ultimatum and on October 2 unilaterally occupies the long-coveted Teschen region (400 square miles, 240,000 inhabitants, of whom fewer than 100,000 are Poles) along its border with Czechoslovakia.
- Hungary's claims are only settled by force and with German and Italian arbitration. Hungary gains a strip of southern Slovakia (almost 5,000 square miles and 1 million people) but is denied the common frontier she mutually desired with Poland.
- Czechoslovakia loses 5 million (retaining 15 million) inhabitants and 16,000 square miles (retaining 38,500 square miles) of territory.
- France and Britain pledge to guarantee the now defenseless borders of what is left of Czechoslovakia.

(Oct. 6) Giving in to Slovak demands and German pressure, Prague grants Slovakia full autonomy within the republic.

(Oct. 8) Giving in to Ruthenian demands and German pressure, Prague grants Ruthenia (renamed Carpatho-Ukraine) full autonomy within the republic.

1939 **(March 10-16)** Prague deposes the Slovak premier, accusing him of working for separation from Czechoslovakia, and he appeals to Hitler, who intervenes. Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine declare their independence. Germany declares the Czech lands (Bohemia and Moravia) a protectorate and sends in troops to occupy it; Slovakia is also put under the protection of the Reich.

(March 31) Britain and France, who had failed to prevent the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, now guarantee Poland against aggression. Poland is under increasing pressure from Germany to make territorial concessions.

(Sept. 1) Germany launches a surprise attack on Poland. World War II begins.

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. Was the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1939, nearly half a year after the Munich Agreement, a surprise? Explain.
2. Is it accurate to place all the blame for the dissolution on the ambitions of Hitler and Germany? Explain.
3. What external and internal problems led to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia? Create a summary of these factors.

Student Handout

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 to Present

Information provided by the Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University, Ballantine Hall 565, Bloomington, IN 47405, ph. (812) 855-7309, FAX (812) 855-6411, e-mail REEI@indiana.edu.

Even after Gorbachev's visit to Czechoslovakia in April 1987 brought cheering crowds into the streets, the Czechoslovak communist leadership maintained its hard-line opposition to political reform. By fall 1989, however, non-communist governments had taken power in both Poland and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia had become a transit zone for East Germans trying to escape to West Germany. In November, a student ceremony to commemorate a youth killed by the Nazi occupiers turned into a pro-democracy demonstration which ended with unarmed students being beaten by riot police. In the Czech lands, opposition groups coalesced into an umbrella organization called Civic Forum. Civic Forum, and its Slovak counterpart Public Against Violence, joined students and actors in orchestrating a series of strikes which crippled the country and led to the resignation of the communist leadership. The first non-communist cabinet since 1948 was sworn in on December 10. Dubček,[1] brought out of retirement to a hero's welcome in Prague, was elected chairman of the parliament on December 28, and on the following day Civic Forum leader Havel[2] was sworn in as president.

But the end of the Velvet Revolution (so called in the Czech lands for its exceptional lack of violence; Slovaks prefer the name "Gentle Revolution") was also the end of the common Communist enemy, opposition to which had united Czechs and Slovaks to an unprecedented degree. On April 20, 1990, parliament changed the country's name to "The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic" at the insistence of Slovak leaders, who feared a return to the political centralization of the communist period. Throughout 1990 and 1991 there were demonstrations in favor of independence in Slovak cities, although public opinion polls continued to show that most Czechs and Slovaks favored a federal system. Of particular concern to Slovaks were federal and Czech leaders' plans for rapid economic reforms, which many feared would be more painful for Slovakia. The general elections of June 1992 were regarded by most people in both republics as a referendum on the federal union, and after separatist parties won significant victories in both republics, talks began on the breakup of the country. In what has come to be regarded as typical Czechoslovak style, the split was negotiated and carried out bloodlessly. At midnight on December 31, 1992, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic ceased to exist and the Czech Republic was born.

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What external forces came to bear on the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia? Internal events?
2. How did the Velvet Revolution pave the way for the separation of the Czechs and Slovaks?
3. What connections can be drawn between the formation and history of Czechoslovakia and the Velvet Revolution? What can we learn from this example that might help us understand events in other states?

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[1] Alexander Dubček was leader of Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s. Under his leadership, Czechoslovakia began to experiment with radical economic, political and social reforms. The reforms were abruptly brought to a halt in the spring of 1968 when a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Dubček was forced to resign as leader and sent to Slovakia, where he served as a mid-level bureaucrat with little power and influence.

[2] Vaclàv Havel was a playwright and vocal dissident of Czechoslovakia's communist government. He acted as primary spokesperson for political groups who opposed the communist regime (collectively known as the Civic Forum) during the "Velvet Revolution" of 1989. He was elected president of the newly democratic Czechoslovakia.

THE USE OF PROPAGANDA IN COMMUNIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE CASE OF THE AMERICAN POTATO BUG

> ***All propaganda has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself.***
>
> *—Adolf Hitler,* Mein Kampf *(1933)*

> ***Print is the sharpest and strongest weapon of our party.***
>
> *—Josef Stalin (April 19, 1923)*

Summary of the Lesson

Students will explore the ways in which **propaganda** was used in Czechoslovakia during the early 1950s to promote mistrust and division with the West. Using a case study of "The American Bug: A Study in the **Cold War**," students will analyze the ways in which propaganda was used at a variety of levels in society (with adults and children) and through many genres (children's literature, newspapers, radio) to create a **"socialist world."** Students will generate other examples of ways in which propaganda has been used.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the ways propaganda was used by the communist government in Czechoslovakia to promote distrust of and division with the West,
- analyze the ways in which propaganda was used to create a "semiosphere" in Czechoslovakia,
- identify ways in which the government infiltrated all dimensions of people's lives to promote a "socialist world,"
- generate examples of other situations in which propaganda was used to manipulate people,
- evaluate ways in which people might be able to protect themselves from being manipulated by propaganda.

Background Material for the Teacher

The essay included in this lesson was written by Vladimír Macura, a professor at the Institute for Czech Literature in Prague. Macura's piece offers not only a case study of the ways in which the communist government in Czechoslovakia used propaganda to isolate people from Western Europe and the United States, but also provides an example of an interesting tradition in Czech literature and film: a focus on the absurd. Macura's essay demonstrates the extent to which even the most inane incidents can be twisted and manipulated to create something different, in this case something menacing.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Ask students to describe what was happening in the United States during the year 1950. Students might discuss politics (Truman was president), society (post-WWII baby boom, urban flight), culture (Frank Sinatra).

Provide students with additional details if necessary (from *The Timetables of American History*, Laurence Urdang, editor, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981):

1. U. S. recognized the new state of Vietnam and sent military advisors to train its armed forces.
2. Truman authorized the use of U. S. forces in Korea, following the invasion of South Korea by North Korea.
3. Popular radio shows included "The Lone Ranger" and "Dragnet."
4. Jackson Pollock, abstract expressionist, painted "Lavender Mist," the first "drip" or "action" painting.
5. Charles Schultz, cartoonist, created the popular "Peanuts" comic strip featuring Charlie Brown.
6. Jack Kerouac, leading author of the "Beat movement," published *The Town and the City*.
7. Congress passed the McCarran Act (Internal Security Act) over President Truman's veto. The legislation required Communists and Communist-front organizations to register with the government.
8. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin charged the State Department had been infiltrated by Communists. He stated: "I have here in my hand a list of two hundred and five [people] that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department."

Remind students that this marked the beginning of the period known as "The Cold War," a time of increasing tensions between the United States (representative of the noncommunist countries) and the Soviet Union (representative of the communist countries). While war was never officially declared between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., a series of events—beginning with the Soviet-style communist domination of Central and Eastern Europe after WWII and the intervention of American troops in Korea—defined the world into what Stalin called "Two Camps"—often referred to in the United States as the "Free World" and the "Communist Bloc."

Until the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the Soviet Union, it was difficult to ascertain details about the impact of this period on the daily lives of people in that region.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute copies of the student handout, **The American Bug: A Study in the Cold War** by Vladimir Macura. Explain to students that this was written by a Czech scholar about events in the former Czechoslovakia in 1950. As they read, students should be comparing the life and events described by Macura with what they know about the United States in 1950. Point out to students that the "Editor's Notes" at the bottom of each page may help them understand unfamiliar words or references. (Students may find some of the Czech words and names difficult to pronounce. However, Czech references have not been changed because of their historical significance. Remind students that it is not essential that they know how to pronounce the name or word in order to understand its use in context.)

After students finish the reading, they should complete the questions at the end. Students should be prepared to share their responses in small groups.

Concluding the Lesson

Break students into groups of three or five. Have students discuss their answers to the questions at the end of the reading. Based on their individual responses to the last question, each group should construct a definition of propaganda.

Ask each group to share their definitions and examples of propaganda. Compare students' definitions with the following: 1) "the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person" or 2) "ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause" (from *Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary*). Point out to students that the most effective propaganda often plays on people's emotions and insecurities.

As a class, brainstorm other examples of situations in which propaganda was used as part of government policy. (Examples might include the policies of the Nazi Party during the 1930s and 40s to justify the persecution of Jewish people, the American government's portrayal of Germans and Japanese during WWII, American anti-communist propaganda in the 1950s—"Better Dead than Red."

Read Hitler's statement (at the beginning of the lesson) about propaganda to students. What does this quote tell us about the ways in which people are manipulated? How would more effective education alter the effectiveness of propaganda?

Extending the Lesson

As a homework assignment, have students select a newspaper article or story from the evening news. Using this as a basis, students should manipulate the information presented and create a piece of propaganda. Students' products should clearly reflect the definitions of propaganda discussed in class. Products could be in the form of a political cartoon, children's story, etc.

To develop their research skills, students could search for additional information on the use of propaganda in various Central and Eastern European countries as they developed their own versions of a "socialist world."

Each class could contribute to a "Propaganda Wall" on which examples of literature, posters, fliers, etc. from periods of history could be displayed. In this way, students would be able to develop generalizations about the use of propaganda in various cultures and time periods.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The American Bug..."

1. Macura talks about the "semiosphere" as the Communist Party's effort to create a "New World" which would have special meaning to those living within it. The case of the potato bug demonstrates the Party's attempt to create a semiosphere by the way in which they use (and manipulate) language and things (the bug itself) to create a sense of unity against an enemy.
2. The Communists probably compared the socialist state to a garden or paradise to promote connections with the Garden of Eden. (While the Party was strongly anti-religious, they often used religious references in an effort to create the same type of faith and loyalty that many people feel towards their religion.) The potato bug, as a destroyer of the garden, is easily turned into something evil and destructive which represents the capitalist United States.
3. There is no real relationship between the Korean War and the potato bug except in the timing of both. The Communist Party in Czechoslovakia used the potato bug infestation as a way of uniting the people and making them believe they, like the Koreans, were "under attack" from the United States. The various ways in which the potato bug was described made it sound as if this was, in fact, a military attack.
4. The children's books and magazines demonstrate the ways in which children were socialized. These include references to youth organizations that children could (and were expected to) join. In addition, the children's literature makes children sound like good little soldiers if they helped fight against the potato bug and the "imperialist West."
5. Students' answers will vary but should reflect some understanding of the ways in which propaganda influenced the thinking of the average young person in Czechoslovakia. Students might hypothesize that Americans were portrayed as greedy, wasteful, and sneaky. All of these perceptions were promoted by the government through literature, television, radio and other forms of communication and art—all of which were strictly censored.
6. Students' answers will vary but should include the idea that the purpose of propaganda is to manipulate people's thinking through the use of symbols (words, art, music).

Student Handout

The American Bug: A Study in the Cold War

by Vladimír Macura
(Institute for Czech Literature, Prague)

The obscure North American beetle, which infested Central European potato fields in 1950, unwittingly played a role in shaping a "socialist world" in Czechoslovakia.

Background Information[1]

The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the countries under its control required an original way of thinking, an all-encompassing "semiosphere," which is the idea of creating an atmosphere filled with symbols that have meaning to those living within the environment. An important part of this self-representation was the promotion of a universally happy and peaceful "New World," which had replaced the old one marked by exploitation and militarism. This New World borrowed heavily from religious (especially Christian) concepts, invoking images of paradise symbolized by the "garden" or "orchard."

If socialism was represented by the "garden," then it followed that the rest of the world represented the natural enemies of gardening and fruit growing, or horticulture. In the 1950s, a relatively small and exotic bug, not native to Europe, became this enemy. Even the name of this bug—*mandelinka*—was symbolic. This Czech word for "leaf bug" was previously used as a very positive reference. In fact, in a famous Czech poem, *mandelinka* was linked with the Russian Revolution and Stalin himself, with Stalin being portrayed as a revolutionary hero. The change in the ways the word was used is an example of how the creation of the New World altered the language and meaning of words.

The Battle against the Imperialist Bug

The drive against the potato bug was launched in Czechoslovakia with an official proclamation by the government to the citizens published in all dailies [newspapers]. The proclamation commenced with a dramatic contrast:

"Our working peasants, together with the whole nation, filled with joyful hope and the care of a prudent husbandman [farmer], survey daily the ripening of grain and the quality of root-crops and prepare together for the heartfelt and efficient participation of all the people in the second harvest of the Five-Year Plan.[2] But in this very moment of joyful preparation for the commencement of the harvest, resulting from the year-round creative work of our small and middle peasants, alarming reports concerning a serious menace to this year's crop of potatoes by the Colorado beetle are coming from the southern and western parts of our republic. This pest, dangerous to potato cultivation, appeared in some of our regions already in past years. However, the dangerous pest was localized and finally liquidated by the coordinated effort of peasants, youth, citizens and the national committees in the afflicted municipalities, with the substantial aid of rich Soviet experience in the fight against the Colorado potato bug and with the willing, brotherly and direct participation of Soviet experts, lasting for several years. A year ago the menace of the Colorado bug was completely eradicated.

This year all the western and southwestern parts of the republic that border upon the occupied zones of West Germany were attacked by the Colorado bug en masse and simultaneously. The Colorado potato bug is expanding from here to other regions of the state. In western Czechoslovakia, the potato bug appeared not only on fields, but on squares, on streets and in the backyards of houses in towns, and in several districts the bug appeared mainly in the vicinity of streets and highways. Boxes and jars filled with potato bugs were found as well. All this provides irrefutable proof that the current menace of the potato bug did not and could not have arisen in the natural and usual way, that the dangerous pest was transported to us by western imperialists and their terrorist agents artificially, intentionally and en masse, with the aid of clouds and wind."

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[1] Editor's Note: This section was revised from the original text.

[2] Editor's Note: Refers to the Communist strategy of a planned economy in which every 5 years a central committee set quotas and goals for industry and agriculture.

This "fact" was characterized in the proclamation as an "unprecedented attack on the existence of our peasants and all our peace-loving people." The government expressed its conviction that "our working people would reject with disgust and aversion this criminal attempt to destroy the crop and would pillory it before all of the cultured world." It urged the people to "foil this deed completely and respond to it with a grand and total fight against the potato bug, transported here in a criminal manner by imperialists and warmongers, and their monstrous agents."

In no time, the potato bug became the impetus for an exchange of diplomatic notes. On July 2, a Soviet note accusing the USA of diversionary tactics against the fields of the German Democratic Republic was passed on to the American cabinet. A week later a formal complaint by the Czechoslovak government reached the United States embassy in Prague.

The timing of the campaign was carefully orchestrated. The proclamation of the Czechoslovak government against the potato bug was published in newspapers only two days after reports of the outbreak of the Korean War, when (in the obligatory interpretation of the times) "the pro-American puppet government of South Korea waged war against the Korean People's Republic."[1]

The case of the potato bug was consistently associated with the Korean War, with the two topics often paired: "While the aerial murderers of the American Air Force drop bombs on the residential sections of Korean towns, Europe has not been spared the "peace-loving deed" of the American imperialists..." (J. Kubka). The press reported the outrage of cooperative farmers: "The members of the collective farm in Jedomělice, district of Slany, protest the aggression against the People's Republic of Korea. We declared war on the potato bug, brought in by warmongers and provocateurs [one who creates or provokes trouble]....The proof of this was the criminal aggression against the People's Republic of Korea and terrorist dissemination of potato bugs in the regions bordering the American occupation zone in Germany" (A. Kac - J. Foltýn). The satirical weekly [newspaper] *Dikobraz* [The Porcupine] published an anecdotal dialogue between two American pilots: "Where to, Sam? With bombs to Korea?" "No! With potato bugs to Europe."[2]

The close connection between the two events was demonstrated by the prevailing tendency to infuse texts on the Colorado bug with military terminology. Already the proclamation of the government, cited above, which opened the propaganda drive, resembled the announcement of an unexpected military assault from abroad. The text contrasted idyllic pictures of joyful and peaceful labor with dark depictions of danger; it stressed in particular the advent of the menace from across the western border and mobilized the "people" to resist it vigorously. This stylization influenced the official choice of lexical [relating to the meaning of words] items— "fight" (boj), or even "total fight" (hromadný boj), "to localize and finally liquidate" (lokalizovat a nakonec likvidovat), "to foil" (zdolat), "attack" and so on.[3]

A comparison view of two superficially different texts proves revealing in this respect. Zikmund Skyba's article *Ganysteři v letadlech* (Gangsters in Airplanes) exemplifies the governmental "appeal to defense" genre: "Alarming voices rang out amidst the joyful preparations for the peace harvest... Citizens of the republic, be on guard! Your motherland, the most beautiful in your eyes, was attacked by the potato bug...." Assuming the role of a war correspondent, the author announced that "the counter-attack against the insect pests was launched on as broad a front as possible and with the mobilization of all effective means. We are in a war which we must win."

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[1] Editor's Note: During the closing days of WWII, Soviet and American troops drove the Japanese from Korea. After the war ended, a line was drawn across the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel—separating the American occupied south from the Soviet occupied north. Although this was initially considered a temporary arrangement, in 1948 North and South Korea established separate governments, each claiming the authority to govern the entire country. The North Korean government called itself the "People's Republic of Korea" and was supported by the Soviet Union. The South Korean government, the "Republic of Korea," was led by President Syngman Rhee who had been elected in a U.N. sponsored election. The United States and Soviet Union withdrew troops but left behind two Korean armies each had helped to train. On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army launched a full-scale invasion of South Korea. In an emergency session, the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution for an immediate cease-fire. The Soviet delegate was not present for the vote and probably would have vetoed the action. On June 27, 1950, President Truman pledged U.S. aid to South Korea—including committing U.S. troops to defend South Korea. The events in Korea led to further tensions between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

[2] Editor's Note: There is no evidence that this was, in fact, any type of "attack" by the Americans or that any such "mission" to spread the insects to Czechoslovakia ever occurred.

[3] Editor's Note: The specific words are less important here than noting the way in which words typically associated with military actions and/or war are used to describe the potato bug infestation.

The other text, a children's story, appeared, like Skyba's article, in *Lidové noviny* (The Popular Newspaper), but this time in its regular column dedicated to Young Pioneers.[1] The reader would expect this type of literature to yield an account of a substantially different tenor from the news report, but that proved not to be the case.

The short story in question, by Jiří Hodek, bore the characteristic title, "Forward Against the Enemy!" The gist of the story was simple: a small boy, Václav, found a potato bug and reported on it to the chairman of the local governmental body, the National Committee. The chairman decided—again, characteristically: "We have to mobilize all children between the ages of eight and fourteen, as well as their teachers." The style persists throughout the text. In spite of its literary form, the text does not abandon the pose of a war report: "A moment later, the company rose to an inexorable fight… Before evening, all the potatoes were saved and the spread of the fearful vermin transported from America was prevented. The enemy was crushed."

The propagandistically motivated analogy between bugs that attack potato fields and the conflict in Korea seemed to involve every inhabitant of the "western outpost" of the Socialist bloc in events occurring in far-off eastern Asia. The fight against the Colorado beetle became an allegory of the Korean War, its micro-model. The fight against the bug enabled citizens to demonstrate their love of the "country" and of socialism. And conversely, any lack of interest in the appearance of the bug, unwillingness to annihilate it, refusal to report its discovery to the authorities was interpreted as a high treason and severely punished.

The American origin of the potato bug made it an apt symbol of the West, above all of "American imperialism" as the leading force of the capitalist world: "Our plates will be out of danger when we annihilate the last Colorado bug. The world will breathe a sigh of relief when the last warmongers are liquidated [completely destroyed], too." (O. Sekora)

In light of the socialist inclination to mythologize, the qualities of the beetle seemed to express central features imputed to "imperialism," the final and definitive state of capitalism.[2] "The Wall Street parasites called the insect parasites to their aid," *Rudé právo* (The Red Truth—a newspaper) wrote on June, 30, 1950. A similar idea was expressed in verse form by the satirist Karel Bradác ("The Parasite Insect has Insect Allies") or [in this poem by] Václav Lacina:

> The crisis is darkening above the Capitol,
> Where Mr. Dollar plans the next invasions.
> He is searching for somebody to fight
> for him,
> Since he is afraid to fight alone.
> His sword would splinter on our iron
> shield.
> But he's no stranger to the meanest weapon.
> Himself pestilence, he wants to annihilate
> us with pest,
> Himself insect, he recruits against us
> his fellow insects.

An important attribute which, in the rhetoric of socialist mythology, connected the potato bug with "American imperialism" was its "voracity" ("It resembles imperialism in its voracity." "Not a grain (sic!), not a single potato, shall we allow to be destroyed by this voracious bug which is so similar to those who scattered it among us.")[3] However, other attributes, especially visual attributes, of the bug could be fruitfully exploited and proved extremely popular in the political cartoons of the fifties. The longitudinal stripes on the bug's wings suggested the American flag, as depicted in a drawing by Antonin Pelo, showing the fist of the working class smashing a swarm of potato bugs. A few of the vermin, with human faces and such telling accessories as a top hat, a walking hat of a clearly western type, and a general's cap, flee in terror; the wings of one, an obvious caricature of U.S. President Harry S. Truman, are transformed into the shape of the American flag. [Cartoon at the end of reading.]

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[1] Editor's Note: The Young Pioneers were youth groups common to virtually all communist bloc countries. The groups sponsored a variety of activities for members and provided another means by which children were to be socialized under the communist rule.

[2] Editor's Note: According to Marx's theory of communism, a capitalist society goes through a series of stages which end with the workers, "proletarians," rising up against the middle class managers, "bourgeoisie." Marx claimed that the final stage before the complete collapse of a capitalist society is a period of imperialism.

[3] Editor's Note: The term "voracious" means ravenous, having a huge appetite, insatiable. Capitalist societies were often portrayed as greedy, uncaring, and promoting enormous class differences.

In the popular subconscious, the potato bug came to symbolize not only (American) imperialists, but also a tool of imperialism. It could mean either the "vile seeds of imperialists," a twisted interpretation of the post-war UNRRA parcels,[1] or, on a more metaphorical level, the submissive helpers of the imperialists: "The Americans are not ashamed to associate with traitors, murders, Nazi cut-throats and collaborators. The potato bug is a new American ally."- "Oh, if they had succeeded in destroying our whole potato yield! They would triumph: 'We have fulfilled the task the gentlemen from the West gave to us.'" (0. Sekora)

The Colorado potato bugs also served as a convenient allegory for the "inner enemies" of socialism, notably Tito in Yugoslavia, and those men and women sentenced to death or imprisoned under communism in the Eastern Europe.[2] The daily *Rudé právo* wrote in this vein: "Bringing the potato bug into our fields is no more than another link in a chain of provocations by American imperialists, the chain leading from the installation of agents of the type of Tito, Rajk or Kostov[3] in the people's democracies to the support of spies and traitors in Czechoslovakia...."

The poet Josef Kainar in his evocatively-titled poem *Políčko* (The Field), a literary affirmation of the show-trial verdict against Communist party leader Rudolf Slánský and his "associates,"[4] condemned the alleged traitors with a telling metaphor. Its connotations are for the present-day reader opaque [unclear or not obvious], but a reader in the fifties would have perceived a clear allusion to the phantasmic [a product of fantasy or a figment of imagination] image of the potato bug: "only treachery flies on the west winds." This motif was a conventional element in the repertoire of the mythology of the "American bug," this "hexapodal [six-legged] ambassador of Wall-Street," unleashed by aircraft into the "storm clouds and winds blowing from the west to the east."

The potato bug episode epitomizes the Cold War construction of a polarized world,[5] marked by irreconcilable opposites. We—on the one side, they—on the other side; here, the east and there, the west; on the one hand, the Kremlin, on the other, Wall Street. A socialist paradise against a capitalist hell, good versus evil, war against peace. The world of socialism was presented as a garden in bloom, the world of capitalism as a nest of vermin.

The calamitous [something that creates misery because of loss or misfortune] potato bug infestation in Czechoslovakia was interpreted according to this scheme and served to concretize it. The potato bug was portrayed as a foreign, inimical [enemy-like] element. The intruder was usually called the "American bug," not only to emphasize its American origin, but to render it a stand-in for the "world of evil" situated

[1] Editor's Note: Refers to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which was formed at the end of WWII. The agency supplied food, clothing, shelter and medical care to people in war-damaged nations. A large part of the funds for this agency came from the U.S. government—making it a target for Soviet accusations of American imperialist intentions.

[2] Editor's Note: In 1948, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union broke formal relations. During the next five years, there would be a series of trials, accusations and party purges in Central and Eastern European countries as the communist parties attempted to strengthen their hold on the people. As the leader of Yugoslavia, Tito was seen as an outcast and dangerous rebel against the Soviet Union and the communist regimes it supported. Many "insiders" within the various communist parties were accused of being "Titoists"—often leading to their imprisonment or execution.

[3] Editor's Note: Rajk was foreign minister under the Hungarian communist government until 1949, when he was accused of being a "Titoist spy." He admitted to charges—probably after torture or with the promise that he would be freed—and was executed. Kostov was a deputy minister and chairman of the communist party financial committee in Bulgaria. He was arrested in 1949 and charged with conspiring against the communist government. During his trial, he retracted an earlier confession and refused to admit his guilt. The public broadcast of the trial went silent and the simultaneous translations provided to foreign journalists developed technical difficulties. To save further embarrassment, the court decided to proceed without Kostov who, on the basis of his previous, written confession, was sentenced to death and executed immediately. (R.J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, New York: Routledge Press, 1994)

[4] Editor's Note: Refers to the trial of Rudolf Slánský, General Secretary of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party, and 13 associates who were convicted on charges of conspiracy against the government and executed in 1952. Later investigations of the trial reveal that they were falsely accused and testimonies were manipulated through intimidation and torture.

[5] Editor's Note: A world in which there are two clearly defined sides. In this case, Macura means the United States and the Soviet Union.

beyond the Czechoslovak western border. The potato bug allowed for an interpretation of this world as a world of insects. Often personified (especially in cartoons and political posters) with features traditionally attributed to capitalism, it permitted a caricature of the West as a grotesque realm of worthless vermin. Of course, this symbolic realm, which was abhorrent and possibly dangerous, was, at the same time, doomed to extinction from the very beginning.[1]

> Let them be cockroaches, let them be
> beetles,
> they cannot escape annihilation.
> In the end they will find themselves in...
> Sorry, I wanted to say: in trouble.
> —K. Bradáč

New elements were introduced into the otherwise militarized repertoire of texts on the potato leaf, notably those linking the matter to new forms of socialist festivity. The basic features of the socialist festival crystallized on the backdrop of meetings, marches, and other ceremonies, connected with the pathos of collective construction.[2] The fight against the potato bug was often stylized as a celebration, as we see clearly in several cases in the visual arts. Ondrej Sekora, a popular author of cartoons and children's books, on the back cover of a pamphlet against the Colorado potato bug, depicted children marching, jars in hand, to collect bugs under a banner bearing the inscription FORWARD TO FIGHT THE POTATO BUG.

The same motif of a parade was used by Lev Haas on his cartoon subtitled THE WHOLE NATION TO FIGHT THE AMERICAN BUG. On the right side of his drawing, Haas depicted a procession moving half in a battle march, half in a parade formation. In the foreground was a truck resembling a float, decorated with the slogan above.

The potato bug was—at least for a part of the year 1950—incorporated into the obligatory ritual of the time: its collecting and liquidation was interpreted as a honorable task ("For all the Pioneers in the village we have only one rule: catch it, liquidate it, it is the potato bug"— J. Skácel). It became the impetus for new commitments at work (a certain F. Svoboda from Bretnov in Northern Moravia pledged in response to the "American-bug" calamity to overfulfill the norm for his potato crop by 130 per cent) and over-ritualized proclamations (a girl in J. Červený's poem "A Letter to Comrade Gottwald" reports to the President of the Republic on her successful participation in anti-bug activities).

The unwelcome visit of the "American bug" on Czech potato fields served as a welcome argument in the sphere of ideology. It helped to confirm the irreconcilable distortion of the world into a world of honest socialist labour which results in rich yields, and a mad world where all values are topsy-turvy and where "Yankees breed potato-bugs to destroy the crops" (J. Kubka).

The irreparable division of the world, in fact, deepened after the potato-bug scandal. On one side of the world the American flying machines were dropping bombs on Korea and performing "the evil sowing" of pests on Czechoslovak fields. On the other side of the world the Soviet aircrafts of peace helped with chemical treatment of the collective farmland. From the very beginning (noting again the initial proclamation of the government) the campaign was accompanied by euphoric panegyrics [enthusiastic or extravagant praise] to the Soviet fraternal [brotherly] aid. This could be documented by fantastic reports of attempts by Soviet scientists to cultivate a sort of potato, the leaves of which could repel the "American bug," or of the unselfish help of the Soviet specialists, as well as by dozens of articles and essays about the successful and effective engagement of the Soviet airmen over the affected fields. In this system of propaganda, the Soviet pilots could be viewed as the positive counterpart of the "criminal" American airmen: "the real fighters for peace," "heroes of love and help."

Where the role of the Russian pilots arose, the theme of the Soviet victory in the World War II was never far behind. The link between the participation of the airmen in the anti-bug campaign and those in the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May 1945 became a favorite motif. This fact was very important as the "American bug" was very often demonized in connection with Nazism—it was characterized as "a secret weapon" of imperialism; the markings on its shell resembled the letter *V* (German letter Fau), suggesting an ominous association with Hitler's type "V" missiles. The description of "American imperialism" as a new sort of fascism was a nearly compulsory element in the rhetoric of the Soviet bloc of the fifties ("the American *gauleiter* Eisenhower,"[1] "the American Gestapo" [referring to the Nazi secret police]). The Czechoslovak friendship with the Soviet Union, the winner of World War II, held out the promise of all possible future victories.[2] The military campaign against the Colorado potato bug represented, on the semiotic [using symbols to represent or create reality] level, their optimistic simulation.[3]

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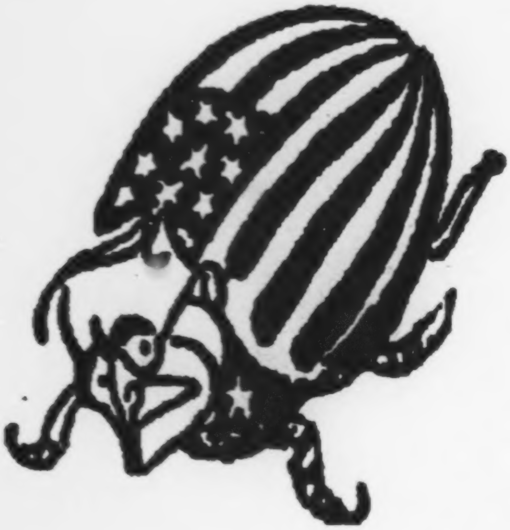
[1] Editor's Note: The communist governments continually perpetuated the idea that the Western, capitalist societies were destined to fail.

[2] Editor's Note: Socialist states promoted numerous meetings, memberships in various associations, and numerous official festivals, marches and ceremonies. These occasions were presented as opportunities to build the socialist community but also provided the communist party with a means for increased involvement in people's daily lives. While participation was "voluntary," most people were aware that their participation—or lack of it—would be carefully noted by party officials.



Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What does Macura (the writer) mean by the term "semiosphere"? In what ways does the case of the potato bug demonstrate the Czechoslovakian Communist Party's attempt to create this semiosphere?
2. Macura explains the ways in which communist parties compared the socialist state to a garden or paradise. Why might they have promoted this particular analogy? How does the potato bug fit into this analogy?
3. What is the relationship between the potato bug and the Korean War? In what ways did the potato bug infestation promote the Cold War? What role did language play in this comparison?
4. Most communist parties attempted to socialize children to become "good" socialist citizens. What examples of this do you see in this reading?
5. Based on what you already knew and what you learned from this reading, how do you think a student in Czechoslovakia during 1950 would have described life in the United States? How would a U.S. student in the 1950s have described life in Czechoslovakia? How might these perceptions have been shaped by their governments during the Cold War?
6. This is a case study about the ways in which the government in Czechoslovakia used propaganda to generate mistrust and division with the West, particularly the United States. In your own words, how would you define the term *propaganda*?

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[1] Editor's Note: "Gauleiter" refers to a high official of the Nazi party who served as governor of a district in Germany or other parts of Europe under German control. The Gauleiter was Hitler's chief deputy in a district.

[2] Editor's Note: The Soviet Union and its supporters in Central and Eastern Europe portrayed the Allied victory in WWII as primarily an accomplishment of the U.S.S.R. In many cases, history books simply failed to mention the involvement of troops other than those of the Soviet Union in defeating the Germans.

[3] Editor's Note: In a symbolic sense, the Czechoslovak Communist Party used the potato bug infestation as an opportunity to demonstrate how, as was allegedly the case during WWII, the Soviet Union had rescued Czechoslovakia.

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED: HUNGARY, 1956

It is not always by going from bad to worse that a nation is driven to revolution. It often happens that a nation which has suffered without complaint, almost as if it were insensible to the most oppressive of laws, will suddenly reject them with violence at the first sign of alleviation. A regime which a revolution has destroyed is often much better than the one which preceded it, and experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself....

—*Alexis De Tocqueville*

I call revolution the conversion of all hearts and the raising of all hands in behalf of the honor of man.

—*Karl Marx*

If ten or so Hungarian writers had been shot at the right moment, the revolution would never have occurred.

—*Nikita Khrushchev*

Summary of the Lesson

Students will be introduced to the human face of the **Hungarian Revolution of 1956,** a defining moment in Hungarian history, through a "reader's theater." This primary source material will set the stage for readings and discussion about important social, political and economic issues of Hungary's communist era. These events, according to many Hungarian scholars, were the result of a government that disregarded the importance of obtaining the **consent of the governed** when establishing laws. Students will engage in critical thinking about these and other related issues, culminating in a letter they write to a student **dissident** to whom they were introduced at the beginning of the lesson.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explore primary source material of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956,
- use critical thinking to draw inferences about the dynamics of the Hungarian Revolution,
- understand the facts related to the introduction and eradication of communism in Hungary,
- demonstrate comprehension of the concept of "consent of the governed,"
- apply "consent of the governed" to Hungarian communism, Hungarian democracy and American democracy to better understand and compare all three systems of government.

Background Materials for the Teacher

This lesson is not intended to cover all aspects of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; however, the reader's theater that opens the lesson, will undoubtedly lead to questions about the event. Please refer to the background material attached, entitled **The Hungarian Revolution,** for more specific information about the period. The Hungarian Revolution was but one event in the Cold War of the 1950s which hardened both sides to their respective positions. The revolution, however, is often seen by the Hungarian people as a betrayal by the United Nations. Many Hungarians hoped that their efforts for revolution would be supported by the Western powers.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Choose five students (or ask them to volunteer) to participate in the reader's theater. They will read the parts of *Laszlo Beke*, a student who lived through the events of October and November, 1956, before fleeing Hungary and later publishing a diary written under an assumed name to protect his family who was still in Hungary; *Peter Fryer*, author who wrote on the revolution from his own experiences and that of eye-witnesses; *Alistair Cooke* and *Noel Barber*, British newspaper reporters who covered the action; and the "voice" of the *teletype reporter* in Budapest who tried to wire the latest events to the Associated Press. (Note to students that the pronunciation of the Hungarian president's name (Nagy) is "NAHjz"—rhymes with "corsage.")

The "actors" should sit in front of the room with "scripts" in hand. They should be given time to read over the material and "get into character" through voice, manner, and tone. They should read in turn, identifying themselves at the end of their piece and the date on which it was written. Ideally, the students should be seated on stools with their backs to the "audience" or class, turning around only when their part is to be read, and turning back as they finish. In this way, they are "off stage" as someone else is on.

After the readings, discuss what students have learned about the revolution: How did it start? What was the fighting like? What seemed to be the issues on each side? Who seemed to be involved? What was the United Nations' involvement? Did help ever arrive from the United States? What do they think happened in the end?

Have a student read a brief summary of the 1956 Revolution, such as the background material **The Hungarian Revolution.**

Provide students with additional background on the often brutal consequences of one-party rule in Hungary in the early 1950s. Human rights abuses which gave impetus to the uprising include subjecting hundreds of thousands of Hungarians to torture, imprisonment, or murder.

Developing the Lesson

Ask students how they think the 1956 Revolution might have influenced Hungary in the years that followed. What impact could this have had on more recent revolutionary events in the late 1980s or 90s in Central and Eastern Europe? What type of government do they think Hungarians envisioned for themselves? Do they think that Hungarians might have modeled a government based on the example of the United States?

What do students think "consent of the governed" means? Is this a fundamental concept of democracy? Can one have democracy without this? How does "consent of the governed" work in the United States? By exploring this topic in more detail, students can gain a comparative perspective that will enhance their understanding of both communist and democratic governments.

Distribute the student handout **Democracy Re-Established—The Case of Hungary, 1989-90** for students to read. Answer questions they might have following the readings. What happened after the 1956 Revolution? Did the actual events following the 1956 Revolution match their predictions? If not, why not?

Have students answer the questions that follow the readings for reinforcement or for analysis.

Concluding the Lesson

Have students write a letter to Laszlo Beke, telling him their impression of the present-day Hungary and "consent of the governed." Do they think that he and the other freedom fighters would feel that democracy and freedom had at last come to Hungary? *Note*: Laszlo had been a young Hungarian art student who was one of the organizers of the Budapest protest meetings that triggered the Hungarian revolution. Born in 1932, he was only 24 years old at the time and was a leader of the freedom fighters who, sometimes with guns, and sometimes with only fists, battled Soviet tanks, the secret police, and soldiers. Only near the end when it was clear that the Russians were encircling the city, did he and his pregnant wife escape to the West. He rewrote his notes as a diary after he reached Canada, but he published the diary under an assumed name because his parents and friends were still in Hungary.

Extending the Lesson

Have students discuss, write, or debate the following point:

> *"Learning about different countries and different cultures (or political models) is an effective way to better appreciate your own system while understanding that there is probably no one perfect model."*

Students might build on the concept of "consent of the governed" by applying it to periods of U.S. history (women's suffrage, Jim Crow laws). In small groups, have students develop a reader's theater which demonstrates their understanding of the concept in another context.

There are a number of Hungarian movies and documentaries that explore different aspects of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Some of these were banned for several years and others were made after the re-establishment of democracy in 1990. Many of these films are available in the U.S., with English subtitles. Students could view one or more of these movies and analyze these perspectives, through class discussion and/or writing. *For more information about these and other resources, contact the Hungarian Embassy in Washington DC, the Civitas Association Main Office in Budapest, Hungary, or refer to the annotated bibliography in the appendix of this book provided by the Russian and East European Institute at Indiana University.*

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Democracy Re-Established"

1. See the first paragraph of the handout, under "Consent of the Governed."
2. Reasons cited within the article include but are not limited to: low production; increasing prices and inflation; discouragement of initiatives; the need for foreign loans which produce huge debts; forbidding local freedom to re-invest, plan and expand; and lack of emphasis on quality.
3. There was an emphasis on giving the appearance of lessened control. People were allowed limited freedoms, especially in their private lives. However, these concessions were still within the dictatorial context of the Soviet bloc.
4. Reasons cited within the article include but are not limited to: Hungary's inability to continue to finance and manage its economy; that the Soviet union was on the defensive itself and could not help the communist leadership in its satellite states; strong anti-Soviet U.S. policies in the 1980s which contributed to the overall demand of democracy among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and then to the collapse of the communist states; political opposition which was gaining more and more influence; huge public demonstrations backing the opposition forces.
5. The main reason cited is the Soviet Union's internal weakness.
6. Although the difference between these two terms may seem minor to many Americans, it is likely tremendous for those who have experienced life under a communist regime. The term "people's republic" is a characteristic name for, and is used by, communist dictatorial states. (Think of the example of the "People's Republic of China"—an example to which many American students will probably be able to relate.) The difference is thus significant.

Background Material

The Hungarian Revolution, 1956

An excerpt from *Revolution in Eastern Europe* by Peter Cipkowski © 1991, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, pp. 43–44. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Many Eastern Europeans thought Stalin's death in 1953 would signal immediate change. The new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, denounced the brutality of the Stalin regime. He even suggested that "different roads to socialism" were possible. Disappointment mounted in Hungary, however, as repression by Soviet leaders continued even after Stalin's death. Of the ten million people who lived in Hungary in early 1954, more than 640,000 were imprisoned. Hungarians demanded that the Party relax its controls and "open doors to the West." Since the occupation of Hungary by Stalin's troops in World War II, the borders had been tightly sealed. People could not even visit former Hungarian villages that had been absorbed by neighboring Romania or Czechoslovakia. Families were separated.

In October 1956, only a few days after news of Poland's uprising reached Hungary, huge demonstrations of sympathy for the Poles occurred in Budapest. Someone suggested marching on to Parliament. By the time the demonstrators reached that grand building along the Danube River, they numbered hundreds of thousands. According to one spectator, "Calls went out for Imre Nagy, the most reform-minded Communist leader. Part of the crowd toppled the huge statue of Stalin. After the secret police fired on the crowd, soldiers joined the demonstrators and distributed arms."

Desperate to prevent more unrest, the Communist party named Nagy prime minister. Pushed by enthusiastic crowds, the new leader promised to disband the secret police. He undertook a brave but dangerous policy of changing Hungary's relationship with the Soviet Union. "From the youngest child to the oldest man," Nagy said, "no one wants communism. We have had enough of it forever." Nagy called for the removal of Soviet troops and the ultimate neutralization of Hungary. He even went so far as to call for the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact.

These policies were completely unacceptable to the Soviet Union. In early November, an infuriated Khrushchev dispatched two hundred thousand troops to Hungary backed with massive units of tanks and artillery. Hungarian suicide squads hurled Molotov cocktails, paving stones, even sticks at the invaders. Sniper fire rained down from the top floors of the buildings in the city center. Soviet tanks responded by destroying entire buildings. Soldiers used automatic gunfire to cut down the patriots.

In a matter of weeks, the insurrection of 1956 was over. More than twenty thousand people had been killed. Some two hundred thousand people had either escaped to the West or were soon pushed out of their homeland by the Soviets. Before their withdrawal, the Soviets set up a "puppet" government, controlled by the Soviets and headed by the hard-line Communist János Kádár.

Student Handout

A Reader's Theater

This reader's theater is constructed with excerpts from *A Student's Diary: Budapest, October 16–November 1, 1956* by Laszlo Beke, (New York: Viking Press, 1957); and *The Hungarian Revolution* by Melvin J. Lasky (ed.), (New York: Praeger, Inc., 1957).

from "A Student's Diary..."

Before the revolt, students in Hungary were tied down in a political, cultural, and economic strait jacket. Any so-called "cosmopolitan behavior"—wearing clothes patterned after Western styles, showing interest in jazz, expressing liberalism in the arts—was considered dangerous in the eyes of the people's democracy. To cite a small example, let us take the case of my university colleague, John. He showed up at lectures one day several weeks before the revolution in a new suit and a striped shirt and necktie, all of which he had received from an uncle in the United States through gift-parcel channels. His shoes were smooth suede and would have cost one month's wages in Hungary. After classes, John was summoned by the party officer. He received a tongue-lashing and was expelled.

Laszlo Beke (pseud.),
Hungary, early October, 1956

The Beginning

It began with a students' demonstration, partly to show the students' sympathy for the people of Poland who that weekend...had rebuffed an attempt by an unprecedented delegation of Soviet leaders to get tough with them. This sturdy assertion of independence captured the imagination of the Hungarians, and the student orators who addressed the demonstration.... The crowds which had gathered outside the radio station to ask that the students' demands be broadcast were fired on.... This was, without question, the spark that turned peaceful demonstrations...into a revolution.

Peter Fryer, 1956
Hungarian Tragedy

from "A Student's Diary..."

After the tanks had moved into the square, we sealed off three approaches to the area by overturning cars and streetcars. We were in time to help them seal off the fourth and final approach to the square. Then the Soviet tank corps discovered what the student force of 150 strong was doing. They let loose a volley of shells at the fourth barricade, and managed to kill many of the student fighters.

Young boys then dashed into the street with buckets of soapy water and grease. They covered the streets behind the tanks with a slippery coating of soap, and ducked as the tanks turned around. Tank-chains slipped on the soapy pavement, and the tanks coming along behind piled up against the ones ahead of them as they too turned and tried to get at the soap-and-water brigade. Their treads became useless, and the young boys dispatched several of the tanks with Molotov cocktails.... Three of the tanks were in flames, while two others were being attacked by the gasoline throwers.

Laszlo Beke (pseud.),
25 October 1956

"A City of Mourning"

(Dateline Budapest)

Tonight Budapest is a city of mourning. Black flags hang from every window. For during the past four days, thousands of its citizens fighting to throw off the yoke of Russia have been killed or wounded. Budapest is a city that is slowly dying. Its streets and once-beautiful squares are a shamble of broken glass, burnt-out cars and tanks, and rubble. Food is scarce, and petrol is running out.

But still the battle rages on. For five hours this morning until a misty dawn broke over Budapest, I was in the thick of one of its battles. It was between Soviet troops and insurgents trying to force a passage across the Danube.

Two of the rebels into whose ranks I literally wandered died in the battle, one of them in my arms. Several were wounded. Tonight as I write this dispatch, heavy firing is shaking the city which is now sealed off from the rest of the world.

...Where formerly the trams ran, the insurgents have torn up the rails to use as anti-tank weapons. At least 30 tanks have been smashed so far, many with Molotov cocktails. Their burnt-out skeletons seem everywhere, spread on both sides of the Danube...but still Soviet tanks are rumbling through the city. There are at least 50 still in action...they fire on anything, almost at sight.

Traveling around the city is a nightmare, for no one knows who is friend or foe, and all shoot at everybody.... I owe my life to a young girl insurgent who, speaking a little English, helped me to safety after the Russians had opened fire on my car.

...I made for the Chain Bridge that spans the Danube...as I drove towards it, lights full on...heavy firing started...machine-gun bullets whistled past the car. Then, when some heavier stuff began falling I switched off the lights, jumped out and crawled round to the side.

It was foggy. For ten minutes the firing...went on. Then I heard a whispered voice—a woman's. She spoke first in German, crawled round to where I was crouching, then in halting English told me to get back in my car. She herself, walking, crouched by the car, guided me into a side street.

...I found nine boys...average age about 18. Three wore Hungarian uniforms, but with the hated Red star torn off. Others wore green, and white arm bands, the national colors of Hungary. All had sub-machine guns. Their pockets were filled with ammunition. The girl, whose name I discovered was Paula, had a gun too.

Half-way across the bridge, I could see the dim outlines of two Soviet tanks. For an hour they fired at us. But never a direct hit—a shell smashed straight through the bus. One of the boys was killed instantly. I tried to help a second boy who was hurt, but he died five minutes later.... We crouched under cover and only splinters hit us. The rebels kept up machine-gun fire all the time. Paula was wounded in the arm, but not seriously....

"Now you see what we are fighting against," said Paula.... "We will never give in—never," she said. "Never, until the Russians are out of Hungary...."

Noel Barber,
Daily Mail (London)
27 October 1956

"Sunday Session of the United Nations Security Council"

Not since June, 1950, has the Security Council been called into emergency Sunday session to urge the condemnation of an act of war. But yesterday the United Nations, Britain, France, abandoning their inclination to let the Hungarian rebellion advertise its heroic course a little longer, asked the Council to meet at once to consider "the action of foreign military forces in Hungary in violently repressing the rights of the Hungarian people."

. . .The Soviet Union cannot prevent the mere placing of the Allied protest on the agenda. But it can, and surely will, veto any action, or condemnation that the Council might take.

Alistair Cooke,
Manchester Guardian,
28 October 1956

"Every Street Is a Cemetery"

President Nagy has surrendered to all the demands of Hungary's freedom rebels—and told the Russian troops to quit Budapest immediately.... Nagy's surrender offer, made only a few hours before the United Nations debated Hungary, could bring peace after six days of heavy fighting.

...And the Soviets are advancing towards Budapest in force.... Everywhere people ask me one thing: "When is help coming?"

"Please, anything—even one gun," a girl begged me.

"Can't the British help—we are fighting for the world," said another.

It makes me ill, unable to reply.

What makes the situation so difficult is that if the Russians win the Hungarians are going to feel a thousand times worse the disappointment experienced by the East Germans in their rising in 1953.

Noel Barber,
Daily Mail (London)
29 October 1956

Hungarian News Agency Message to the Associated Press Bureau in Vienna

The Russian troops suddenly attacked Budapest and the whole country. They opened fire on everybody in Hungary. It was a general attack....

The Russian attack was started at 4 AM.... Please tell the world of the treacherous attack against our struggle for liberty....

Our troops are already engaged in fighting.... Help!—Help!—Help!—SOS!—SOS!—SOS!

It can't be allowed that people attack tanks with their bare hands. What is the United Nations doing? Give us a little encouragement.

(9AM) The tanks are coming nearer. Both radio stations are in rebel hands. They have been playing the Hungarian National anthem....

They have just brought us a rumor that the American troops will be here within one or two hours.... We hope the U.N. meeting won't be too late....

(10:50 AM) Just now the heaviest fighting is going on in the Maria Terezia Barracks. There is heavy artillery fire....

(The wire connection was cut...the reporter did not come back.)

Associated Press,
4 November 1956

Student Handout

Democracy Re-Established—the Case of Hungary 1989-1990

by Balázs Hidvéghi

The Consent of the Governed. The basic idea of the "consent of the governed," a fundamental principle of any democratic society, is that citizens are active participants of their political system and government. They are indeed governed, but, at the same time, they also delegate their government and determine who can withdraw its mandate. This basic notion in itself describes a politically democratic system—natural to Americans, however quite a new phenomenon for many Central European people.

The political transition to democracy that took place in Hungary during 1989-1990 dramatically changed the lives of Hungarians. Let us first summarize briefly those very recent events that shook the world and brought a sudden and ultimate end to decades of communist dictatorships.

Communism in Hungary till 1956. Communism in Hungary was introduced in 1948. A minority of Hungarian communists, backed by Soviet military presence and active support, seized power and eliminated political opponents. Shortly afterwards communist policies were forced onto Hungary and its citizens: private property was eliminated and firms, corporations, etc. were nationalized. Farmers were forced to donate their land to the state and form the so-called "cooperatives" where they had to work for a small salary with no ownership. Families of noble and even middle class origin were discriminated against; many of those people were forced to leave their homes and had to live in exile for years in remote areas in the countryside whilst their apartments and houses were confiscated by the state and granted to the politically trustworthy. The political dictatorship affected the lives of everybody; not even personal privacy was left untouched. Dictatorial, communist ideology ruled in the country.

The communist dictatorship can be categorized into two basic periods: the first period of hard-line, total dictatorship from 1948–1956, and following the suppressed revolution of 1956, the second period of "soft" dictatorship from 1957–1989.

Communist Economic Policies. In the economic sphere, central planning took over free enterprise and the market economy. The economy, argued communist theorists, cannot solve society's problems, and a free market results in huge differences in terms of income and subsequently in the standard of living. In other words, it results in rich and poor people. According to the communists, such conditions had to be avoided and thus the economy had to be planned, managed, and controlled. This might even have sounded appealing to advocates of egalitarianism; however, practice proved that communist economic policies result in an overall decline of the economy and cannot survive in the long term.

Hungary went through harsh communist restructuring during the first part of the 1950s. Agriculture was reorganized into cooperatives and production subsequently decreased. Not long after the introduction of communist policies, Hungary—once called "the food court of Central Europe"—needed to import basic food to compensate for an all-time low agricultural production. This resulted in increasing prices and inflation and growing discontent among farmers.

Since it was a political imperative [order] to follow and indeed copy Soviet policies whatever the context and the price, Hungary also started to build and invest in heavy industry. The slogan said Hungary must become "the country of iron and steel." This goal, however, was probably too ambitious given the fact that the country lacked the very natural resources necessary to build a heavy industry.

Strong state intervention in the economy caused a lack of initiative. Companies and management were not interested in producing good results or developing techniques since all profits, if any, were taken away by the state only to be redistributed to those corporations that did not manage to produce profits or even produced deficits. This, along with the fact that all property including companies and corporations belonged to the state, did not allow the economy to grow and resulted in constant economic decline.

Communism After 1956. Following the 1956 Revolution, the communist political leadership got rid of its most prominent pre-1956 politicians in an effort to try and rally some sort of support for the "new" communist leadership. The basic idea behind the new political approach was to let people live their own private lives (so, for instance, people were no longer harassed to participate in afternoon communist seminars) and govern the country in a more careful way. It must be understood that the political system after 1956 was *no less* of a dictatorship but it was *a different kind* of dictatorship.

Communist leaders had to make a compromise in order to avoid future outbreaks of bloody protest such as that of 1956—a result of Stalinist policies in the 1950s. They decided to soften their approach and tried to convey an image to the outside world of a friendly and not-so-bad type of a communist country. This was successfully done, especially from the mid-1960s, and Hungary was gradually perceived as the most democratic country of the non-democratic block. (An often recited nickname of communist Hungary illustrates the controversial nature of this period— "the Merriest Barrack."[1])

While there was some liberalization in the economic and the political life of the country, and life in the 1970s and 1980s was significantly different from that of the 50s and even 60s, the basic characteristics of communism remained untouched: basic political and citizenship rights and freedoms were limited, human rights were violated and the economy was still centrally controlled and dominated by the state.

Democracy Re-established. As a result of this overall inefficiency, the country was forced to take huge foreign loans during the 1970s and 1980s to finance its economy. This resulted in an ever-growing circle of debts with large interests, which forced the country to take new loans in order to pay back the interests of the former loans. The centrally planned economy was more and more difficult to manage, and, meanwhile, the Soviet Union was busy trying to solve its own problems. (Note that Mikhail Gorbachev's painstaking reforms had started in 1985.) By the end of the 1980s it became clear that neither the economy nor the political life of Hungary could be managed by the communist party.

Political opposition gained influence quickly with the communist party no longer able and not really daring to control events. Real political backing was no longer available from the Soviet Union. (Although some 64,000 troops were still stationed in Hungary at the time, they stood by silently as the communist system collapsed within one and a half years.)

People, realizing the historic chance for freedom and seizing the opportunity immediately, took to the streets and demanded comprehensive political and economic reform. Exactly 200 years after the French Revolution, people in Hungary (and soon in the other countries of the Soviet bloc) started what went down in history as the Democratic Revolutions of 1989. The communist party in Hungary was basically driven by these events instead of controlling them. A coalition of democratic groups comprised of newly founded and re-established parties (the Roundtable of Opposition) pressed the communist government for more and more reforms, and through negotiations finally succeeded in achieving virtually all of its goals. Many democratic institutions were re-established and civil society (local initiatives, civic groups, clubs, etc.) started to flourish again after decades of oppression. The communist government was forced to declare Hungary a "republic" (instead of a "people's republic," a term used by communist countries) and they also had to agree to hold free and democratic general elections. The general elections were held in March-April 1990; these elections mark the end of the institutional transition to democracy. The new, democratic government of the republic took office in May 1990 and Hungary has been a democracy ever since.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Explain the basic idea behind the "consent of the governed."
2. Summarize the most important reasons why a communist economy cannot survive in the long term.
3. Why was Hungary often referred to as "the Merriest Barrack" in the 1970s and 1980s?
4. What internal and external reasons led to the collapse of communism in Hungary in 1989-1990?
5. Why do you think the Communists could not defend communism by force in 1989-1990?
6. Why is it important to recognize the difference between a "people's republic" and a "republic"?

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[1] Editor's Note: the "Merriest Barrack" is a reference to Hungary as subject to the least restrictive policies within the realm of the Soviet Union's many "military camps" or satellite countries.

CONFLICTING THEORY, RHETORIC, AND REALITY IN COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM: A CASE FOR THE GRAND JURY

Working men of all countries, unite!

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto, *1848*

Summary of the Lesson

Students learn that while Marx and Engels preached internationalism in their ***Communist Manifesto,*** later communists—especially in the Soviet Union—edged away from this perspective and toward **Soviet domination.** By participating in a role play of a **grand jury hearing,** students will examine documents showing what the founders of **communism,** Russian communists, and Eastern European communists have said about the **theory, rhetoric,** and **reality** of **Marxist internationalism.** Students will analyze these perspectives in the context of the events surrounding the **Prague Spring of 1968,** when radical political reforms in Czechoslovakia resulted in military intervention by the **Warsaw Pact.** Depending on students' prior knowledge, this simulation may require two class sessions to complete.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- analyze reasons for Soviet suppression of the Prague Spring, 1968,
- explain how and why Marxist internationalism gave way to Soviet domination after the 1920s,
- distinguish between ideological statements and actions.

Background Material for the Teacher

See the background material in the handout **The Prague Spring of 1968.**

Also refer to the handout **Indictment by Grand Jury.**

Teachers may wish to divide the lesson into two days. The first day might be used for developing background information, assigning roles, and collecting details. The second day could be dedicated to the actual simulation, including the deliberation process and debriefing.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Show a transparency of the cartoon captioned "Workers of all countries unite—or I'll shoot!" Then ask students if they can:

1. Identify the first part of the quotation (from Marx and Engels).
2. Guess who is represented by the tank driver (the Soviet Union).

Tell with what event this cartoon is connected (the "Prague Spring" uprising against Soviet rule in Czechoslovakia in 1968)

Based on this summary, ask students, "What point is the cartoonist trying to make?" This question (and others which may be generated) should serve as the basis for additional inquiry during the lesson.

Briefly recount the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, emphasizing the suppression of the uprising by troops from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. (See **Background Material** for details.)

Developing the Lesson

Ask the class to recall the following terms (or if students are not familiar with the concepts, explain to them):

- ***grand jury*** = a group of citizens who listen to charges against someone suspected of having committed a crime in order to decide if there is sufficient evidence to bring charges against that person and have the person stand trial.
- ***indictment*** = a charge by a grand jury that someone has committed a particular crime and should go to trial to determine guilt or innocence.

Tell them that the "Grand Jury of History" is about to convene to determine who should be charged with repressing Czechoslovakians in 1968.

Divide the class into the following six groups:

a. Marx and Engels, 1848—***suspects*** (student handout entitled ***The Communist Manifesto)***

b. leaders of the Soviet Union, 1968—***suspects*** (student handout entitled **The Brezhnev Doctrine**)

c. delegates to the Communist International of 1928—***witnesses*** for the Soviet Union (student handout entitled **Excerpt from Program of the Communist...**)

d. Yugoslav communist officials, late 1940s—***witnesses*** for Marx and Engels (Student handout entitled **Soviet Attitudes Toward Yugoslav Culture**)

e. ***public prosecutors*** (divided into two teams)—questioners who build the case to determine whether or not (or whom) to indict:

1) **Team A**—investigating Marx and Engels (they should receive handouts entitled ***The Communist Manifesto*** and **Excerpt from Program of the Communist...**)

2) **Team B**—investigating the leaders of the Soviet Union (they should receive handouts entitled **The Brezhnev Doctrine** and **Soviet Attitudes Toward Yugoslav Culture**)

Provide group members with the appropriate reading materials (noted above), which should then be read individually. Each group member must become thoroughly familiar with their assigned document or documents since they will use them in the next step to fashion either a defense, questioning strategy, or testimony, as the case may be.

Tell them that later in the lesson they will role play a grand jury hearing. One member from each team will be randomly selected by the teacher to represent the group in the actual hearing. Since students will not know specifically who is playing a role until the actual hearing begins, ALL group members must be prepared to play that role. Students should make written notes on their roles as part of their preparation.

Share the following procedures with students:

- Each group of ***witnesses*** should prepare their roles by being able to discuss the events, decisions, actions, and motivations described in their document.
- Each group of ***suspects*** should:
  a. examine their own documents for evidence of their actions and alleged motivations,
  b. interview the appropriate witnesses and then create a strategy for defending themselves. For instance, they could show that they had reason to propose or follow the course taken in 1968, or they could show how their

intentions have been misunderstood by their followers or outsiders either then or later.

- Each team of ***public prosecutors*** should prepare the questions they will ask the particular set of suspects and witnesses they have been assigned to examine. They should, for instance, be prepared to attempt in the hearing to determine:

  a. exactly what the suspects said and/or did,

  b. whether or not the suspect was consistent in what they said and what they did.

Select one student to play the role assigned to each group; group members not playing a role will serve as the grand jury. Members of the grand jury should take notes on the handout entitled **Jurors' Record of Evidence Given at the Hearing.**

Convene the "Grand Jury of History" and have the prosecutorial teams question the suspects and witnesses in the following order:

a. Marx and Engels, 1848

b. delegates to the Communist International, 1928

c. Yugoslav communist officials, late 1940s

d. leaders of the Soviet Union, 1968

Note: Unless students are already familiar with this judicial process, it may be necessary to review and or simplify the proceedings. It may be helpful to point out to students that, while a useful and interesting method for evaluating an historical event, this process would not be used in the same manner as it is during this simulation.

At the end of the hearing, the grand jury should then deliberate and decide whether or not to indict the suspects. (Note: Students who assumed the roles of suspects, witnesses, and prosecutors should be asked to listen to the deliberations and make note of the primary issues which emerge during the discussions.)

After the decisions are announced to the class, the teacher should randomly select jury team members to explain the reasons for either indicting or not indicting a particular suspect. Class members should feel free to ask questions of the jury team members.

Concluding the Lesson

Read Michael G. Roskin's piece (from the excerpt entitled **Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1968**) on the Brezhnev Doctrine. Ask students if this interpretation is consistent with what they learned in this lesson.

Ask if we as individuals sometimes behave like nations, saying one thing and doing another. Why? What implications does this have for international relations?

Extending the Lesson

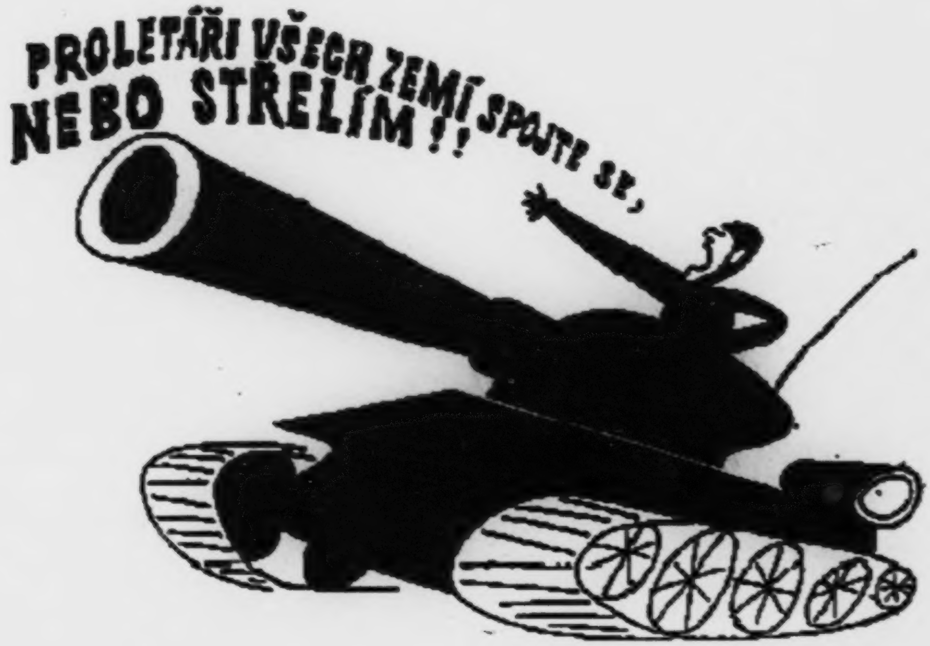
Students can research an example from another or our own system, past or present, where ideology and deeds were or are at variance. They can also write a reflective essay where they explore the following topic: Analyze the relationship between theory, rhetoric and reality. To what extent are consistencies and/or disjunctures between these concepts an inherent part of human nature? Support your position with examples from your own experiences, as well as from American or world history.

As a further example of modern contradictions of communist ideology, students could examine the opposition of the Polish Communist Party and the Soviet Union to the independent workers' union Solidarity. What kind of unions of workers were acceptable to the communist authorities? Why?

Student Handout

From Literární Listy, in Robin Alison Remington, ed., *Prague in Winter: Documents on Czechoslovak Communism in Crises* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1969), p. 289.

"Workers of All Countries Unite— Or I'll Shoot!"


PROLETÁŘI VŠECH ZEMÍ SPOJTE SE,
NEBO STŘELÍM!!

Background Material

Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1968

Excerpt from *The Rebirth of East Europe* by Michael Roskin, © 1994 Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, pp. 118–20. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.

In 1968, Czechoslovakia had been Communist for two decades and had the second best economy of the bloc (after East Germany), although since the early 1960s it had shown only sluggish growth. Much of East Europe had moved beyond its original Stalinist leaders of the postwar period, but in Czechoslovakia the old Stalinist hack Antonin Novotny still monopolized power as both party first secretary and president of the country. A malaise of stagnant politics and economics blanketed Czechoslovakia. Increasingly, discussions in party circles blamed Novotny and his associates for staying in power too long. In private conversation with foreigners, Czech and Slovak party members could be amazingly frank about their disgruntlement. This was not the socialism they had worked for or envisioned.

At the beginning of 1968, after much behind-the-scenes debate, the Czechoslovak central committee voted out Novotny as party leader and brought in the relatively liberal Slovak, Alexander Dubček. Under Dubček's leadership, the trappings of Stalinism fell away to reveal a vibrant and dynamic Czechoslovakia ready to join the democracies. Conservative Communists were ousted from the central committee to make room for a new breed of relative liberals. Censorship was ended and popular new television programs and newspapers revealed serious economic mismanagement and the misuse of police power. Some police officials, after being interviewed on television about torture, went out and hanged themselves. A New Economic Model brought in many elements of a free market. Delegations visited Yugoslavia to study the "self-managing" model of socialism. The newly freed labor unions volunteered "Days for Dubček" of unpaid work, something they wouldn't have dreamed of doing for Novotny. Czechoslovakia saw something it hadn't seen in decades: enthusiasm.

Did Dubček intend to dismantle communism? He never announced such intentions. Instead, in a parallel with Nagy in 1956, he said his country should look south to build "socialism with a human face."[1] But things moved faster than Dubček anticipated or perhaps even wanted. Like Nagy in 1956, Dubček found himself at the head of a swelling, joyous movement that embraced him as its hero. Conservative Communists both inside and outside Czechoslovakia, though, viewed Dubček and his program with alarm. If things kept going like this, they reasoned (correctly), Czechoslovakia would soon not be Communist. East Germany's Walter Ulbricht and Poland's Władysław Gomułka[2] feared the Prague Springs could spread. In the Soviet Ukraine, hard-line party leader Pyotr Shelest feared that the Ukrainian minority in Slovakia could spread news of the reforms into his fiefdom.

In June, Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev met with Dubček in Slovakia. Dubček pledged loyalty to the Warsaw Pact and Comecon but defended his reforms. Brezhnev warned him that the Soviet Union would intervene if any Pact member tried to restore a "bourgeois" system—that is, one in which non-Communist parties could compete with the Communists. Conservatives in the Czechoslovak party, in contact with the Soviet ambassador in Prague, continued to denounce Dubček and plot their own return to power. They finally persuaded Brezhnev and on August 20, 1968 Warsaw Pact forces swept into Czechoslovakia to "save" socialism. The main forces were Soviet, but token Polish, Bulgarian, and East German troops were ordered to participate in order to show it was an all-bloc effort.

There was no armed resistance and little bloodshed. Two-thirds of the Czechoslovak Communist party central committee condemned the intervention. The population was near to unanimous in its condemnation and proudly placed pictures of Dubček everywhere.

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[1] Editor's Note: Referring to Imre Nagy [pronounced Nahdj] of Hungary who, in 1956, initiated modest economic, political and social reforms for his country. During this period of slight liberalization, student groups demonstrated in support of increased changes. Soon, the demonstrations gained widespread support. The Hungarian Army refused to obey orders from the Communist government to move against its own citizens after demonstrators seized control of government offices and radio stations. In less than a month, the Soviet Union invaded and suppressed further demonstrations.

[2] Referring to the communist leaders of these countries.

Dubček was arrested and taken to Moscow for a talking to by Brezhnev, Dubček returned to office but greatly curbed his reforms. In April 1969, Dubček was formally ousted and made a minor forestry official in his native Slovakia with instructions not to speak to the media. Conservative Communist Gustav Husak, also a Slovak, was named party first secretary and proceeded to purge reformist elements at every level. Husak called it "normalization," in effect, a partial return to the Stalin model but with greater attention to consumers needs. This brought a temporary improvement in the standard of living, the bout of Czech enthusiasm for work, which flowered under Dubček, evaporated, and the economy slowed.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

One of the most interesting points of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was the way Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev rationalized it. Once a country had turned Communist, it would be against Marx's laws of history to let capitalist and imperialists sneak back in and take over again. History proceeds only onward, to socialism. So, argued Brezhnev, if fools and traitors try to make a Communist country non-Communist, it is the internationalist duty of the other Communist states to rescue their threatened brother. The Brezhnev Doctrine—it was so named in the West, not the East—in other words said, once Communist, always Communist.

Underneath the Marxist mumbo jumbo, the real meaning of the Brezhnev Doctrine was that the Soviet Union still evaluated East Europe as its protective shield against the West. A non-Communist Czechoslovakia, which is what the country would have soon become with Dubček's far reaching reforms, would drop out of the Warsaw Pact or become an uncooperative member. Looking at a map, Czechoslovakia stretches like a dagger from Germany to Ukraine. Stalin seized Ruthenia in order to have a border with Czechoslovakia. Geopolitics rather than ideology provides a better explanation for the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The seeds of Husak's later downfall, though, were planted. The liberal and reformist Communists who carried out the Prague Spring were either purged from the party or quit. Some joined with anti-Communist dissidents in 1977 to found Charter 77, an organization for civil rights that was rudely suppressed. Among the original 242 signers of Charter 77 were 140 ex-Communists. Charter 77, although many of its members were jailed, kept alive the spirit of opposition and served to produce the political seeds and the leadership for Civic Forum, which brought down the Communist regime in 1989.

Background Material

Indictment by Grand Jury

Excerpt from *United States Government: Democracy in Action* by Richard C. Remy, © 1996 Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, Westerville, Ohio, p. 725. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

After a preliminary hearing, the prosecutor must arrange for an indictment against the accused. An **indictment** is a charge by a grand jury that the person committed a particular crime. The Fifth Amendment states that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury."

A grand jury of 16 to 23 citizens hears evidence intended to show that the defendant committed the crime in question. The grand jury weighs the evidence. If a majority of the jurors believe the evidence is sufficient to hold the person for trial, the indictment is issued. If a majority of the grand jury believe there is insufficient evidence, the person is freed.

State judicial systems established the grand jury to check the power of the prosecutor. In reality, this rarely occurs. In practice, the grand jury almost always follows the prosecutor's recommendation. One study of grand juries found that they went along with the prosecutor in 98 percent of the cases.

Student Handout

The Communist Manifesto

by Marx and Engels, 1848

Excerpts from *The Communist Manifesto*, 1848, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Editor's Note: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels published *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848—a period of significant social, political and economic change throughout Europe. They were writing in response to conditions in England during the Industrial Revolution. Their manifesto has, however, served as the basis for communist revolution throughout the world.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

...The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front of the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.
2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, in their practice, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

...The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

...WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

Student Handout

Soviet Attitudes Toward Yugoslav Culture

by V. Dedijer, Yugoslav Party Official, (late 1940s)

Excerpt from *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, 2nd ed., by John L. Gaddis, © 1976 Columbia University Press, Columbia, New York, pp. 274–75. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Editor's Note: Josip Broz, better known as Tito, was the leader of Communist Yugoslavia. Tito received generally positive support from Stalin and other Soviet leaders—though even during WWII they often criticized him for acting without their knowledge and/or permission. During the late 1940s, Tito exerted more and more independence from the Soviet dominated Eastern block communist countries. Stalin became increasingly critical of Tito and, in 1949, forced Yugoslavia's expulsion from Cominform, a coalition of communist countries. The following excerpt describes Soviet and Yugoslav relations prior to the split.

How little the views of the Yugoslavs were respected can be seen from an incident which happened to Tito while he was in Moscow. He says:

'The representatives of the Soviet press asked me to write an article for their papers. I did so, and when I got the text, I noticed that eight-tenths of my views had been completely altered according to the wishes of the editors. I was already familiar with such methods in the Soviet Union, but I never imagined that Soviet journalists could alter to their own formula the text of an article written by the Prime Minister of a friendly allied country. The same thing happened…[regarding] … an article about the Brcko-Banovici railway which the youth of Yugoslavia had built by voluntary work. The editor of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* [a Soviet newspaper] changed the article considerably, even shortening the railway from fifty miles to thirty-seven. Strange logic!'

In contacts with the most responsible Soviet representatives a tone of disparagement towards the Yugoslavs as a people was noticeable, disparagement of our culture, complete ignorance of our history and our way of life. For instance, Zhadanov [an influential member of the Soviet Union's communist party] once asked Djilas [a Yugoslav communist who later was thrown out of the party and became a dissident] whether opera existed in Yugoslavia. There were twelve opera houses in Yugoslavia, and Yugoslav composers, Lisinski [a famous Yugoslav composer] for instance, had been writing operas more than a century ago. It was not merely a matter of belittling our culture, our language, and our press in words, but also in deeds. The Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia proposed that we should include as many Russian songs in our radio programmes as possible. Had we accepted their suggestion there would have been two or three times as many Russian songs as Yugoslav. They also asked us to increase the number of Russian plays in our theatres. We have always esteemed Gogol, Ostrovski, Gorki, but we refused to flood our theatres with third-rate modern Soviet plays. As for films, in 1946 they imposed on us a block booking contract, so we had no choice of the films they sent; and we had to pay the rental in dollars, at three, four, or five times the price we paid for films from the West. Thus, we got Laurence Olivier's *Hamlet* for about two thousand dollars but for *Exploits of a Soviet Intelligence Agent* we had to pay some twenty thousand dollars….

Almost every week a representative of the Soviet Information Bureau would come round with several hundred articles written in Moscow on various topics, mostly about life in the Soviet Union, birthdays of Russian writers, composers, and scientists or life in the collectives; there were also many articles about other countries, and he persistently asked for all this material to be published in our dailies and weeklies. Had we printed them all, we should have had almost no space left for our own journalists, who would soon have been out of work, leaving the people to be informed of world events only through the eyes of writers in Moscow.

On the other hand, we asked the Soviet government to publish at least something about Yugoslavia in the Soviet press, on a reciprocal basis. This was always avoided. Some articles waited a year for publication, then were returned without having seen daylight. The same thing happened with books. We published 1,850 Soviet books; they published two of ours.

Student Handout

Excerpt from Program of the Communist International
Adopted September 1, 1928

From *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism: The Communist Conspiracy*, document by the U.S. House of Representatives, 84th Cong., 2d sess., House Report No. 2242, Part I, Sec. C, May 29, 1956, published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., pp. 214–15.

As the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, the U.S.S.R. inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the U.S.S.R., the world proletariat for the first time has acquired a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the U.S.S.R. becomes a powerful center of attraction.

Thus, the U.S.S.R. is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because it has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally; it is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power: it is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; it is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the world union of socialist republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power.

Student Handout

Excerpt about the Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968
(Socialist Internationalism)

From Chafetz, *Gorbachev, Reform, and the Brezhnev Doctrine* (Praeger Publishers, an imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, Connecticut, 1993), pp. 92–95.

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Editor's Note: The Brezhnev Doctrine, as it was called in the West, reflects the Soviet Union's position regarding other communist countries' power to alter from the course of communism. This policy, announced by Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev in 1968 following the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia, provided a rationale for Soviet intervention in countries that demonstrated anti-communist tendencies.

...Socialist internationalism was the doctrinal descendent of proletarian internationalism, which was itself a derivation of Marx's belief in the supremacy of class identification over nation, ethnic, religious, and other binds. The concept of Socialist internationalism emerged from Moscow's application of the Marxian concept of proletarian internationalism to international politics; the transcendent identification of the working class expressed itself in the harmony of the interests of the Socialist states...In cases where a bloc ally deviated from what Moscow determined to be in its class interests, Moscow argued that either the offending state was subjected to the pernicious influence of representatives from the imperialist camp or remnants of the particular state's capitalist past had revived long enough to cause the deviation. The task, therefore, of each East European Party, according to the presentation of Sergy Kovalev, was the following:

"The peoples of the socialist countries and the Communist Parties definitely do and should have the freedom to determine the roads of progress for their respective countries. However, none of their decisions should do harm either to socialism in their country, or to the basic interests of other socialist countries and the entire working class movement striving for socialism. This means that each Communist Party is responsible not only to its own people but also to the entire Communist movement. Whoever forgets this...departs from his international duty" (cited from *Pravda*, September 26, 1968, p.1).

...Moscow, as leader of the world Communist movement, used the Brezhnev Doctrine, known in the Soviet Union as the "doctrine of Socialist internationalism," to explain the decision to invade Czechoslovakia in terms of their Marxist-Leninist view of the world...Their justification resided in the universalist character of Marxism-Leninism: the supposedly transcendent ties of the working class across national boundaries that rendered the perceived threat to proletarian rule in Czechoslovakia a threat to proletarian rule everywhere. More specifically, the Kremlin refused to tolerate the erosion of Communist power in Czechoslovakia because the Soviet Communists believed that such tolerance would call into question the legitimacy of Communist rule within the Soviet Union itself....

Student Handout

Jurors' Record of Evidence Given at the Hearing

After each piece of evidence answer the questions below. Note the source of the evidence briefly by putting a short reference to it in parentheses as follows: (M) = Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*; (Y) = Yugoslavian communist officials; (CI) = Communist International, 1928; (BD)= Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968.

Suspects: Marx & Engels	Suspects: Leaders of the Soviet Union
What did suspects say or do?	What did suspects say or do?
Were the suspects consistent in what they said and did?	Were the suspects consistent in what they said and did?

PRAGUE SPRING, 1968: HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

> ***All we strive for can be summed up in four words:***
> ***Socialism, Alliance, Sovereignty, Freedom.***
> *—from the citizens' petition to the Central Committee*
> *of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, June 1968*

Summary of the Lesson

In 1968, Czechoslovakia's communist party attempted to change the shape of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. As a consequence, armed forces of the **Warsaw Pact** invaded Czechoslovakia, putting an end to the reforms and causing many to lose faith in the possibility of change. Students will read and discuss documents revealing the hopes and fears of Czechoslovakian reformers (within the Communist party and from other groups) as they attempted to create **"socialism with a human face."** In addition, students will analyze the response from conservative Communist parties in the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries. Students will attempt to assess the role of the **Prague Spring** in the decay and eventual collapse of communism in 1989.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- identify reforms introduced by Dubček (pron. DOOB'chek) during the Prague Spring,
- differentiate among the varying degrees of reform desired by communists and non-communists,
- analyze the motives behind the Warsaw Pact's invasion of Czechoslovakia,
- assess the legacy of the Prague Spring.

Background Material for the Teacher

Students often do not understand the extent to which history affects the living. The "Prague Spring" provides an opportunity to investigate connections between attempts at reforming the Czechoslovakian communist government in 1968 and its eventual collapse in 1989. Between 1948, the year the communist party gained power in Czechoslovakia, and 1968, the communist party dominated virtually all aspects of daily life. (For related materials, see **Lesson 6: "The Use of Propaganda in Communist Czechoslovakia: The Case of the American Potato Bug."**)

In 1968, many Czechoslovakians called for liberalizations in government policies. One key aspect of these reforms was a reduction in the communist party's power. However, the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956—after Hungarians called for similar reforms—served as a constant reminder for those hoping to liberalize Czechoslovakia. (For background material, see **Lesson 7: "Government Without the Consent of the Governed: Hungary, 1956."**) A series of events, known as the Prague Spring, had a dramatic and lasting affect on Czechoslovakians (and other Central and East Europeans). In the 1970s, a group of dissidents—many of whom assumed an active role in reform efforts during 1968—formed Charter 77, an organization dedicated to protecting human rights in Czechoslovakia and other communist-bloc countries. Many of these same dissidents later served as leaders in the Civic Forum, the coalition of groups opposed to communist rule which organized demonstrations and negotiations which resulted in the eventual collapse of the communist government in 1989.

The student handouts in this lesson also contain valuable background information and should be carefully reviewed before the lesson begins.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

List the following events, all of which occurred in 1968, on the board or overhead projector. Ask students how each of these events continue to affect the United States.

1. Viet Cong and North Vietnamese attacked more than 100 cities in South Vietnam.
2. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated.
3. Classification of movies by "G," "PG," "R" and "X" was initiated.
4. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, a film about an interracial marriage starring Katharine Hepburn, Spencer Tracey and Sidney Poitier was produced.
5. Arthur Ashe won U.S. tennis title at Forest hills—becoming the first African American to win an amateur or professional men's tennis title.
6. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles.

What would students say these events have in common? What changes do they reflect in American society? Do they believe everyone in the United States was comfortable with these changes? Make sure students get a sense for the turbulence and dramatic changes occurring in the United States in the late 1960s.

Explain to students that in periods of great change, like the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it is often impossible to stop more radical elements—both liberal and conservative—from pushing societies further and further toward change. The United States was not alone in 1968. For many countries, this year represented a period of significant social and political change. Czechoslovakia was one of these countries.

Developing the Lesson

Either individually or as a class, read the student handout **Building to "The Prague Spring."** On the board or overhead projector, list the events of the Prague Spring prior to Dubček's meeting with Brezhnev in June, 1968. Discuss the changes that took place. Be sure that students understand that these were initiated from within the Czechoslovak communist party itself, which hoped not to destroy communism but to create "socialism with a human face."

Point out to students that those who initiated changes in Czechoslovakia had one idea of how far reforms ought to go, but others who supported their programs had other ideas. As is often the case during such turbulent and exciting periods, once the door to change was opened, it was difficult to close.

To illustrate this "steamroller effect," divide the class into groups of four. In each group, two students should read the student handout **Manifesto of the Committed Non-Party Members Club** and the other two students should read **Two Thousand Words.** Each pair of students should respond to the questions at the end of the text and share a summary of their reading and responses with group members who read the other text.

When groups have completed the task, check their understanding of the texts by selecting individuals to report their answers to the questions attached to each text. Allow other groups to add to or disagree with these answers.

Make sure students understand that, though not explicitly stated, Vaculík went so far as to suggest that Czechoslovakians should defend their government, with arms if necessary, against possible intervention by the WTO (Warsaw Treaty Organization or Warsaw Pact). In light of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, after a popular uprising threatened to overthrow the communist government, this suggestion was not made lightly.

Drawing on the readings just completed, ask the class the following questions:

1. If you were a hard-line communist and part of the party elite in either Czechoslovakia, one of the surrounding communist countries of Central Eastern Europe, or the Soviet Union, how might you feel about what was happening in Czechoslovakia under Dubček?
2. Why were these reforms so threatening to the members of the party elite?
3. What course of action might you take?

Explain that students will now test their "hypothesis" on the reactions of such "non-reforming communists," by reading a letter written by the communist parties of neighboring nations. While students are still in their groups, distribute copies of the student handout **Letter of the Five Communist and Workers'....** Instruct the students to read this document and answer the questions in their groups. Written on July 14, 1968, by the leaders of Poland, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria who had assembled in Warsaw to consider the situation in Czechoslovakia, the letter was directed to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

When all groups have finished, select individuals from various groups to report on how their group answered the questions accompanying the document. Discuss.

In order to set the context for the student handout **Letter to Alexander Dubček**, refer to the student handout **Building to "The Prague Spring"** and the following additional details, which describe the events following Dubček's meeting with Brezhnev.

- At the time, the invasion by the troops of the Warsaw Pact was the largest military operation in Europe since the Second World War. Despite the show of force, 12,000 delegates to the national assembly met in a factory outside Prague. They denounced the invasion and announced their support for Dubček and his reforms.
- The Soviets could find no Czechoslovakian "loyal comrades" to play the part that Hungarian hardliner Janos Kádár had played after the invasion of Hungary in 1956. (See **Lesson 7: "Consent of the Governed."**) This meant the Soviets had to negotiate with Dubček and his supporters as to how to transfer power, how to stop the process of reform that had begun. Eventually Husák, a former Czechoslovak communist official, was made first secretary and the beginning of a purge was unleashed on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Dubček was given a mid-level bureaucratic position in rural Slovakia, where he continued to work until 1989.

Distribute student handout **Letter to Alexander Dubček** for students to read. Václav Havel, like many Czechs and Slovaks, passionately wanted Dubček to defend his reforms and not repudiate them as many other communist party members were in the process of doing. This excerpt from a private letter Havel wrote to Dubček reveals some of the anguish that resulted. When students have finished reading the handout, discuss.

Concluding the Lesson

Finally, pass out the student handout **Czechoslovakia: 1968 to 1989**. Read, review and discuss the handout. Also review the information from the student handout **Building to "The Prague Spring."** Use the following questions to guide the discussion:

1. What does the attempt at reform by Dubček tell us about the health of communism in the 1960s?
2. What does it say about the idea that "all communists think and act the same"?
3. Was the Prague Spring experiment doomed to failure?
4. What impact did the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 have on subsequent communist and non-communist reformers in Eastern Europe?
5. In retrospect, was this invasion a victory or a loss for communists and for the Soviet Union? Explain.
6. Why could Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet president and communist party leader, institute reforms in the Soviet Union and allow them in communist Central and Eastern Europe in the second half of the 1980s, whereas Dubček and other Central and Eastern European communists had failed in their attempts to do so earlier? In what ways were their situations different?
7. What does the Prague Spring tell us about why many Central and Eastern Europeans still vote for former communist parties and have not—to the perplexity of many Americans—completely rejected ideas from the communist era?
8. In your opinion, what was/is the most important legacy of the Prague Spring? Explain.
9. Describe details of how both events in 1968 and 1989 shared ideas, commonalities, personalities and yet important differences.

Extending the Lesson

Students could write three editorials, or choose one of the following, in reaction to the events of 1968:

1. one by a traditional communist party official in Czechoslovakia justifying the Warsaw Pact invasion of his nation,
2. one by a non-communist intellectual and refugee from Czechoslovakia arguing that Dubček's experiment was doomed to failure from the beginning,
3. one by an official of the Dubček government who had fled abroad as the Warsaw Pact invaded and who still defends what Dubček tried to accomplish.

Students could examine other examples of communist attempts at reform in Central and Eastern Europe to see why they succeeded or failed. Compare the events of the Prague Spring to those of Hungary, 1956; Poland in the early 1970s; East Germany in the early 1950s and others.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Manifesto of the Committed Non-Party Members Club."

1. The piece refers to three "ideas" as the basis of modern European political systems: human and civil freedom, equality of human and civil rights, and individual rights.
2. Capitalism, fascism, and Stalinism
3. The argument constructed in the manifesto is organized under three general ideas; the ideas at the base of modern European policy [with a specific reference to the French Revolution], the humanistic tradition of Czechoslovak culture, and the contemporary Czechoslovak experiment of combining democratic socialism with personal freedoms.
4. Fear of Soviet intervention was overarching. By identifying the creation of an independent force, not a political party, not in opposition to the party, members of this group hoped to avert Soviet concerns.
5. Again, for what may have been pragmatic reasons, this group stated their support for communism. They were not willing to argue for a different philosophical basis for society and governance.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Two Thousand Words."

1. Criticisms include the Communist party's emphasis on "official positions," that it is a "power organization," and failure of party members to speak out against errors. The greatest guilt rests in the use, by those in power, of the argument that their "arbitrary rule was the will of the workers..."
2. These intellectuals are disappointed with the reform efforts in large part due to the delay in their start and their lack of originality. The intellectuals argue that nothing new is coming out in the reform efforts and what is should have happened a long time ago.
3. These intellectuals argue that reform in the future cannot be done "without or against" the communists. Committees of individuals, organized to watch and promote a free press, comprise one suggested role. Other roles are identified with the various parts of the government. Their actions would continue, as long as they were confined to the appropriate areas (i.e. the security organs dealing with crime rather than enforcing repressive laws against individual freedom.)
4. The intellectuals argue that they are willing to defend against the "possibility of foreign forces..." and yet are willing to guarantee alliances, friendship and trade agreements which would, in many cases, be with the same countries. By looking for leaders of courage and honor, they hope to maintain relations based on something other than threats of intervention.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Letter of the Five Communist and Workers' Political Parties..."

1. The internal forces are those operating in reaction to the party as the basis of the social system. Outside forces are those countries and organizations "forcing" the country away from the socialist path.

2. The five leaders argue that the strength of their ties to Czechoslovakia and the international socialist movement in general are based on the internal strength of each member country. A weakened communist Czechoslovakia would result in a weakened international socialist movement.

3. The specific actions cited include the development of media ("organs of mass information"), and what the authors interpret as an open call for battle against state power, as well as calls for strikes, disorder and anarchy.

4. Czechoslovakia requires, according to the writers of the letter:
   - an attack on right-wing and anti-socialist forces
   - mobilization of all forces at the control of the state
   - stopping of all political organization activity
   - party and government control of all media outlets
   - reasserting Marxism-Leninism as the basis for society

Student Handout

Building to "The Prague Spring"

An excerpt from *Revolution in Eastern Europe* by Peter Cipkowski, © 1991 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, pp. 95–97. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

A Relationship with the Soviet Union

When Czechoslovakia gained its independence after World War I, the new national boundaries joined two Slavic groups—the Czechs and the Slovaks. As a nation, it emerged from the ashes of a 19th-century empire better prepared for independence than any of the other new Eastern European countries. As this was the most industrially developed area of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the country's people benefited from the presence of the established industries and a literate, large, prosperous middle class. Czechoslovakia enjoyed 20 years of open, democratic, and libertarian government that were unrivaled anywhere in Eastern Europe at the time. Over 20 political parties represented political opinions, nationalities, and religions during the period of the First Republic. In 1938, when Hitler rolled his armies into Czechoslovakia, the democratic government collapsed.

Six years later, on May 5, 1945, the people of Prague finally rose up against the retreating Germans. But neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks could liberate themselves. They needed the help of the American and Soviet armies. General George Patton of the United Sates reached Plzen, within striking distance of Prague. His superiors, concerned about the agreement made at Yalta with the Soviets, forbade him to liberate the capital. Instead, Soviet troops arrived in Prague on May 9, 1945.

Unlike the Poles, the Czechs and the Slovaks looked upon the Soviet Union as a friend. A successful Soviet-backed Communist Party existed in prewar Czechoslovakia and achieved a large membership and considerable respect. Moreover, the Soviet Union was the only power in 1938 that had declared its readiness to aid Czechoslovakia. When Soviet troops entered Prague in 1945, masses of people and red flags welcomed them.

After the war, the Czechs and the Slovaks worked together to rebuild their democratic government. In an attempt to recreate the former peace, Eduard Benes was invited to return to Prague and reoccupy his position as president. Benes had been president of Czechoslovakia when the Nazis invaded. Like many other government leaders, he fled to England and spent the war years presiding over the government-in-exile. His first official act upon returning to his ravaged country was to invite the old political parties to reemerge and prepare for free elections.

The Communist party won about 40 percent of the vote in the 1948 free election. It was the greatest showing of support the Communist party ever received in Eastern Europe. Communists participated in the new government, holding 8 out of 25 posts. Over a period of months, they increased their pressure. What happened next is a matter of dispute. Did Moscow order its Czechoslovak comrades to seize power? Or did the Czechoslovak Communists act themselves? It began when the Communist minister of interior launched a purge of the police. In defiance, the non-Communist ministers resigned. Benes accepted their move and let the Communists name replacements. Democracy suddenly vanished. In the words of one Czech writer, "Czechoslovakia abruptly changed from a socialist democracy into a Stalinist state of horror."

Editor's Note:

Tensions Build

In 1952, Czechoslovakia experienced some of the most extensive party purges in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1952, these purges went all the way to the top of the party and Rudolf Slánský, General Secretary of the communist party, was convicted of trumped up charges of treason against the party and—along with 10 other men, was executed. These purge trials increased suspicion and dissent against the communist party, laying the groundwork for the events of the Prague Spring.

Throughout the 1960s, Czechoslovakia's once strong economy started to suffer. By the early 1960s, the industrial base that had been established prior to World War II had become obsolete and the national income declined. In part, these economic hardships were the result of "sausage communism" in the 1950s. Sausage communism is the phrase used to describe government policies which pacified citizens by providing additional consumer goods at lower prices. However, none of the communist states could afford to subsidize consumer goods for long periods of time and, like individuals who buy too many things on credit, they soon found themselves in a position where the governments faced enormous debts.

Economic Reforms

In 1963, Czechoslovakia abandoned its 5 Year Economic Plan. As part of the centrally-planned economies of most communist states, the government set goals for the production of virtually all goods—based on a five year plan of what they anticipated people would need. However, these plans were based on nearly impossible goals which often emphasized the production of heavy industries (needed for defense) over consumer goods. These plans were rarely successful and, in Czechoslovakia, the plan had been disastrous through the early 1960s. An economist named Sik was appointed to a task force assigned to make recommendations for the Czechoslovakian economy. Surprisingly, Sik's commission recommended increased responsibility for individual firms to negotiate contracts with the government and a decrease in government control of production.

Sik's plan was initially published in economic journals which were not as strictly censored as other forms of press. The publication started a slow process of reform among intellectuals (starting with Sik) who suggested that Czechoslovakia continue on its Marxist-Leninist path but consider the possibility of expanding beyond some of the parameters established by the Soviet Union.

Calls for Reform Spread

In 1967, Zdeněk Mlynář (pron. MLEH'nahr), a member of the Czechoslovakian communist party who had been educated in the Soviet Union, was asked to draft policy recommendations to the party congress scheduled for 1970. Much to everyone's surprise, Mlynář recommended that Czechoslovakia move from a one-party system to a pluralist one (meaning that numerous political parties would exist). Although still claiming to seek merely reforms in communism, Mlynář's position was an obvious challenge to hard-line communist rule as it had been established and perpetuated by the Soviet Union.

In that same year, 1967, a Czech writers' union gathered in Prague. This talented group included some of the most famous writers in Czechoslovakia, including Václav Havel and Milan Kundera. The group issued critical speeches which condemned, among other things, Czechoslovakia's support of the Arab states against Israel (a challenge to Soviet domination of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy) and calls for more democratic reforms.

Alexander Dubček and Interest Groups

Novotny, the communist party's secretary general, was ousted in 1968 after he attempted to block what he considered "reactionary" reforms. Alexander Dubček, a little known Slovak communist party member, replaced Novotny. Dubček's intentions toward the reform efforts were unclear, initially. However, as time passed, it became obvious that he would not oppose reformers.

Four major interest groups outside of the communist party emerged in 1968. First, students (like intellectuals) held demonstrations in which they called for increased independence of universities and the possibilities of challenging Soviet interpretations of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Next, the Club of Committed Non-Communist Party Members (KAN) wanted their own political party and challenged the government's policies on human rights issues. Next, K-231 consisted of purge survivors and former political prisoners (an estimated 80,000 had been arrested in the early 1950s). This group called for a thorough investigation of the purges and a freer press. K-231 posed a particular threat to communist party members, many of whom had gained their current position by participating in the purges. Finally, in an effort to keep the appearance of a multi-party system, the Social Democrat party had existed since the communist takeover in 1948. However, until 1968, the Social Democrats had no real power and had been forced to unite with the communists on virtually every issue. This group was particularly disturbing to communist party members who feared Soviet resistance to anything resembling a multi-party state.

In addition to these groups, Slovak nationalists called for increased independence of Slovakia—calling for a federation instead of the unified state which existed in 1968.

The Countdown to Invasion

Dubček permitted criticism from the public and, by March of 1968, discussions were unusually open. In April, the party proclaimed an "Action Program," which stated that party policies must be changed if they failed to address the needs and potential of the society.

In June, 1968, a document known as the "2000 Words" (the English translation has about 2,700) was published in newspapers in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. The piece inspired considerable support within Czechoslovakia for reform efforts but was received with great concern in the Soviet Union. Soviet and Warsaw Pact troop maneuvers near the Czechoslovakian border failed to dull enthusiasm for reforms. In July, leaders from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact sent Dubček the "Warsaw Letter" in which they outlined their concerns. Intellectuals and reform activists in Czechoslovakia initiated efforts to explain their position to leaders of the Soviet Union.

Tensions continued to mount until July 29th, when Brezhnev and Dubček held a four day meeting at a small town on the Czechoslovakian and Soviet Ukraine border. Tensions were high and the Soviets insisted on returning to their side of the border at the conclusion of each meeting. These meetings failed to persuade the Soviet Union that Czechoslovakia posed no threat and, after meeting with other leaders in the Warsaw Pact, the U.S.S.R. led an invasion of Czechoslovakia which started on August 20th. Claiming that they had been "invited" into Czechoslovakia by concerned communist party members, they proceeded to "normalize" the political situation. Shortly after the invasion, Gustav Husak was made president of Czechoslovakia and General Secretary of the Communist Party.

Student Handout

Manifesto of the Committed Non-Party Members Club
(1 May 1968)

This material was provided by Czech educators working in cooperation with the Institute for Development of Education, Prague, Czech Republic, and the Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California, as part of CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program.

Editor's Note: The Committed Non-Party Members Club, which considered itself a basic cell of all the opposition parties in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, was founded in the middle of April. Such clubs were parts of 'mass' and artists' organizations. They were to guarantee the basic program of human rights and to make efforts to become a parliamentary opposition.

First of all we consider the idea of human and civil freedom and equality of human and civil rights, which was at one time proclaimed in the revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man and each individual's rights, as a basis of all modern European policy...We see an unbroken tradition of the democratic efforts of the Czech and Slovak nations in the statement of the defence of these rights against the dehumanizing forces of capitalism, fascism and Stalinism. We openly advocate it as a reliable basis for the idea of the Czechoslovak state.

The second source of our political efforts is the humanistic tradition of Czechoslovak culture,...we lay the emphasis on the human personality and creativity as the essence of human existence itself.

Finally, the third source is the noble idea of the contemporary Czechoslovak experiment itself that combines democratic socialism and a magnificent program of personal freedoms. The socialist system, the democratic executive powers, and personal freedom are for us, the basis of political thinking as well as the target on which we want to concentrate when making the present political changes...We want to create alternative political standpoints...when discussing important current political problems. We want to be an independent political force of quite a new type. Being interested in creating our own political ideas, we do not oppose the Communist Party but, aiming at our common objective socialism, which is based on humanity and democracy and which is a long standing desire of both nations, we, in fact, stand with the party....

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What does the document list as the basic principles of modern European political systems (in theory, if not in practice)?
2. What forces are described as posing a threat to these basic rights?
3. What are the three sources the group cites for their political efforts to defend these rights?
4. What kind of a political force does the group want to create? Why might they want this type?
5. What is their attitude toward communism? Explain.

Student Handout

Two Thousand Words
(June 27, 1968)

Excerpts from "Two Thousand Words to Workers, Farmers, Scientists, Artists, and Everyone" by Ludvík Vaculík, from *Czechoslovakia: The Party and the People* by Andrew Oxley. Copyright © Andrew Oxley. Reprinted with permission of St. Martin's Press, Incorporated.

Editor's Note: "Two Thousand Words" was a manifesto written by Czech writer Ludvík Vacylík and signed by other prominent Czech and Slovak intellectuals (among them Václav Havel, the first Czechoslovakian president after the fall of the communist regime in 1989). It was published in four Prague newspapers on June 27, 1968, just before the beginning of a special party election process, and inspired both widespread support among Czechoslovakians, as well as major concern among the Soviets.

After the war people had great confidence in the Communist party, but it gradually preferred to have official positions instead of the people's trust, until it had only official positions and nothing else...The incorrect line of the leadership turned the party from a political party and ideological grouping into a power organization which became very attractive to power-hungry egoists, reproachful cowards, and people with bad consciences.

...Many communists opposed this decline, but not in one single case did they have any success in preventing what happened.

...We are all of us together responsible for the present state of affairs and the communists among us are more responsible than others. But the main responsibility rests with those who were part of, or the agents of, uncontrolled power...These rulers' greatest guilt, and the worst deception they perpetrated, was to make out that their arbitrary rule was the will of the workers. ...But many officials are still defending themselves against changes, and they still carry a lot of weight. They still have means of power in their hands, especially in the districts and in the small communities, where they may use these instruments secretly and without any risk to themselves.

...Since the beginning of the year we have been taking part in the revival process of democratization. It began in the Communist party.

...The initiative and efforts of democratic communists are therefore only a part of the debt which the party as a whole owes to noncommunists, whom it has kept in a position of inequality. No thanks, therefore, is due to the Communist Party, although it should probably be acknowledged that it is honestly trying to use this last opportunity to save its own and the nation's honor.

The revival process hasn't come up with anything very new. It is producing ideas and suggestions, many of which are older than the errors of our socialism and others which came up to the surface after being in existence underground for a long time. They should have come out into the open a long time ago, but they were suppressed.

...In the future, we shall have to display personal initiative and determination of our own. Above all, we shall have to oppose the view, should it arise, that it is possible to conduct same sort of democratic revival without the communists or possibly against them.

...Fears have recently been expressed that the democratization process has come to a halt. The conflict of forces, however, has merely become hidden to a certain extent. The fight is now being waged about the content and form of laws, over the kind of practical steps that can be taken.

...Let us revive the activity of the National Front. Let us demand that the meetings of the National Committee should be held in public.

...Let us establish committees for the defence and freedom of the press...If we hear strange news, let's check on it ourselves, and let's send delegations to the people concerned, and if need be, publish their replies. Let us support the security organs when they prosecute real criminal activity. We do not mean to cause anarchy and a state of general instability.

...The recent apprehension is the result of the possibility that foreign forces may intervene in our internal development....We can assure our government—with weapons if need be—as long as it does what we give it a mandate to do, and we must assure our allies that we will observe our alliance, friendship and trade agreements.

...After all, we can ensure equal relations only by improving our international situation and by carrying the process of revival so far that one day at elections we will be able to elect statesmen who will have enough courage, honor, and political talent to establish and maintain such relations....

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What criticisms of the communist party are mentioned in this piece? According to this document, what was the communist rulers' "greatest guilt?" Explain.
2. Why are these intellectuals disappointed with the reform efforts of the communists thus far?
3. How is reform suggested to be carried out in the future? What role will the communist party play? What role will the general public and intellectuals play? What, specifically, is proposed to allow these different roles?
4. What seemingly conflicting attitudes are expressed toward neighboring nations? Are these attitudes actually in conflict? Explain.

Student Handout

Letter of the Five Communist and Workers' Political Parties to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (The Warsaw Letter)

This material was provided by Czech educators working in cooperation with the Institute for Development of Education, Prague, Czech Republic, and the Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California, as part of CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program.

Editor's Note: Developments following the January 1968 liberalization in Czechoslovakia produced reactions throughout the Soviet bloc and in the rest of the world. On July 14, 1968, leaders from Poland, the Soviet Union, German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria met in Warsaw and produced this letter (hence the "Warsaw Letter") two days later.

The development in your country deeply disquiets [disturbs] us. The rise of reaction against your Party and the basis of the social system in Czechoslovakia, supported by imperialism, threatens to lead your country away from the path of socialism, and as a consequence, is a danger to the interests of the whole socialist system. At the same time we cannot consent to hostile forces forcing your country from the Socialist path and creating the threat of tearing Czechoslovakia away from the socialist commonwealth.

This is no longer your concern alone. The strength and firmness of our ties depend on the internal strength of the socialist system of each of our brother countries undermining the leading role of the Communist Party and leads to the liquidation of socialist democracy and the socialist system. Thus the basis of our ties and the security of the commonwealth of our countries are threatened. The political organizations and clubs that have originated in the recent period outside the framework of the National Front have become in substance the general staffs of reactionary forces.

A number of organs of mass information are systematically carrying on a real moral terror against people who come forth against the forces of reaction or who express the disquiet over the development of events. *Two Thousand Words* contains an open appeal to battle against the Communist Party and against state power, an appeal for strikes and disorder. ...It is an attempt to enthrone anarchy...and a political platform of counter-revolution. There has arisen a situation which is absolutely unacceptable for a socialist country. The cause of the armed power of the working class and of all workers and of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia requires: a determined and bold attack on the right-wing and anti-socialist forces; the mobilization of all means of defense that have been established by a socialist state; the stopping of the activity of all political organizations that are coming out against socialism; party and government control of all mass information—the press, radio and television—and utilizing them in the interest of the working class, all workers and socialism; closing the ranks of the party on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism; unswervingly maintaining the principles of democratic centralism struggle against those whose activity helps hostile forces.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What are the two forces—one internal, one external—that are cited as threatening "socialism?"
2. On what basis do the authors contend that "this is no longer your concern alone?"
3. What specific actions by or for the "forces of reaction" do the authors cite to justify their fears?
4. What specific actions do they propose to meet this challenge?

Student Handout

A Letter to Alexander Dubček

by Václav Havel

From *Open Letters: Selected Writings 1965-1990* by Václav Havel, trans., P. Wilson,
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Editor's Note: This excerpt comes from a private letter sent to Alexander Dubček. The preceding April Dubček had been forced to resign from his position. At the time of the letter he was under increasing pressure to repudiate the events now called the Prague Spring. This is the conclusion of the letter.

…And so it's really only now that the fatal moment has arrived when you must render a final account of your actions and reveal what really lay behind the movement you came to represent. Through the position you take now, you will either write off the entire Czechoslovak democratization process as an irresponsible mistake, or you will take the bold, risky, and difficult step of reaffirming its authenticity as an irrepressible source of inspiration that is worth your challenging the authority of your party, your movement, and your comrades. The question now is: Will all the miscalculations and failures of you and your companions be redeemed a thousandfold by your decision to stand by your convictions and put your future on the line? Or will your reluctance to stake your career and even your life on last year's experiment lead people to see it as no more than an enormous con game, which they naively fell for?

It may occur to you at this point that I am actually asking you to wash away the sins of all of us, to make the symbolic redemptive sacrifice that our nations are themselves incapable—unsymbolically—of making. Perhaps you are thinking that those who expect this of you are only passing the buck and merely want to use you to ease their own consciences.

In many respects such thinking is justified, but it doesn't alter the fact that you must act in the way expected of you. A politician—and any social elite, for that matter—is not merely a "function" of society. Society is also, to a certain extent, a "function" of its politicians and its elites. These elites act on society and mobilize those forces within it that can be mobilized. Cowardly policies encourage cowardice in society; courageous policies stimulate people's courage. Our nations have a capacity for both cowardly and courageous behavior, for demonstrating holy zeal or selfish indifference. Czechs and Slovaks are capable of struggling heroically or shamelessly denouncing their neighbors. Which of these propensities prevails at a given moment, both in society and in individuals, largely depends on what situation the political elite has created, the choices it places before the people, the qualities it encourages in them: in short, it depends on what the elite's activities and examples stimulate. This is why politics makes great demands on the human and moral qualities of those who practice it. The more power politicians have, the greater the demands on them.

If the regime today is allowing chiefly for the development of selfishness, cowardice, and careerism, and if it bases its power to a considerable extent on precisely the existence of these qualities, then it is even more incumbent now on you, in particular, to demonstrate whether Czechoslovak politics, or rather the communist movement, can offer another model of behavior and mobilize in people and society other, better forces. In any case, one of the reasons you are in such difficulties today is because through your policies you made possible—with good intentions, of course—the systematic demobilization of all that strong and unprecedented support from large sectors of society that spontaneously formed precisely so that people could work—with you—for a common goal, regardless of the dangers involved. As one who believes in the leading role of the party and its democratic-centralist principle, you acted voluntarily in the spirit of those beliefs to deprive all of us ordinary citizens (most of whom are not party members) of a large part of our power to decide. Now you are in a situation in which the leading role you claimed for yourself and which you—with far more justice—actually held, makes you responsible for acting in our names in another sense as well: not in the exercise of power, but in opposition to it.

The task facing you is clear. If you believe that the attempt made under your leadership in 1968 to humanize and democratize socialism and bring it in line with conditions in the industrially and culturally advanced countries of Europe was a just and justifiable experiment, and in accordance with people's wishes, and that if you are convinced that the sudden invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops in 1968 was an unjust and unjustifiable interference in that experiment, then you must clearly say so. And you must say so regardless of the enormous difficulties you will cause the present Communist Party leadership, regardless of the political situation you will thereby provoke. If you don't, you will have to say the opposite, and that would have far more destructive consequences.

…It is not my intention to be a self-appointed spokesman of the people. But if anything is certain today, it is this: that most Czechs and Slovaks today think as I do. It's hardly possible to think otherwise. The matter is essentially simple. You, however, are at the center of extremely complex pressures, forces, and viewpoints. The point is to be able to find your way out of this dark and tangled wood into the light of what we might call "simple human reasoning." To think the way every ordinary, decent person thinks. There are moments when a politician can achieve real political success only by turning aside from the complex network of relativized political considerations, analyses, and calculations, and behaving simply as an honest person. The sudden assertion of human criteria within a dehumanizing framework of political manipulation can be like a flash of lightning illuminating a dark landscape. And truth is suddenly truth again, reason is reason, and honor.

Dear Mr. Dubček, in the coming days and weeks, I, along with thousands of my fellow citizens, will be thinking of you. I will be anxious, but will also expect great things of you.

Yours sincerely,
Václav Havel, *August 1969*

Student Handout

Czechoslovakia: 1968-1989

An excerpt from *Revolution in Eastern Europe* by Peter Cipkowski, © 1991 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, pp. 97–98, 102–04. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

After the Invasion

After the invasion, Gustav Husak (pron. GOO-stav HOO-sak) was made president of Czechoslovakia and leader of the Communist party. Husak was an unusual choice. In 1954, the Communist party charged him with "bourgeois nationalism" and gave him a life sentence. Released only in 1960, he was readmitted to the Party in 1963 and fully restored to honor that year. In 1968, Husak was a respected government official and supported the Prague Spring. Thus, many Czechoslovaks approved the choice in the hope that Husak would stand up to the Soviets. He did little to justify their trust, however. Husak soon purged Prague Spring reformers from the Party. He banished Dubček from Prague, placing him in a minor government job in Bratislava. Many others, including some of the country's most promising writers and artists, were forced to leave the country forever.

Husak held on to power for more than 20 years. In 1985, when the more youthful Gorbachev visited Husak in Prague, they strolled through the old city together. The Soviet leader plunged into crowds, shaking hands and smiling to the cries of "friendship, friendship." The white-haired Husak walked a few steps behind him, "stiff and stern," according to one Czech, "a stubborn relic from another era." Finally, in 1987, Husak lost his position as general secretary of the Communist party to Milos Jakes (pron. YAH-kesh). Husak, however, continued to serve as president of Czechoslovakia.

Opposition in the 1980s

…Before Czechoslovakia's revolution began on November 17, 1989, opposition activists were mulling over their past and future. Their principal achievement, as veteran dissident Jiri Dienstbier said, had been preserving the moral will to resist: "We were passing a small candle through the darkness." The movement's major failing had been its inability to spark protests across Czechoslovak society. The massive demonstrations in East Germany caused only ripples in Czechoslovakia. As long as Husak and the party-state appeared invulnerable, people remained complacent. "In my opinion this society was completely destroyed by the Communists," wrote the editor of an illegal underground publication. "It is truly appalling. People want democracy but they do not want to pay for it."

Dissidents complained about the lack of a central opposition organization. Though united under the spirit of Charter 77, they lacked a concrete, alternative political program. Moreover, they did not seem to be closing the gap between the Prague-based intelligentsia, which guided the opposition, and the rest of Czechoslovakia's 15 million people. Many leaders of Poland's Solidarity opposition built their legitimacy as representatives through years of close contact with the working class. But the writers, actors, artists, and journalists of Czechoslovakia's opposition functioned mainly as a moral beacon for a demoralized society.

The government continued to do everything possible to break the opposition and to keep them from becoming a united force. It usually refused to acknowledge the opposition's existence. When it did acknowledge them, the dissidents were branded as creations of the "Western media and human rights groups." Members of the Communist party who joined and supported the Prague Spring movement were purged from the Party after the Warsaw Pact invasion. They and other oppositionists found themselves stoking coal, cleaning bathrooms, and driving taxis. Their children met mysterious difficulties when they attempted to get into college. Their telephones and apartments were bugged. They lived, as ever, under the constant threat of interrogation, searches, and jail. Police were assigned to them like case workers, following them everywhere, noting the names of people who went in and out of their apartments. Fear of such punishments limited the number of Czechoslovaks willing to join the intellectuals and artists. Not surprisingly, the independent groups had to concentrate more on mere survival than on developing a political program.

By the late 1980s, independent activism had spread in other directions, far beyond the expectations of Charter 77. Widely circulated petitions called for the release of jailed dissidents and an open discussion of the 1968 invasion. Demand grew for underground publications. Thousands of Catholics flocked to pilgrimages with anti-communist undertones. Former associates of Alexander Dubček, the father of the Prague Spring, formed *Obroda*, a self described "club for socialist restructuring." Dubček himself emerged from his isolation, calling for a Czechoslovak *perestroika* [originally, Soviet "restructuring"] in interviews with the Western press.

By the late 1980s, a younger generation of students and workers helped to retrench the opposition movement. Free of their elders' defeatism, the students freely expressed their frustration with the authorities' refusal to accept Gorbachev-era freedoms. A Slovak writer explained that "they rejected the unwritten social compact by which the Communists filled store shelves in exchange for the acceptance of the regime's hard-line government." High school and college students formed more than thirty new opposition groups and began to link up with the older dissidents. A group called the "Czech Children," made up of young adults in their 20s, joined in demonstrations for political freedoms and environmental protection. The "John Lennon Peace Group" grew out of informal meetings that advocated the rights of musicians and other artists. And the "Society for a Merrier Present," armed with cucumber and salami truncheons [police officers' clubs], staged mock police assaults on demonstrators in Prague.

On January 16, 1989, a small group of high school students made their way, peacefully, towards the statue of Václav, the good king Wenceslas, at the top of Wenceslas Square. Exactly 20 years earlier, a student named Jan Palach had set himself on fire to protest the Soviet invasion. Before the students could commemorate his sacrifice, police began using water cannons and tear gas on the crowd. Within moments, the calm square was transformed into a tear gas-filled battle zone. Off to the side, Václav Havel watched the scene in horror. When he tried to leave, a plainclothes security guard grabbed him and threw him into the back of a police van. Intent on making an example of Havel, the regime staged a harsh show trial in February for his role in the demonstration. The prosecutor claimed Havel had incited the demonstrations by giving interviews to foreign radio stations. In fact, Havel had warned the students against using violence to press their grievances. "I consider the way I am treated as an act of vengeance for my ideas," he told the court. The judge sentenced Havel to nine months in prison.

Remember This Day

Ever cautious, the people of Czechoslovakia watched the Poles vote the Communist government out of office in June 1989. They watched again as the Hungarians and the East Germans achieved freedom. The enormous mass movement that overthrew Czechoslovak Communism rose up with amazing speed. By the last week of November 1989, millions of people had participated in demonstrations across the country. It was only a month before, in late October, that dissidents were able to bring about a street demonstration involving ten thousand people. These brave souls had scarcely unfurled their pro-democracy banners before truncheon-wielding police chased them through the streets of Prague. Three weeks later, in late November, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators were routine in Wenceslas Square. In a matter of days, they brought down the Communist leadership and dispatched the Party into permanent oblivion.

Charter 77 and the long-persecuted dissident community deserve much of the credit for the dramatic turnaround. But news reports of the revolution often overlooked the role of Czechoslovakia's high school and college students. On Friday, November 17 more than fifty thousand students turned out for a demonstration to mark the 50th anniversary of the murder of a Czech student by the Nazis. It was a long, joyful march, with chants and slogans directed increasingly against the present rulers of Prague Castle—the seat of government power. Marching toward Wenceslas Square, the protesters shouted, "Dinosaurs, resign!" and "Communists, get out!" When the marchers reached the square, hundreds were surrounded and cut off by the white-helmeted riot police and, for the first time, by red-bereted anti-terrorist squads. The students placed candles before them and tried to give them flowers. They knelt on the ground and raised their arms, chanting, "We have bare hands." But the police, and especially the red berets, beat them nonetheless. Wave after wave of the berets charged at them with flailing white truncheons.

The regime's decision to use force was a monumental blunder. Milos Jakes, the new Communist party boss, hoped it would frighten the students back into passivity. But the dramatic liberalizations of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and especially East Germany had primed the population for rapid change. The zeal with which security forces bloodied unarmed students shocked Czechoslovaks more than any event since Soviet tanks rolled over the Prague Spring reforms 21 years earlier. It shattered the passivity that had long frustrated dissident organizers. "This is the start of the finish of the government," one man shouted during the violence. "The people will remember this day!"

In the streets of Prague, impromptu shrines, tended night and day, lighted the spots where students fell. Candles, flowers, and photographs commemorated each encounter. A massive circle of candlelight at the foot of the towering statue of King Wenceslas illuminated the night in honor of the 1969 martyr Jan Palach. "Now the ghost of Palach," said one Czech, "along with the old hero-king Wenceslas, and a little help from Václav Havel, will stir our country."

Prague Ignites

The awful parallel between the regime's violence against student demonstrators and that of the Nazis exactly 50 years earlier created an immensely powerful emotional rallying point. This was the spark that set Czechoslovakia on fire. With reports of one student dead and scores in the hospital, the students were determined to do something. On Saturday, November 18, student leaders decided to call a nationwide general strike in a week's time. The students were soon joined by people who worked in the theater. Theater people, including actors, directors, set designers, and writers, know how to organize themselves. They had spent years rallying support for their favorite playwright, Václav Havel. On Sunday, November 19, Havel himself called a meeting of all the main opposition groups in the Magic Lantern Theater. They joined together in what they called a Civic Forum.

The Civic Forum soon became the united voice of the opposition. But it was Prague's high school and college students who were showing Czechoslovakia the way. A few moments after the first meeting of the Forum began, Havel rose from his chair. "Thanks to the bravery of the students, we are gathered here. The students have finally cast off the timidity and fear of our people." A few days later, another Czech explained, "For 20 years people kept quiet and knuckled under for their children's sake. And now the police were beating even the children." A banner hung high during Sunday's rally said, "Parents come with us, we are your children." And so they did. On Monday afternoon, a crowd of more than two hundred thousand people filled Wenceslas Square.

By the middle of the week, the center of Prague was plastered with homemade posters declaring "Truth will prevail!" and "Let the government resign!" Groups gathered in front of shop windows where televisions played over and over again a videotape of the November 17 brutality. Even larger groups gathered for the afternoon demonstrations in Wenceslas Square. People waved the distinctive Czechoslovak flag—a blue triangular field at the left, with a band of white and a band of red on the right—and chanted away as if it were the most usual thing in the world. Cars honked in support as they drove across the square, and small children gave the V-for-Victory sign. "The excitement fed upon itself, crossing all social boundaries," wrote one journalist. The demonstrations drew people of all ages and interest. "Longhaired musicians," she reported, "stood shoulder to shoulder with beefy steelworkers." Knots of people gathered on street corners to debate the future.

If Prague was in the grip of euphoria, it was partly because tragedy had been averted. For days it looked as though the regime might opt for martial law. As the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square grew larger, Jakes threatened on national television to "introduce order." The government ordered members of the workers militia to take up positions in Prague. Uniformed police occupied the city's radio and television stations. The state-controlled television called on citizens to "protect socialism." Rumors flew. But the authorities appeared to lack the will to use force. They ordered the police to withdraw from Wenceslas Square. They even promised to investigate allegations of police brutality. Then, Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec [pron. lad-EES-slav a-DAM-ets] met with members of the Civic Forum for the first time. He promised, "There will be no more martial law."

The Return of Dubček

Alexander Dubček stepped off the 9 A.M. bus from Bratislava on Friday, November 24. He looked, according to one writer, "as if he had just stepped straight out of a photograph from 1968. The same gray coat, the same tentative smile, the same hat. It all contributed to the illusion that we had just left a 20-year timewarp, with the clock that stopped in 1969 starting again in 1989." By nightfall, according to another writer, "Dubček had almost the stature of a shadow head of state." In Wenceslas Square, young protesters knew the 68-year-old former leader from the yellowing photographs that hung in Czechoslovak living rooms for two decades. When Dubček stepped out into the frosty evening air, illuminated by television spotlights, the crowd gave an enormous roar: "Dubček! Dubček!" The old leader smiled and thanked the crowd for welcoming him. Then he asked, "Wise men said once there could be light, so why now should there be darkness?" People wept and cheered.

As Dubček spoke, the leaders of the Communist party were holding an emergency meeting in a distant suburb. During a 16-hour meeting, Jakes was facing an inevitable dilemma: to declare martial law and crush the protest movement with force—possibly at the cost of hundreds of lives—or to give in to the popular will and resign.

Later in the evening, Dubček and Havel shared the stage of the Magic Lantern Theater, headquarters of the Civic Forum. "Beginning tomorrow," Havel declared, "we must begin a dialogue with the authorities. I don't know whether they will allow it, but the agenda is clear: we want democracy, we want to rejoin the European community." As the two leaders talked about their different ideas of socialism to the overflow crowd, a messenger carrying remarkable news interrupted them. Jakes and the rest of the 13-member Politburo were stepping down. To succeed Jakes as Communist party general secretary, the Central Committee named Karol Urbanek. Though

Urbanek was not well-known, the change brought a tremendous relief. "The pressures for change were so vast," said one Czech opposition leader. "People feared that the old hard-line government, if not changed, would have led the country into civil war."

According to a spectator at the Magic Lantern that evening, the theater "erupted" when the news was read. People applauded and cheered, some sobbed for joy. Havel embraced Dubček and made the V-for-Victory sign. Someone jumped on the stage with bottles of champagne. Havel raised his glass and toasted a free Czechoslovakia.

1989: A YEAR OF REVOLUTION OR EVOLUTION?

I had such a wonderful feeling last night, walking beneath the dark sky while cannons boomed on my right and guns on my left… the feeling that I could change the world only by being there.

—Viorica Butnariu, Student at Bucharest University, Romania, December 1989 to an American friend, on her feelings about the Romanian Revolution

We used to think that revolutions are the cause of change. Actually it is the other way around: change prepares the ground for revolution.

—Eric Hoffer, U.S. Philosopher, The Temper of Our Time, *1967*

Summary of the Lesson

This lesson will help students understand the forces and events that led to the **fall of communism** in Central and Eastern Europe. If history is our judge, regimes fall sooner or later. Sometimes this occurs by means of bloody **revolution**; sometimes as the result of gradual reforms or **evolution**. Among the many factors that influence the process of democratization, the character of the non-democratic system seems to be most important, totalitarian regimes are less inclined to compromise and reform than **authoritarian** ones. The most difficult transformation to carry out is that of **totalitarianism** to democracy. In totalitarian nations, the democratic aspirations of the opposition collide with the regime's disposition towards the use of terror. As a result, the struggles with totalitarianism have a violent and often bloody nature. The lesson will help students distinguish between the concepts of revolution and political evolution and aid in understanding the nature of events that occurred in the region during this period. Many theories have been put forth regarding the **transition**; including the importance of **social change, rebellion, internal and external pressures**. Students will be involved in group work and develop a rubric for assessing "revolution" and "evolution."

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- define revolution and evolution,
- understand the events in sample Central and Eastern European countries during the crisis period of the late 1980s,
- analyze the end of communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries in terms of the concept of revolution and evolution,
- identify key events of 1989.

Background Material

This lesson describes the transition based upon the concept of "Path Theory." Path theory argues that the type of government prior to a transition has an impact on the shape and kind of transition that will occur. *Authoritarian* regimes are more likely to evolve into a new form of government; *totalitarian* governments are apt to experience revolutions. Political scientists and historians supporting path theory have identified these trends by analyzing and comparing the form of government before transition and the events of the transition. Many possible theories exist as explanations for the different types of transition. This lesson serves as an introduction to path theory.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Discuss the importance of events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the transitions of governments in Central and Eastern Europe to modern international relations. Ask students how they have been affected by these changes? What impact have these changes had on the world?

Ask students how they would define "revolution." As a class, construct a student-generated definition. Discuss the meaning of the quotes that appear at the beginning of the lesson. Ask if people in America during the American Revolution might have shared the feelings of this Romanian student. Might protest marchers during the Vietnam War have felt this way? Do the students agree with the quote by Eric Hoffer? Cite other examples from historical events, such as the French or Russian Revolution and see how Hoffer's description might apply.

Pass out the student handout **Authoritarianism vs. Totalitarianism: Two Different Systems.** Read and discuss the questions and chart. How are the two concepts differentiated in these examples?

Developing the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **Definitions**. Compare the definitions of revolution and evolution. Introduce the concept of path theory (see background material). Tell students that now they will read two pieces to gain a sense of the types of transitions possible and the factors associated with them.

Either as a class or individually, have students read **The Anatomy of Revolutions: What We've Learned from Crane Brinton**. Discuss the questions that follow the reading. The definition of the term "revolution" is quite contested. Brinton's work is an early, descriptive attempt to analyze a complex entity. For students it may be helpful to put the discussion in the context of the French or Russian revolutions.

Distribute the student handout, **Democracy's Third Wave** by Samuel P. Huntington. He gives a different perspective on the process and forces of transition. Read and discuss the excerpt and after answering the questions create a "t-chart" brainstorming attributes of revolutions and political evolution that reflect all three handouts and other sources you may find.

Organize students into groups of 4 and distribute student handouts: **1989 in Czechoslovakia, 1989 in Hungary, 1989 in Poland** and **1989 in Romania**. Each group should receive one copy of each handout. These handouts relate to the historical changes experienced in these countries during the late 1980s. Before reading, each student should develop a list of criteria that would identify the events as a case of "revolution" or "evolution." Tell students to limit the number of their criteria. Students' lists will force them to think carefully about the criteria and evaluate the necessity of adding each item to the list. Have each student read one of the country reports, and identify additional events and other elements of the transition that help to classify the events as a "revolution" or "evolution." Teachers may choose to use the enclosed handouts or direct students in more extensive reading of materials they obtain on their own.

Have each group consolidate one final list of criteria. As a class, discuss the criteria each group has listed. These criteria should then be compiled into a class list and added to the **Criteria for Revolution and Evolution** student handout. The discussion should highlight the impact of both Soviet and United States policy in the region, the notion of "snowballing" (the contagion effect) and various other aspects of revolution discussed in the readings. None of these countries lived in isolation from what was happening in the rest of the region. Conclusions should include the context in which events were occurring.

Each group should then determine whether each of the countries fit into the pre-determined criteria that has been listed on the **Criteria for Revolution and Evolution** student handout. Each student should fill information and data into the rubric chart for each country.

Have each group report to the class on the criteria they used to make individual country decisions and on how they rated each of the changes in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

Concluding the Lesson

After discussing and evaluating the evidence for revolution or evolution, students should be ready to define evolution. As the "counter definition," it can be defined as slow, arduous change that results in a transition in government. Countries such as Poland are often used as examples of the process of evolution. The process of evolution is often broken into three stages. Liberalization, the first stage, involves the loosening of governmental control over censorship, nongovernmental institutions and individual freedoms. Democratization, the second stage, is the process of providing for contested elections; opposition parties are permitted to participate in and win elections. Transition, the final stage in the evolutionary process, involves the change in government that occurs when the opposition wins an election and takes over the governmental institutions.

Other Central and Eastern European changes may be analyzed for their revolutionary content. Have students respond to the quote from Crane Brinton in the student handout **Anatomy of Revolutions**: *"After a revolution has undergone the crisis and the accompanying centralization of power, some strong leader must handle that centralized power."*

Ask students:

1. What are the dangers of an authoritarian leader taking control of the government in Central and Eastern European countries?
2. Why didn't this happen after the American Revolution?

Have students create a large revolution/evolution wall chart which combines their individual criteria. Ask students to place information concerning each of the countries studied on the chart. Be sure to identify items that support the differing paths to transition: revolution and evolution.

Extending the Lesson

Using one of the revolution rubrics created by students in class, have students complete research and reading on the events in the former Soviet Union in the 1990s. Have them complete a short defense of whether a revolution has occurred or is occurring in the countries and republics that now constitute that part of the world.

Ask students whether they believe that the events in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 were a product of political, economic and social forces which were developing in those countries or were they a product of the collapse of the Soviet Union's control over these countries? (For additional information on this topic see **Lesson 4: "Shaping Post-World War II Europe."**) Revisit the quotes at the beginning of the lesson and ask students to hypothesize as to the meaning each speaker intended.

Interest in various theories of revolution can be explored in resources such as *Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation* by Jack A. Goldstone in *World Politics*, vol. 32, no. 3.

In-depth study of a short span of time, especially one as involved as 1989-1990, can be useful. However, students should also evaluate and explore how the events of the time have played out in the present. Elections, social changes and continuing political evolution in the region all are worthy of extended study.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Anatomy of Revolutions"

1. Brinton, according to this excerpt, is ambivalent about the amount of "bloodshed" necessary. However, violence can take many forms: physical, emotional and mental. Students might discuss aspects of life under an authoritarian or totalitarian regime. Responses to regime attempts at self-preservation could then be discussed as violent or not.
2. Rising expectations (i.e. people experiencing an increasing standard of living and expecting it to continue increasing) is referred to by many theorists as an important stimulus for transition. Trotter describes Brinton's thoughts in Section 2 of the handout.
3. Scale of action including locations, number of people and time of involvement should be referred to when discussing this question. Some might argue that the outcome also determines what we call the event. A rebellion is put down and a revolution forces some change, if only temporary.
4. The answer to this question should concentrate on various aspects of the American Revolution. All answers depend on the argumentation used to support the answer rather than whether or not the student response is a "correct" one.
    a) *Revolution of Rising Expectations*—American leaders of the revolution did not represent the downtrodden. The economic impact of sanctions from the British government can also be related to this item.
    b) *Weaknesses of the Old Regime*—Again, economic sanctions, taxes to pay for expenses the British government had

incurred would be one possible answer in this section.

c) *Crisis*—Early events in the revolution and the British response to them helped to precipitate a crisis. Lexington and Concord, and the Boston Massacre could be discussed. Arguing the cause and effect nature of these events will assist in defining "crisis."

d) *Rule of Extremists and the Thermidorean Reaction*—Discussion of issues involved in the expulsion or movement of the Loyalist population could be tied to this aspect of the revolution. Other possibilities could involve discussing the Whiskey Rebellion in the context of events occurring as a result of the revolution.

5. Evolution as the opposite of revolution would involve slower change, agreement from a variety of positions in society and a less clearly defined change in the political realities when looking at the outcome.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Democracy's Third Wave"

1. Huntington identifies three waves of democracy : 19th century widening of suffrage, especially in the United States; Post-World War II changes in government around the world; the 1970s and 1980s in Southern Europe, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe.
2. The article talks about a variety of factors to consider when describing the "third wave" of democracy. Among these are the roles of religion, external/international forces, and eroding Soviet threats and control.
3. Huntington talks about the lack of cultural predictors in other areas of the world. These predictors lead to the characterization of Asian cultures and religions, and Islam as incompatible with trends toward democracy. This, of course, is debatable. Students might explore areas of the world that are not yet democratically governed and identify similarities and differences in those societies.

Creating the "Criteria of Revolution and Evolution" Rubric

Criteria for this rubric should arise from the various sources with which students have come in contact. Information for the chart can come from the short descriptions found in this lesson or from further reading and data gathering conducted by the students. It is generally accepted that Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland experienced political evolution, and that Romania experienced a revolution. However, the point of the chart is for students to create their own criteria and arguments for or against the assigning of a category. The ability to reason and justify their decision should also be considered.

Student Handout

Authoritarianism vs. Totalitarianism: Two Different Systems

The common ground between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes is the detachment of government from the people; sometimes there is an autocracy (i.e., rule of an individual), and sometimes an oligarchy (i.e., rule of a group of people). Either way, the citizen has *de facto* influence over neither the State nor its politics. Both types of regimes use oppression against political opponents, but in authoritarianism repression is selective ("pinpoint terror"). Totalitarianism, on the other hand, uses terror on a massive scale as a method of maintaining control of governing power.

There are two features that distinguish totalitarian from authoritarian regimes: the indoctrination of the people, and total institutionalization of public life. Indoctrination of the people is grounded in a monopoly on official ideology in public life (only this ideology can be proclaimed). This official ideology is instilled in the people through all available means (i.e.- no mass or artistic media are devoid of the official ideology). Institutionalization of public life is expressed through attempts to organize and control all fields of social activity by means of directives from above (as Mussolini stated: "All within the State, nothing against the State, nothing beyond the State").

In Communist totalitarianism, the State also exercises control over the economy. In some of its extreme forms, such as Maoist China, it controls the private lives of its citizens. Totalitarianism is the attempt to take complete control of society, not just governmental institutions. This includes social, cultural and economic institutions. Other examples include the Soviet Union under Stalin, Germany under Hitler's Nazi regime, and Italy under the Fascist regime of Mussolini.

Authoritarianism has many forms—from very liberal (e.g., Poland after 1926) to close to totalitarianism (e.g., Spain under Franco). It involves the existence of some form of individual action in the society. While there are wide variations in the types of actions (e.g. small workers groups who meet in opposition to "official" labor unions, functioning opposition press) there is a sense of some individual control.

The chart on the next two pages compares the features of totalitarian regimes to those of Franco's Spain in the 1970s and Poland under Pilsudski [pyew SOOD' skee] in the late 1920s. Read, answer and discuss the following questions:

1. Look across the chart to get some sense of the diverse arrangements that can exist in various regimes. Identify the common characteristics and the important differences between the regimes. What makes them different from totalitarianism?
2. What similarities exist between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes?
3. Hypothesize the reasons individuals living under these regimes might find their individual rights in danger.

TOTALITARIANISM	AUTHORITARIANISM	
	Franco's Spain	Pilsudski's Regime in Poland
LEADERSHIP a dictator with absolute power, free from any type of outside control	a dictator with absolute power; has control over most major government offices	president with extensive powers appointed by parliament
POLITICAL PARTIES one single homogeneous party in power, abolition of all other parties	one National Movement ("community of all Spaniards"), and limited pluralism within the confines of the Movement	limited influence of the parties on political life, no single party system
PARLIAMENT parliament deprived of any real political weight, called into existence by the single party or fictitiously 'chosen' from one list	parliament with limited advisory powers, consisting mainly of representatives of counties and corporate associations	limitation of the parliament's power in favor of executive powers; limitation of electoral freedoms by the administration
LEGAL OPPOSITION lack of legal opposition	moderate opposition tolerated (the opposition functions only partially within the law)	legal opposition is active despite obstacles created by the government
MILITARY the military is the 'armed extension' of the single party	the military is one of the pillars of the regime; in practice, is a power independent from the single party	officers prohibited from membership in political parties; in practice, there is an influence of the ruling regime on the military
POLITICAL OPPOSITION physical suppression of the political opposition and individuals suspected of 'disliking' the regime; terror as a governing principle	strict, but selective repression of radical opposition	limited repression against political opposition; radical opposition is de-legalized
PUBLIC LIFE all domains of public life (under Communism this includes the economy) under the tight control of the single party	the State controls various domains of public life and has limited influence on the economy (State interventionism)	sporadic interference of the 'sanacja' regime in public life; limited influence of the State on the economy (State interventionism)

TOTALITARIANISM	**AUTHORITARIANISM**	
	Franco's Spain	**Pilsudski's Regime in Poland**
TRADE UNIONS uniformity and nationalization of trade unions	official and uniform trade associations; in practice there is half-legal activity of opposition "workers' committees"	organizational and political diversity of trade unions
YOUTH MOVEMENTS uniform youth movement controlled by the single party	uniform youth movement that propagates official ideology; in practice there are also independent students' organizations	organizational and political diversity of the youth movement
CULTURE and EDUCATION omnipresent influence of the government's monopolistic ideology on all domains of life	strong influence of state seen in culture and education	the State does not interfere in cultural life; institutions of higher learning have autonomy
MEDIA all mass media is under State control; complete preventative censorship	existence of independent press, occasionally limited by restrictive censorship (post factum)	freedom of press and publication, limited temporarily by restrictive censorship
PRIVATE LIFE the State and the single party attempt to control the private lives of citizens in accordance with the principles of State ideology	the State attempts to influence the private lives of citizens (public morality)	the State does not interfere in the private lives of citizens

(chart by Jaroslaw Tomasiewicz)

Student Handout

Definitions

REVOLUTION:
A COMPLETE OVERTHROW OF AN ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT OR POLITICAL SYSTEM.

EVOLUTION:
GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT, NOT A SUDDEN CHANGE

(Definitions based on *World Book Encyclopedia* 1978 edition)

Revolution: is a term that generally refers to a fundamental change in the character of a nation's government. Such a change may or may not be violent. Revolution may also occur in other areas, including cultural, economic, and social activities.

Kinds of Revolutions: A political revolution may change various ways of life in a country, or it may have no effect outside of the government. For example, the Russian Revolution of 1917 not only deposed the czar but also began major social changes such as the elimination of private property. On the other hand, the Revolutionary War in America (1775-1783) changed a political system without causing basic social changes.

Some revolutions last for many years. The Chinese Communists fought for 22 years before defeating the Nationalist Chinese government in 1949. This revolution involved widespread guerrilla warfare. Some political movements that appear to be revolutions do no more than change a country's rulers. Many Latin-American political uprisings have replaced dictators without making fundamental changes in governmental systems. Political scientists call such movements rebellions rather than revolutions. However, a rebellion may lead to a political or social revolution.

Causes of Revolution: Most revolutions occur because serious problems have caused widespread dissatisfaction with an existing system. Poverty and injustice under cruel, corrupt, or incapable rulers may contribute to revolution. But in most cases, social problems alone do not cause revolutions. They lead to despair rather than a willingness to fight for something better. Revolutions need strong leaders who can use unsatisfactory conditions to unite people under a program that promises improvements.

Many revolutions occur after rulers begin to lose confidence in themselves and yield to various demands from their rivals. Such compromises by rulers, or rapidly improving social conditions create a *revolution of rising expectations* as people begin to see hope for a better life. The French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution both began after the rulers agreed to the people's demands for representative assemblies. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 occurred after the government released some of its strongest opponents from prison.

Not all revolutions have led to improved conditions. Some revolutionaries have worked for change only to gain political power for themselves. A number of conservative rulers have called themselves revolutionaries simply to convince the public that support social and economic changes.

Student Handout

The Anatomy of Revolutions: What We've Learned From Crane Brinton

by Ben Trotter

In his 1938 piece, Crane Brinton [historian] set out to compare four revolutions: the English in the 17th century, the American and French in the 18th, and the Russian at the beginning of this century. His goal was to seek parallels for purposes of analysis. From his study, he outlined an anatomy of revolution that attempted to explain the causes, course, and consequences of these four famous revolutionary upheavals.

When communism collapsed in 1989, some commentators referred to Brinton's model as they sought to explain and predict the future course of the Eastern European revolutions. Other theories have also come forth from individuals such as Gurr, Smelser and Tilly. By exploring their more theoretical additions to the field, broader information has been made available. However, Brinton's descriptive attributes serve as a useful starting point:

1. Revolution of Rising Expectations

a. economic upswing

b. leadership not from the downtrodden

Brinton disputes the common view that revolutions are primarily uprisings of the downtrodden. While the government may be financially strapped, society as a whole is experiencing a long-term economic upswing. The leaders of the revolution as it begins are not the oppressed, but rather those whose hopes have somehow been dashed by government policy or a short-term economic downturn. In other words, these are revolutions of rising but blocked expectations, when there has opened "an intolerable gap between what people want and what they get." Brinton notes further that "revolutions seem more likely when social classes are fairly close together than when they are far apart."

2. Weaknesses of the Old Regime

a. ineffective government

b. old ruling elite divided

The government itself is short of funds. Its policies are often seen as impediments to economic advancement, for it has failed to adapt to social and economic change. To many of the governed, the crime of the state is not so much despotism as it is inefficiency and corruption. Although the state struggles to reform itself from time to time and sometimes heroically, it always falls short or is overwhelmed by its own past and by those who benefit from all or part of the status quo. Intellectuals transfer allegiance from the Old Regime to an as yet unrealized ideal of a better world. Even members of the ruling class itself begin to doubt their privileged position and join the intellectuals in looking for a better system.

3. Crisis

a. precipitated by finances and/or war

b. reveal inadequacy of the Old Regime

c. allows emergence of counter leadership

d. overreaction and inept use of force

While Brinton does not ignore elements of leadership and planning in the beginning stages of each of these revolutions, he insists that any such "gardeners are not working against nature, but rather in soil and in a climate propitious[1] to their work...." Since most people are obedient by nature, it is crucial that something legitimizes the increasingly open opposition to the government. That typically is the regime's poor handling of the crisis that has been precipitated by war and/or a financial predicament. The state reacts too late, with too little force to crush the illegal opposition institutions but with enough violence to alienate a wide segment of the public. Even more critically, the armed forces abandon the government, and the opposition finds itself victorious over a regime because of more dramatic than serious bloodshed.

4. The Revolutionaries

a. united by a negative

b. unity ended by crises

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[1] Editor's note: propitious is defined as favorably disposed.

c. migration of revolution to left, revolutionaries to right

During the honeymoon period, the revolutionaries were united, but only by their opposition to the Old Regime. When it came time to create a new regime and a new society, however, this unanimity fell apart. The so-called moderates, who gain control of the government, espouse idealistic programs but lack the single mindedness to bring them to fruition. In a sense, these moderates were too realistic, too willing to compromise, and not idealistic enough; they may have had the perfect mettle[1] for a more settled situation, but these virtues became weaknesses in this time of upheaval. As they clash with those who would take the revolution further in its re-making of society, many moderates drop out as even moderation itself is increasingly moved to the "left" and those who were once advocates of change become champions of conservatism.

The so-called extremists—single-minded idealists who really mean business—have meanwhile gained control over and purged the institutions—clubs, soviets,[2] para-military groups—that had grown up illegally under the Old Regime. This minority, who are highly centralized and obedient to their leaders, exploit crises to gain strength and eventually finesse the moderates out of power, often as a result of a wartime crisis.

5. Rule of the Extremists

a. driven by internal/external threat

b. rule of virtue

The extremists create a dictatorship, usually driven by the need to mobilize against internal and/or external foes. Although they name the people as the source of their legitimacy and the liberty of the people as their goal, they fear the masses will return to their old habits or will be hoodwinked by the "right." Thus, they must "force them to be free." Most people—the ordinary outsider or non-extremist—are suspect to these mavens[3] of a revolutionary virtue that is often puritanical. In their mania to re-create from scratch, they even aim at the simple things of life, renaming places, days, people, almost everything. They attack traditional religion, replacing it with a secular religion that demands heaven here and now. Violence, in the name of the revolution, becomes normal—a reign of terror.

6. Thermidorean Reaction

All this pursuit of virtue and interference in people's daily lives becomes intolerable to the vast majority, who are outsiders to this revolutionary zeal. Thermidor (named after the month in the new calendar when the Terror ended in France) can be seen "as a convalescence [gradual recovery] from the fever of revolution." Old elites seep back into the system as revolutionary leaders are largely reviled, some old institutions, such as the former established church, are partially restored, and pleasure comes back with a vengeance after the dreary days of revolutionary virtue. But the old habits of government and society have been so befuddled and mutilated during the revolution, life, both private and public, seems adrift. This causes many to seek a strong figure to arrest this drift, fill the power vacuum, and harness the energy of the centralized state that had been strengthened during the reign of terror. This leads to a kind of dictatorship that stops the drift to disorder but, on the whole, neither extends nor reverses the early changes brought about by the revolution.

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. Does Brinton seem to think a revolution has to be violent?
2. What is meant by a revolution of rising expectations?
3. What is the difference between a revolution and a rebellion?
4. How does the American Revolution meet the criteria outlined in the reading?
5. Evolution is often presented as the opposite of revolution. Hypothesize what political evolution could mean.

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[1] Editor's Note: mettle is strength of spirit or temperament.

[2] Editor's Note: a soviet is an elected government council in a communist country.

[3] Editor's Note: a maven is one who is experienced or knowledgeable, the word carries a connotation of individuals who use their supposed knowledge as a tool to hold others down.

Student Handout

Democracy's Third Wave

by Samuel P. Huntington

From Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner. Copyright © 1993 by John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, pp. 39–52, 108–26. Reprinted by permission of the Johns Hopkins University Press.

...Between 1974 and 1990, at least 30 countries made transitions to democracy, just about doubling the number of democratic governments in the world. Were these democratizations part of a continuing and ever-expanding "global democratic revolution" that will reach virtually every country in the world? Or did they represent a limited expansion of democracy, involving for the most part its reintroduction into countries that had experienced it in the past?

The current era of democratic transitions constitutes the third wave of democratization in the history of the modern world. The first "long" wave of democratization in the history of the modern world began in the 1820s, with the widening of the suffrage to a large proportion of the male population in the United States, and continued for almost a century until 1926, bringing into being some 29 democracies. In 1922, however, the coming to power of Mussolini in Italy marked the beginning of a first "reverse wave" that by 1942 had reduced the number of democratic states in the world to 12. The triumph of the Allies in World War II initiated a second wave of democratization that reached its zenith in 1962 with 36 countries governed democratically, only to be followed by a second reverse wave (1960-1975) that brought the number of democracies back down to 30.

...At what stage are we within the third wave? Early in a long wave, or at or near the end of a short one? And if the third reverse wave comes to a halt, will it be followed by a significant third reverse wave eliminating many of democracy's gains in the 1970s and 1980s? Social science cannot provide reliable answers to these questions, nor can any social scientist. It may be possible, however, to identify some of the factors that will affect the future expansion or contraction of democracy in the world and to pose the questions that seem most relevant for the future of democratization.

...Historically, there has been a strong correlation between Western Christianity and democracy. By the early 1970s, most of the Protestant countries in the world had already become democratic. The third wave of the 1970s and 1980s was overwhelmingly a Catholic wave. Beginning in Portugal and Spain, it swept through six South American and three Central American countries, moved on to the Philippines, doubled back to Mexico and Chile, and then burst through in the two Catholic countries of Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary. Roughly three quarters of the countries that transited to democracy between 1974 and 1989 were predominantly Catholic.

By 1990, however, the Catholic impetus to democratization had largely exhausted itself. Most Catholic countries had already democratized or as in the case of Mexico, liberalized.[1] The ability of Catholicism to promote further expansion of democracy (without expanding its own ranks) is limited to Paraguay, Cuba, and a few Francophone African countries. By 1990, sub-Saharan Africa was the only region of the world where substantial numbers of Catholics and Protestants lived under authoritarian regimes in a large number of countries.

The Role of External Forces

...During the third wave, the European Community (EC) [now the European Union or EU] played a key role in consolidating democracy in southern Europe. In Greece, Spain, and Portugal, the establishment of democracy was seen as necessary to secure the economic benefits of EC membership, while Community membership was in turn seen as a guarantee of the stability of democracy. In 1981, Greece became a full member of the Community, and five years later Spain and Portugal did as well.

In April 1987, Turkey applied for full EC membership. One incentive was the desire of Turkish leaders to reinforce modernizing and democratic tendencies in Turkey and to contain and isolate the forces in Turkey supporting Islamic fundamentalism. Within the Community, however, the prospect of Turkish membership met with little enthusiasm and even some hostility (mostly from Greece). In 1990, the liberation of Eastern Europe also raised the possibility of membership for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The Community thus faced two issues. First, should it give priority to broadening its membership or to "deepening" the existing Community by moving toward further economic and political union? Second, if it did decide to expand its membership, should priority go to European Free Trade Association members like Austria, Norway, and Sweden, to the East Europeans, or to Turkey? Presumably the Community can only absorb a limited number of countries in a given period of time. The answers to these questions will have significant implications for the stability of democracy in Turkey and in the East European countries.

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[1] Editor's Note: Liberalization is defined as the loosening of governmental authority especially in the area of personal freedoms. Democratization is defined as the existence of an opposition that has an opportunity to win elections.

...The withdrawal of Soviet power[1] made possible democratization in Eastern Europe. If the Soviet Union were to end or drastically curtail its support for Castro's regime, movement toward democracy might occur in Cuba. Apart from that, there seems little more the Soviet Union can do or is likely to do to promote democracy outside its borders. The key issue is what will happen within the Soviet Union itself. If Soviet control loosens, it seems likely that democracy could be reestablished in the Baltic states. Movements toward democracy also exist in other republics. Most important, of course, is Russia itself. The inauguration and consolidation of democracy in the Russian republic, if it occurs, would be the single most dramatic gain for democracy since the immediate post-World War II years. Democratic development in most of the Soviet republics, however, is greatly complicated by their ethnic heterogeneity and the unwillingness of the dominant nationality to allow equal rights to ethnic minorities. As Sir Ivor Jennings remarked years ago, "The people cannot decide until somebody decides who are the people." It may take years if not decades to resolve the latter issue in much of the Soviet Union.

During the 1970s and 1980s the United States was a major promoter of democratization. Whether the United States continues to play this role depends on its will, its capability, and its attractiveness as a model to other countries. Before the mid-1970s the promotion of democracy had not always been a high priority of American foreign policy. It could again subside in importance. The end of the Cold War and of the ideological competition with the Soviet Union could remove one rationale for propping up anti-communist dictators, but it could also reduce the incentives for any substantial American involvement in the third World.

American will to promote democracy may or may not be sustained. American ability to do so, on the other hand, is limited. The trade and budget deficits impose new limits on the resources that the United States can use to influence events in foreign countries. More important, the ability of the United States to promote democracy has, in some measure, run its course. The countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, and East Asia that were most susceptible to American influence have, with a few exceptions, already become democratic. The one major country where the United States can still exercise significant influence on behalf of democratization is Mexico. The undemocratic countries in Africa, the Middle East, and mainland Asia are less susceptible to American influence.

Apart from Central America and the Caribbean, the major area of the Third World where the United States has continued to have vitally important interests is the Persian Gulf. The Gulf War and the dispatch of 500,000 American troops to the region have stimulated demands for movement towards democracy in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and delegitimized Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. A large American military deployment in the Gulf, if sustained over time, would provide an external impetus toward liberalization if not democratization, and a large American military deployment probably could not be sustained over time unless some movement toward democracy occurred.

The U.S. contribution to democratization in the 1980s involved more than the conscious and direct exercise of American power and influence. Democratic movements around the world have been inspired by and have borrowed from the American example. What might happen, however, if the American model ceases to embody strength and success, and no longer seems to be the winning model? At the end of the 1980s, many were arguing that "American decline" was the true reality. If people around the world come to see the United States as a fading power beset by political stagnation, economic inefficiency, and social chaos, its perceived failures will inevitably be seen as the failures of democracy, and the worldwide appeal of democracy will diminish.

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[1] Editor's Note: The Soviet Union was the ultimate power in this region. Until the onset of *glasnost* and other reform efforts this power determined the future of countries in the region. The breakup of the Soviet Union is agreed to have started in 1991.

Snowballing

...The impact of snowballing on democratization was clearly evident in 1990 in Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Mongolia, Nepal, and Albania. It also affected movements toward liberalization in some Arab and African countries. In 1990, for instance, it was reported that the "upheaval in Eastern Europe" had "fueled demands for change in the Arab world" and prompted leaders in Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, and Algeria to open up more political space for the expression of discontent.

The East European example had its principal effect on the leaders of authoritarian regimes, not on the people they ruled. President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, for instance reacted with shocked horror to televised pictures of the execution by firing squad of his friend, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu. A few months later, commenting, "You know what's happening across the world," he announced that he would allow two parties besides his own to compete in elections in 1993. In Tanzania, Julius Nyerere observed, "If changes take place in Eastern Europe then other countries with one-party systems and which profess socialism will also be affected." His country, he added, could learn a "lesson or two" from Eastern Europe. In Nepal in April 1990, the government announced that King Birendra was lifting the ban on political parties as a result of "the international situation" and "the rising expectations of the people."

If a country lacks favorable internal conditions, however, snowballing alone is unlikely to bring about democratization. The democratization of countries A and B is not a reason for democratization in country C, unless the conditions that favored it in the former also exist in the latter. Although the legitimacy of democratic government came to be accepted throughout the world in the 1980s, economic and social conditions favorable to democracy were not everywhere present. The "worldwide democratic revolution" may create an external environment conducive to democratization, but it cannot produce the conditions necessary for democratization within a particular country.

In Eastern Europe the major obstacle to democratization was Soviet control; once it was removed, the movement to democracy spread rapidly.

There is no comparable external obstacle to democratization in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. If rulers in these areas chose authoritarianism before December 1989, why can they not continue to choose it thereafter? The snowballing effect would be real only to the extent that it led them to believe in the desirability or necessity of democratization.

The events of 1989 in Eastern Europe undoubtedly encouraged democratic opposition groups and frightened authoritarian leaders elsewhere. Yet given the previous weakness of the former and the long-term repression imposed by the latter, it seems doubtful that the East European example will actually produce significant progress toward democracy in most other authoritarian countries.

By 1990, many of the original causes of the third wave had become significantly weaker, even exhausted. Neither the White House, the Kremlin, the European Community, nor the Vatican was in a strong position to promote democracy in places where it did not already exist (primarily in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East). It remains possible, however, for new forces favoring democratization to emerge. After all, who in 1985 could have foreseen that Mikhail Gorbachev would facilitate democratization in Eastern Europe?

In the 1990s the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank could conceivably become much more forceful than they have heretofore been in making political democratization as well as economic liberalization a precondition for economic assistance. France might become more active in promoting democracy among its former African colonies, where its influence remains substantial. The Orthodox churches could emerge as a powerful influence for democracy in southeastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A Chinese proponent of *glasnost* [openness] could come to power in Beijing, or a new Jeffersonian-style Nasser [a former Egyptian general and leader] could spread a democratic version of Pan-Arabism in the Middle East. Japan could use its growing economic clout to encourage human rights and democracy in the poor countries to which it makes loans and grants. In 1990, none of these possibilities seemed very likely, but after the surprises of 1989 it would be rash to rule anything out.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What are the three waves of democracy that Huntington has identified?
2. Describe a few of the attributes of Huntington's "Third Wave of Democracy."
3. What are the prospects for democracy's spread in the future? Hypothesize what aspects of culture and modern international relations might have an impact on this spread.

Student Handout

1989 in Czechoslovakia

Pressures for Change: In the 1980s pressure mounted on the Czechoslovakian communist regime to alter its conservative course. Socialist neighbors, in particular the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary also contributed to this pressure.

Soviet Pressure: Gorbachev made no secret of his dislike of Czechoslovak communism—a form of communism that was conservative and resistant to change in politics and culture. The Czechoslovak crackdown on dissidents, including the imprisonment of Václav Havel [pron. VAHTS-lahv HAH-vel; Czech writer and playwright who was later elected president in 1990], was a hindrance to Soviet efforts to strengthen ties with the West through a more liberal policy on human rights. Furthermore, the Kremlin worried that this conservatism would eventually destabilize Czechoslovak society and its socialism.

In November of 1988 Soviet Politburo member and Gorbachev adviser Aleksandr Yacovlev went to Prague [Czechoslovakia's capital] to urge a more tolerant approach to political dissent. The Kremlin led the Czechoslovak leadership to expect, sometime in the future, a Soviet reassessment of the 1968 invasion of Prague, perhaps including an exoneration of Alexander Dubček [pron. DOOB-chek; former communist reformer who was demoted for promising "socialism with a human face"]. Such a Soviet move would weaken the credibility and authority of conservative elements in the Czechoslovak party and, possibly, encourage increased tolerance of political dissent.

Internal Pressure: Internal pressure to liberalize the political environment came especially from youth. The regime's agreement with the public—a sort of social contract whereby the population remained politically passive so long as there was economic stability—crumbled as a younger generation of students and workers, untainted by the fear and defeatism that followed the 1968 uprising, grew increasingly impatient for the change the Gorbachev era appeared to promise. Although their organization was weak and their political strategy almost nonexistent, their aspiration for change was vocal and persistent.

The Beginnings of Reform: In late 1988 there was evidence that the Jakes [pron. YAH-kesh; Czechoslovakian communist leader 1987-1989] regime was loosening up. The conservative leadership promoted younger and more pragmatic elements to the Politburo, and conservative figures departed. The government stopped jamming Radio Free Europe in 1988. The regime also treated dissident Havel gingerly, for all its frustration over his dissident activity. Eventually his sentence was reduced to 8 months.

This slight shift in politics was accompanied by a gradual implementation of modest economic reforms. State run companies were made more independent of the government, and workers' groups were given more freedom.

Upheaval in the Fall of 1989: Events, however, had a momentum of their own. After the sudden and unexpected collapse of conservative rule in East Germany in early October 1989 and in Bulgaria in early November, as well as the subsequent relaxation of political control in Czechoslovakia itself, Czechoslovaks started to organize and demonstrate for swifter change in their own government. The Jakes regime initially tried to resist this pressure by using force to disburse demonstrators. Under mounting pressure, the party eventually met the demands of the newly formed coalition of opposition groups, called Civic Forum, and agreed to share power with noncommunist organizations. The Soviet Union refused to help the Jakes administration and in fact decided to recall about one third of the Soviet troops which had been stationed in Czechoslovakia. The new government also terminated all course work and academic programs in Marxist—Leninist studies in the nation's universities and fired all of the professors who had benefitted from communist rule. Prague took steps to desocialize the economy by expanding private entrepreneurialism.

The End of the Communist Era: In the next elections President Havel received the majority of votes for President. The former dissident was now in charge. After the Parliamentary elections the Premier was given the mandate to form the first democratic government in Czechoslovakia in over 40 years.

Student Handout

1989 in Hungary

Social Problems: There were many reasons for the decline and eventual end of communist rule in Hungary. In the 1980s economic stagnation aggravated social ills. There was, for example, a frightening deterioration in the delivery of medical care, due in part to decreasing expenditures for public health. Approximately 90 percent of the entire population suffered from poor nutrition, smoking, alcoholism, or chronic nervous strain. Hungary's life expectancy was among the lowest in 33 developed countries examined by the World Health Organization. As a result, Hungary's population was no longer reproducing itself. A chronic housing shortage also worsened the people's physical and mental health. The state simply failed to continue redistributing existing housing.

Movement Toward Democracy: Pressure had been mounting both inside the Communist Party and throughout the society as a whole for a radical alteration of the political system, in the belief that economic improvement depended on political change. Beginning in 1987 there was an increase of popular interest in democratic reform. In 1987 Hungarian intellectuals began a new umbrella-type organization for political advocacy. In early 1988, some 200 Hungarian journalists applied to the government to officially recognize them as an opposition group called the Magyar (Hungarian) Democratic Forum. It soon developed into an actual political party. Also in May 1988, workers and academics formed the first independent union since the Communist takeover. The Hungarian communists had long depended on the Soviet Union. The weakening of the U.S.S.R., the alienation of the communist elite from the mainstream of society and pressure from human rights groups all contributed to political change.

Under pressure from society, the Kadar [pron. KAH-dar; communist leader of Hungary from 1956-1989] government collapsed and political groups called for the reinstatement of the multiparty system and parliamentary elections. In the spring of 1989 the Communist Party argued that this would lead to instability. As the old decade came to a close the former Hungarian Communist Party was trying to retain some influence over the country's political future.

End of Communist Rule: In early 1990 the new Parliament passed a law establishing freedom of conscience and religion that marked a final break with past policies of atheism. In the Parliamentary election of 1990 the Communists suffered a decisive defeat. The victory went to the parties in the center right; including the Federation of Young Democrats, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and resurrected, pre-war parties such as the Independent Smallholders. The centrist Magyar (Hungarian) Democratic Forum promised a careful transition from socialism to a free market economy, the creation of a convertible currency and help for Hungarian nationals in other countries. Democracy was restored to Hungary.

Student Handout

1989 in Romania

Economic Problems: Romania continued throughout the 1980s to have one of the lowest standards of living in Central and Eastern Europe. There were chronic shortages of everything the consumer needed or wanted—especially food. The continuing harshness of the daily life of ordinary Romanian citizens provoked a renewal of social unrest in November 1987. Thousands of workers in the city of Brazov went into the streets to demonstrate against severe pay cuts and increasingly extreme shortages. The catalyst for this demonstration was a presidential decree by Ceauşescu [pron. chow-SHEH-skoo; ruthless dictator of Romania 1965-1989] which had gone into effect on November 10, reducing domestic consumption of electricity and heating oil by an additional 30 percent.

Political Problems: Despite the dissatisfaction with the Ceauşescu regime, the lack of political organization among dissidents made it seem that this dictatorship would resist the changes occurring in the rest of Central and Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was reluctant to do anything about the situation in Romania because they hoped that the Romanians would work out their problems themselves.

Romania, December 1989: The sudden collapse of the Ceauşescu regime came as surprise to almost everyone. The Romanian secret police were sent to a distant province, to the city of Timisoara to arrest a dissident priest. Laszlo Toekes, the priest, was being protected by local citizens. Reverend Toekes is a member of the 2.5 million ethnic minority living in Transylvania (Western Romania). His protection by both Romanians and Hungarians alike contributed to a feeling of solidarity. In the context of historical disagreements and a tradition of tense relationships, this cooperation across ethnic lines was an important development. The security forces killed hundreds of people in order to arrest Toekes. The protests continued in that city and soon spread to others despite or because of the police violence. By the third week in December elements of the national army had joined the revolt. With the help of the army the insurgents captured Ceauşescu and his wife and executed them on December 25, 1989. The government passed into the hands of the Council of Salvation which was made up of the former leaders' political opponents. This new council issued many new reforms like lifting censorship and growing tolerance for freedom of speech, assembly, and travel. Food was diverted from export to be sold in the country. All of the communist land reforms for the rural areas in Romania were canceled.

The sources of power after the revolution were the army, the revolutionaries and the former Communist Party. In early 1990 Parliamentary elections were held. The winning party is accused by some to have created a victory of intimidation. During the elections they appealed to the working class to oppose the intelligentsia and to disrupt the actions of the political opposition. The workers were used to the break up of demonstrations by liberal groups. This continuation of past practices of political intimidation indicated that the revolution was being controlled by new hard liners whose actions were reminiscent of the Ceauşescu era.

Student Handout

Poland

"The Polish August": In the summer of 1980, the Polish government raised food prices, especially the price of meat. By August, worker strikes spread across the country. The strikers in the Gdańsk shipyards caught the world's attention but strikes were in fact occurring in many places. Strikes were not new to Poland; worker unrest had occurred in 1956, 1968, 1970, and 1976. These strikes, however, were different, in large part due to the charismatic leadership of Lech Wałęsa [pron. vah-WEN-sah]. The workers' demands were simple: civil liberties, higher wages and the right to establish an independent trade union, "Solidarity."

Solidarity Trade Unions spread across the country. Fifty unions with more than 10 million members became part of a broad umbrella group. Some experts call what happened the "self-limiting revolution." Despite wide support, the trade union never set out as one of its goals the overturning of the government. Instead the opposition simply went about the efforts of 'living free;' publishing papers, organizing openly, and setting its non-violence and openness in direct comparison to the regimes deception and violence.

Martial Law: In the early hours of December 13, 1981 a military junta took control of the government and declared martial law. Mass internments, seizures of communications networks, public harassment, and strict censorship all became common place. The major difference in this military coup was that it was not an attempt to overthrow the government, it was in fact an attempt to preserve it. To General Jaruzelski [pron. ya-roo-ZEL-skee], the head of the government, the threat of Soviet invasion was intermittent and real.

The Party and Roundtable Talks: By August, 1988 the communist party was in retreat. Widespread strikes throughout Poland demanded the restoration of Solidarity. Internal arguments about enforcing martial law created a loss of faith among the party faithful. Poland's unpopular leaders began to realize they could not govern the country without at least some level of support from the people. Meanwhile the economic situation in the country began a downward spiral, finally reaching a level where both Solidarity activists and the government acknowledged the need to cooperate.

Wałęsa and General Czesław, the very general who had signed the martial law decree, met in a Warsaw suburb to make a deal: restoration of Solidarity in return for an end to strikes. In February and March of 1989, the government and Solidarity met in a series of roundtable discussions that eventually led to the full restoration of Solidarity, elections to a two house parliament (with free and open elections to the newly restored upper house), and vast changes to the economic structure of the country.

June 4, 1989: The same day Chinese troops began to fire on democracy protestors in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, Poles went to voting booths in the closest thing to free elections experienced under a communist government. Every contested race was won by Solidarity. Even seats supposedly guaranteed to the Communist Party were lost by the party when their candidates failed to receive the 50% required for victory. Follow up elections led to a non-communist Prime Minister (Tadeusz Mazowiecki). The first transition to a non-communist government had begun.

December 9, 1990: Lech Wałęsa was elected president with 75% of the vote.

Criteria of Revolution and Evolution

Using the information in this lesson's readings on revolution, develop 5 to 6 criteria, (for example, "widespread dissatisfaction with the system of government,") to judge whether a revolution has occurred. Identify facts and information from each case that support the classification of the events as examples of revolution or evolution.

CRITERIA	Romania	Hungary	Czechoslovakia	Poland

ANALYZING VOICES OF DISSENT

A specter is haunting eastern Europe; the specter of what in the West is called "dissent."

—Václav Havel, The Power of the Powerless *(1978)*

Summary of the Lesson

This lesson explores the ways in which **dissidents** of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union demonstrated against government policies and actions. The governments' severe punishment and **censorship** of these dissidents often made the states' violations of **human rights** and **free expression** even more obvious. Some of the most effective methods for expressing opposition to governments were through the arts. Art and literature has traditionally played an important role in the cultures of Central and Eastern European countries. Consequently, artists and writers served an important political function by cultivating a **civil society** (nongovernmental associations that cultivate civic responsibilities and virtues). When governments refused to allow controversial pieces to be published, many artists distributed their materials through the ***samizdat***—underground and illegal presses. In this lesson, students read dissident poetry, analyze the power of the imagery and symbolism, and discuss the role of dissent in building civil society in communist regimes.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- analyze texts illustrating civil dissent,
- evaluate the use of literature as a method of protest,
- analyze the role of dissent in developing a civil society.

Background Material for the Teacher:

Read the background material from **The Power of the Powerless** by Václav Havel. Teachers may wish to share this reading with students as well. (A section entitled "Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas" has been included in case the reading is shared with students.)

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Distribute copies of the handout **A Star in My Street.** Ask a student to read the poem aloud to the class or have students read the poem in pairs or small groups.

Ask students the following questions to generate discussion about the poem:

1. What kind of person is the poet describing when she writes about Scallion (the cat)? *(Blandiana's use of the term "scallion" (or onion) indicates someone with an unpleasant odor; her use of the term "tomcat" refers to one who is combative and unfaithful; one who is overly confident, privileged.)*
2. How does the poet feel about Scallion? *(The language Blandiana uses reflects a sarcastic tone—while recognizing Scallion's power and influence, her choice of words mock him. Blandiana's last line, "That he's a character of mine," also seems to indicate that she feels some responsibility for Scallion.)*
3. What kind of position does Scallion have in the community? *(Blandiana's description of Scallion going out for a "stroll" and the whole street coming out to see him indicates that he is someone of great importance.)*

Inform students that, from the 1960s on, resistance to communist regimes grew in Central and Eastern Europe. Dissent took many forms, including poetry and literature.

Explain to students that this poem was written about the former communist dictator of Romania, Nicholae Ceauşescu.

Ceauşescu was one of the most repressive dictators in modern history. Under Ceauşescu's regime, Romania experienced strict censorship, a vicious secret police (the Securitate) who relied on secret informers, and a dismal economic policy which eventually brought the country to financial ruin. In addition, Ceauşescu introduced pronatalist policies which limited women's access to birth control and rewarded women for producing large numbers of children—in spite of poor economic conditions which could not support an increase in the population. For these reasons, Ceauşescu was one of the most despised figures in Central and Eastern Europe. (In 1989, Romania experienced the most violent transition from communism and Ceauşescu was the only former communist leader to be executed in any of the Central and Eastern European countries.)

Ceauşescu, recognizing himself in the character Scallion, censored Blandiana and repressed the poem's official publication. However, Blandiana's poem was widely read in Romania and Eastern Europe, even during Ceauşescu's regime. Blandiana, like many dissidents during this period, released her poem as *samizdat,* or material to various underground press movements. While these activities were illegal and punishment for publication of censored documents severe, numerous writers and poets used the *samizdat* to "publish" materials repressed by their communist governments.

Have students reread Blandiana's poem now that they know more about its origins. Use the following questions to guide a discussion:

1. Why would Ceauşescu feel so threatened by this poem? *(Ceauşescu was probably threatened by the disrespectful, mocking tone of the poem. In addition, the final line indicates that Ceauşescu had been created by the people—and, therefore, could be destroyed by the people.)*
2. What lines in the poem are most powerful in their challenge to Ceauşescu and his government? *(Again, the final line is a daunting challenge to his absolute authority. The references to Scallion as "His Highness" who snatches up little mice and who has "grown too big for his fur" refer both to his crimes against the people and the possibility of his downfall.)*
3. Why would Blandiana risk punishment to ensure that this poem could be read by other Romanians? *(Blandiana wrote this poem during a time of immense political unrest in Romania. Other Central and Eastern European countries, as well as the Soviet Union, were in the midst of increasingly liberal reform. Challenges to communist leadership had resulted in significant changes; by releasing this poem, Blandiana was issuing a call for similar reforms in Romania.)*

Developing the Lesson

Explain to students that literary figures in Central and Eastern Europe have the same status as film and music stars have in the United States. For example, a Polish poet named Wisława Szymborska was awarded the 1996 Nobel Prize for Literature. In Poland, Szymborska's poetry is well-known among both adults and school children; Poles take a great deal of pride in this world-wide recognition of a Polish poet. The special role of literary figures and intellectuals is not a recent development. Historically, artists and intellectuals have been held in very high regard in this region of the world.

1. Ask students why they think poetry, prose and art played such an important role in Central and Eastern European cultures. (These genres offered a way for people to hold on to their national and cultural identities even when they were occupied by other countries. Poland, for example, ceased to exist as a country for several centuries—its lands were partitioned among the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian Empires. During this period, Polish language, history and traditions were preserved through artists and intellectuals who continued to keep the culture alive.)
2. Explain to students that, following the end of World War II, many intellectuals and artists supported the communist movements in their countries. (This was especially true in Czechoslovakia, where universities served as centers of communist support and activity.) The support of the artists and intellectuals initially helped to legitimize the communist parties. However, as the Soviet Union's control increased and freedom of expression decreased, the majority intellectuals and artists became disillusioned with their communist governments. In most Central and Eastern European countries, intellectuals and artists formed the core of dissent. It was around these groups that increasingly wider circles of opposition forces began to circulate. (For more information about these groups, refer to literature on the KOR in Poland and the Charter 77 group in the former Czechoslovakia.) Consequently, artists and intellectuals acted as catalysts for government reforms. While usually not officially recognized by the communist states, these groups and networks—both informal and formal in organizational structure—were at the center of developing civil societies. One important function of a civil society under these conditions is to promote discourse about the rights and responsibilities of citizens and to form associations which act independently of the government's influence. Countries with strong civil societies are usually considered more likely to sustain a democratic form of government.

Distribute copies of the handout, **The Power of Taste.** Ask students to read this poem by Zbigniew Herbert, a Polish poet. Explain that this poem, also an example of dissident poetry, was not censored by the Polish government.

Divide the class into groups of 3 to 4 students. In small groups, have students consider the questions on the handout.

Discuss the students' conclusions as an entire class. Ask students why they think this poem was not censored by the Polish government under communism. (The Polish government tended to be more lenient with artists than Ceauşescu's regime. Also, this poem is less explicit in its references against the government. The poem could be interpreted to mean that any offense against beauty or justice is distasteful.)

Concluding the Lesson

Have students generate examples of ways in which contemporary artists express dissent in music, writing, or painting. (Examples might include rap artists, graffiti artists, movies, etc.)

Ask students for examples of artists from the past who have expressed their opposition to government policies in the United States. (Examples here could include Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Wright's *Black Boy*, Jimi Hendrix's rendition of *The Star Spangled Banner*.)

1. What makes these examples, both past and present, different from the poems they discussed in class?
2. In what ways are citizens of the United States protected against censorship?
3. How do students think the recent changes in Central and Eastern Europe affected former dissidents? (For more information on this topic, teachers might wish to consult **Lesson 13: "After the Collapse of Communism: Post-Revolutionary Blues."**)
4. Why are the various genres in art (poetry, music, literature, painting, sculpture, etc.) often used to express artists' political opinions?

Use the following questions to broaden the scope of the students' discussion:

1. What is the role of intellectuals in a society?

2. How is culture transmitted?
3. What is the importance of ideas in initiating change? Who articulates new ideas?
4. How are ideas transformed into action?
5. What is the role of censorship in a society?
6. What should or should not be censored?
7. Is the pen mightier than the sword? Why or why not?

Extending the Lesson

As an assignment, have students choose an issue on which they oppose the government's official position. Students should create a poem, essay, song, or painting that reflects their dissent.

Teachers may want to distribute the reading **The Power of the Powerless.** Students could respond to the questions on their own or in small groups.

Students could create a rubric for evaluating the "dissident artwork." This would encourage students to consider how art (including literature and poetry) can be evaluated from both a political/social perspective as well as on its aesthetic value.

Provide students with the following quote from Stanisław Baranczak [pronounced stan-EE-swav ba-RAN-zak] and ask them to write a 1-2 page analysis of what they think Baranczak means in relation to this lesson: *The fact that the suppression of freedom and the absence of unrestricted political life made through a substitution for action meant, in practice, that no creative individual has ever been left alone with his inner problems and perplexities; whatever he or she has created has always been assessed from the perspective of its potential service to a common cause. A besieged fortress is scarcely the place to sit back and meditate on the beauty of Nature or the intricacies of mathematical logic—if someone is capable of intellectual work, the defenders want him at least to write rousing battle songs or chronicle of the siege.* (From Stanisław Baranczak and Leszek Kolakowski, "The Polish Intellectual," *Salmagundi*, no. 70-71: 217-228.) Establish with students a rubric for the assignment that reflects an expectation that they integrate information from the lesson in their analysis.

Students could develop projects in which they examine one genre (poetry, music, film, literature) and look for ways in which political attitudes are reflected in these genres. Students might also want to explore the works of Havel, Herbert or Blandiana in more depth. In both of these projects, students should be required to draw parallels between the artists and the historical context.

Students might select a particular period of history and analyze the music, art and literature from a political perspective to determine the extent to which artists and writers influenced and/or were influenced by actions of the state.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Power of the Powerless"

1. In this essay Havel attempts to demonstrate to people living under authoritarian regimes that, while they consider themselves powerless, there are many ways in which the average person can show opposition to the government. In this way, the powerless have a great deal of power. Havel also rejects the notion that "dissent" is limited to those who are recognized as dissidents. Instead, Havel argues, there are numerous examples of ways in which the people can promote reform in even the most totalitarian governments.
2. Under communist rule, many aspects of the people's personal and professional lives were regulated by the government. In order to undermine the government's complete control of the society, Havel encouraged people to develop and sustain an "independent life of society" in which associations could be established that were separate from the government. In addition, as discussed in relation to the poems included in this lesson, opposition to the government was often closely censored. Consequently, the only possibility for "living within the truth" came from these independent associations.
3. Members in a society might demonstrate their dissent through public demonstrations, art, literature, or through actions such as boycotts, distributing information that is censored by the government, challenging "official" information.
4. Students' opinions on this will vary widely. Teachers might refer students to Henry David Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience," in which he claims that it is a citizen's responsibility to disobey unjust laws. Reasons in favor of showing dissent include that unjust governments will not change unless forced to do so, that citizens have a responsibility to ensure the rights of all citizens, and that certain

universal principles (such as freedom of expression) should take precedence over the laws of individual government policies. Reasons against showing dissent include the threat of imprisonment or exile—both of which would limit a citizen's ability to fulfill personal responsibilities, the importance of protecting oneself as an individual instead of risking one's own life when change is unlikely, and the possibility that widespread dissent would only lead the government to institute more repressive policies (as evidenced in Poland during the 1980s when a long period of martial law followed nation-wide demonstrations against the communist government).

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "The Power of Taste"

1. Herbert is referring to the "taste" of the communist takeover in Poland. The references to the "Lenin jacket" and the "palace of justice" refer to the Soviet Union's role in establishing the Polish communists.
2. Herbert's claim that "it didn't require great character at all" seems to indicate that, for him, there was little choice in whether or not to accept communist rule in Poland. This phrase stresses that it didn't require a great deal of courage to show opposition to the government because the crimes committed by the regime left citizens with little choice.
3. Herbert refers to "the murderers" and sending "Aurora's grandchildren out into the field." He also describes the "slaughterers" and "official colors the despicable ritual of funerals." In all of these instances, Herbert is referring to injustices perpetrated by the communist government in Poland.
4. Students answers to this will vary.
5. Students probably will not understand references made to "Hieronymus Bosch" (a painter whose painting included interesting creatures from fantasies), the "palace of justice" (a reference to the Palace of Culture in Warsaw, a gift from the Soviet government after WWII), or a "home-brewed Mephisto in a Lenin jacket" (a reference from "Mephistopheles"—a chief devil in the Faust legend and probably referring to the Polish communists who cooperated with the Soviet leadership). Students could find some of these references by consulting dictionaries and encyclopedias. Other references would become more clear if students consulted books about Poland's history from 1944-1989.

Background Reading

The Power of the Powerless

by Václav Havel

From "The Power of the Powerless" by Václav Havel, *Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (1985). Reprinted by permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, New York.

A spectre is haunting eastern Europe: the spectre of what in the West in called "dissent." This spectre has not appeared out of thin air. It is a natural and inevitable consequence of the present historical phase of the system it is haunting. It was born at a time when this system, for a thousand reasons, can no longer base itself on the unadulterated, brutal, and arbitrary application of power, eliminating all expressions of nonconformity. What is more, the system has become so ossified politically that there is practically no way for such nonconformity to be implemented within its official structures.

Who are these so-called "dissidents"? Where does their point of view come from, and what importance does it have? What is the significance of the "independent initiatives" in which "dissidents" collaborate, and what real chances do such initiatives have of success? Is it appropriate to refer to "dissidents" as an opposition? If so, what exactly is such an opposition within the framework of this system? What does it do? What role does it play in society? What are its hopes and on what are they based? Is it within the power of the "dissidents"—as a category of subcitizen outside the power establishment—to have any influence at all on society and the social system? Can they actually change anything?...

...[I]f an atmosphere of revolutionary excitement, heroism, dedication, and boisterous violence on all sides characterizes classical dictatorships, then the last traces of such an atmosphere have vanished from the Soviet bloc. For some time now this bloc has ceased to be a kind of enclave, isolated from the rest of the developed world and immune to processes occurring in it. To the contrary, the Soviet bloc is an integral part of that larger world, and it shares and shapes the world's destiny. This means in concrete terms that the hierarchy of values existing in the developed countries with the West has, in essence, appeared in our society (the long period of coexistence with the West has only hastened this process). In other words, what we have here is simply another form of the consumer and industrial society, with all its concomitant social, intellectual, and psychological consequences. It is impossible to understand the nature of power in our system properly without taking this into account.

The profound difference between our system—in terms of the nature of power—and what we traditionally understand by dictatorship, a difference I hope is clear even from this quite superficial comparison, has caused me to search for some term appropriate for our system, purely for the purposes of this essay. If I refer to it henceforth as a *post-totalitarian* system, I am fully aware that this is perhaps not the most precise term, but I am unable to think of a better one. I do not wish to imply by the prefix "post-" that the system is no longer totalitarian in a way fundamentally different from classical dictatorships, different from totalitarianism as we usually understand it....

The manager of a fruit and vegetable shop places in his window, among the onion and carrots, the slogan: "Workers of the World, Unite!" Why does he do it? What is he trying to communicate to the world? Is he genuinely enthusiastic about the idea of unity among the workers of the world? Is his enthusiasm so great that he feels an irrepressible impulse to acquaint the public with his ideals? Has he really given more than a moment's thought to how such a unification might occur and what it would mean?

I think it can safely be assumed that the overwhelming majority of shopkeepers never think about the slogans they put in their windows, nor do they use them to express their real opinions. That poster was delivered to our greengrocer from the enterprise headquarters along with the onions and carrots. He put them all into the window simply because it has been done that way for years, because everyone does it, and because that is the way it has to be. If he were to refuse, there could be trouble. He could be reproached for not having the proper "decoration" in his window; someone might even accuse him of disloyalty. He does it because these things must be done if one is to get along in life. It is one of the thousands of details that guarantee him a relatively tranquil life "in harmony with society," as they say.

Obviously the greengrocer is indifferent to the semantic content of the slogan on exhibit; he does not put the slogan in his window from any personal desire to acquaint the public with the ideal it expresses. This, of course, does not mean that his action has no motive or significance at all, or that the slogan communicates nothing to anyone. The slogan is really a *sign*, and as such it contains a subliminal but very definite message. Verbally, it might be expressed this way: "I. The greengrocer XY, live here and I know what I must do. I behave in the manner expected of me. I can be depended upon and am beyond reproach. I am obedient and therefore I have the right to be left in peace." This message, of course, has an addressee: it is directed above, to the greengrocer's superior, and at the same time it is a shield that protects the greengrocer from potential informers. The slogan's real meaning, therefore is rooted firmly in the greengrocer's existence. It reflects his vital interests. But what are those vital interests?

Let us take note: if the greengrocer had been instructed to display the slogan, "I am afraid and therefore unquestioningly obedient," he would not be as indifferent to its semantics, even though the statement would reflect the truth. The greengrocer would be embarrassed and ashamed to put such an unequivocal statement of his own degradation in the shop window, and quite naturally so, for he is a human being and this has a sense of his own dignity. To overcome this complication, his expression of loyalty must take the form of a sign which, at least on its textual surface, indicates a level of disinterested conviction. It must allow the greengrocer to say, "What's wrong with the workers of the world uniting?" Thus the sign helps the greengrocer to conceal himself from the low foundations of his obedience, at the same time concealing the low foundations of power. It hides them behind the facade of something high. And that something is *ideology*....

Between the aims of the post-totalitarian system and the aims of life there is a yawning abyss—while life, in its essence, moves towards plurality, diversity, independent self-constitution and self-organization, in short, towards the fulfillment of its own freedom, the post-totalitarian system demands conformity, uniformity, and discipline. While life ever strives to create new and "improbable" structures, the post-totalitarian system contrives to force life into its most probable states. The aims of the system reveal its most essential characteristics to be introversion, a movement towards being ever more completely and unreservedly *itself*, which means that the radius of its influence is continually widening as well. This system serves people only to the extent necessary to ensure that people will serve it. Anything beyond this, that is to say, anything which leads people to overstep their predetermined roles is regarded by the system as an attack upon itself. And in this respect it is correct: every instance of such transgression is a genuine denial of the system. It can be said, therefore, that the inner aim of the post-totalitarian system is not mere preservation of power in the hands of a ruling clique, as appears to be the case at first sight. Rather, the social phenomenon of self-preservation is subordinated to something higher, to a kind of blind *automatism* which drives the system. No matter what position individuals hold in the hierarchy of power, they are not considered by the system to be worth anything in themselves, but only in so far as its direction coincides with the direction of the automatism of the system.

Ideology, in creating a bridge of excuses between the system and the individual, spans the abyss between the aims of the system and the aims of life. It pretends that the requirements of the system derive from the requirements of life. It is a world of appearances trying to pass for reality.

The post-totalitarian system touches people at every step, but it does so with its ideological gloves on. This is why life in the system is so thoroughly permeated with hypocrisy and lies: government by bureaucracy is called popular government; the working class is enslaved in the name of the working class; the complete degradation of the individual is presented as his or her ultimate liberation; depriving people of its information is called making it available; the use of power to manipulate is called the public control of power, and the arbitrary use of power is called observing the legal code; the repression of culture is called its development; the expansion of imperial influence is presented as support for the oppressed; the lack of free expression becomes the highest form of freedom; farcical elections become the highest form of democracy; banning independent thought becomes the most scientific of world views; military occupation becomes fraternal assistance. Because the regime is captive to its own lies, it must falsify everything. It falsifies the past. It falsifies the present, and it falsifies the future. It falsifies statistics. It pretends not to possess an omnipotent and unprincipled police apparatus. It pretends to respect human rights. It pretends to persecute no one. It pretends to pretend nothing.

Individuals need not believe all these mystifications, but they must behave as though they did, or they must at least tolerate them in silence, or get along well with those who work with them. For this reason, however, they must *live within a lie*. They need not accept the lie. It is enough for them to have accepted their life with it and in it. For by this very fact, individuals confirm the system, fulfill the system, make the system, *are* the system....

...[I]t is impossible to talk about what in fact "dissidents" do and the effect of their work without first talking about the work of all those who, in one way or another, take part in the independent life of society and who are not necessarily "dissidents" at all. They may be writers who write as they wish without regard for censorship or official demands and who issue their work—when official publishers refuse to print them—as *samizdat*. They may be philosophers, historians, sociologists and all those who practice independent scholarship and, if it is impossible through official or semi-official channels, who also circulate their work in *samizdat* or who organize private discussions, lectures and seminars. They may be teachers who privately teach young people things that are kept from them in the state schools; clergymen who either in office or, if they are deprived of their charges, outside it, try to carry on a free religious life; painters, musicians and singers who practice their work regardless of how it is looked upon by official institutions; everyone who shares this independent culture and helps to spread it; people who, using the means available to them, try to express and defend the actual social interests of workers, to put real meaning back into trade unions or to form independent ones; people who are not afraid to call the attention of officials to cases of injustice and who strive to see that the laws are observed; and the different groups of young people who try to extricate themselves from manipulation and live in their own way, in the spirit of their own hierarchy of values. The list could go on.

Very few would think of calling these people "dissidents." An yet are not the well-known "dissidents" simply people like them? Are not all these activities in fact what "dissidents" do as well? Do they not produce scholarly work and publish it in *samizdat*? Do they not write plays and novels and poems? Do they not lecture to students in private "universities?" Do they not struggle against various forms of injustice and attempt to ascertain and express the genuine social interests of various sectors of the population?

After having tried to indicate the sources, the inner structure and some aspects of the "dissident" attitude as such, I have clearly shifted my viewpoint from outside, as it were, to an investigation of what these "dissidents" *actually* do, how their initiatives are manifested and where they lead.

The first conclusion to be drawn, then, is that the original and most important sphere of activity, one that predetermines all the others, is simply an attempt to create and support the "independent life of society" as an articulated expression of "living within the truth." In other words, serving truth consistently, purposefully and articulately, and organizing this service. This is only natural, after all: if living within the truth is an elementary starting point for every attempt made by people to oppose the alienating pressure of the system, if it is the only meaningful basis of any independent act of political import, and if, ultimately, it is also the most intrinsic existential source of the "dissident" attitude, then it is difficult to imagine that even manifest "dissent" could have any other basis than the service of truth, the truthful life and the attempt to make room for the genuine aims of life....

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What does Havel mean by his title, "Power of the Powerless"?
2. Why, under communist rule, would it have been so important for members of the society to "attempt to create and support the 'independent life of society' as an articulated expression of 'living within the truth'"? What does Havel mean by the "independent life of society"? By "living within the truth"?
3. In what ways might all members of a society be able to demonstrate their dissent against an unjust government?
4. Do citizens living under an unjust government have a responsibility to show their dissent? Why or why not?

Student Handout

A Star in My Street

by Ana Blandiana

Before I go any further,
There's a bracket I must open
(A chapter, that's to say,
In a story or a book)—
About someone who's not
A local down my way,
In fact, in his case,
Adjectives explain
Nothing, so I'd better say
That I'm talking of SCALLION.
And when I've said SCALLION
I think that's quite enough
And I need explain no more,
For you all know at once
Who this character is,
Whom I permit myself
To style the most renowned
Tomcat in the town,
To whom poems have been written
And whose portraits have been drawn
As is usual with stars.
And what's more, they have shown
Cartoons about him, full
of thrills and full of fun,
Even on television.
Well, after such successes
So incontestable
And incredible
It's no wonder at all
That when he goes out to stroll
The whole street's in a spin
And rushes out to see him.
Windows are flung wide open,
Schoolbooks are forgotten by children,
Branches lean out over the fence,
The crush is dense
As a high street's.
Cars are forced
To slow right down.
Admiring glances are cast
In a catlike fashion.
He's given flowers,
Bread and salt,
A letter or two
In an envelope,
And everyone shouts
"SCALLION,"
He proceeds with importance and with cool,
Gives a piece of advice, hears a louder
Protest (like that of a hen with chicks
Against a tomcat marauder),
Distributes simpers, paw-shakes,
Here and there a fine
Or rather a rebuke
And everyone's attentive
And full of gratitude.
Even (believe it or not) the scraps
Between the female alley-cats
And the tomcats are suspended!
And (to top it all) I've heard tell
That a little mouse
Waiting to be snatched
By His Highness
Whined in a high pitch
Between his sighs:
"Oh, what a privilege
To be swallowed just by Him!"
In this uncanny situation
I find it only normal
That Scallion's grown too big for his fur
And thinks he's phenomenal.
So I'm amazed as a result
That he answers when I call him
(Offering him, admittedly, out of gratitude,
A poem).
It's probable that in his mind,
The mind of a celebrity
At its apogee,
There comes from time to time,
With difficulty,
Like an erratum,
The memory
That he's a character of mine.

Student Handout

The Power of Taste

"The Power of Taste" from *Report from the Besieged City* by Zbigniew Herbert,
translated by John Carpenter and Bogdana Carpenter. Copyright © 1985 by Zbigniew Herbert.
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It didn't require great character at all
our refusal disagreement and resistance
we had a shred of necessary courage
but fundamentally it was a matter of taste
Yes taste
in which there are fibers of soul the cartilage of conscience

Who knows if we had been better and more attractively tempted
sent rose-skinned women thin as a wafer
or fantastic creatures from the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch
but what kind of hell was there at this time
a wet pit the murderers' alley the barrack
called a palace of justice
a home-brewed Mephisto in a Lenin jacket
sent Aurora's grandchildren out into the field
boys with potato faces
very ugly girls with red hands

Verily their rhetoric was made of cheap sacking
(Marcus Tullius kept turning in his grave)
chains of tautologies a couple of concepts like flails
the dialects of slaughterers by distinctions in reasoning
syntax deprived of beauty of the subjunctive

So aesthetics can be helpful in life
one should not neglect the study of beauty

Before we declare our consent we must carefully examine
the shape of the architecture the rhythm of the drums and pipes
official colors the despicable ritual of funerals
Our eyes and ears refused obedience the
princes of our senses proudly chose
exile

It did not require great character at all
we had a shred of necessary courage
but fundamentally it was a matter of taste
Yes taste
that commands us to get out to make a wry face draw out a sneer
even if for this the precious capital of the body
the head
must fall.

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What is the "power of taste" to which Herbert refers?
2. Herbert claims that "It didn't require great character at all…" What does he mean by this?
3. What examples does Herbert give his readers to demonstrate why the taste was so unbearable?
4. Which of Herbert's images are most powerful? Why?
5. Some of the allusions in this poem might be unfamiliar to Americans. What parts of Herbert's poem were difficult for you to understand? Where could you go to find information that would explain these references?

ROCK MUSIC AND THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM

> ***Any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole State, and ought to be prohibited; when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them.***
>
> —*Plato,* The Republic

Summary of the Lesson

This lesson deals with the relationship between rock music and the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s. The interplay between **official culture** and a **counterculture** are explored through a scholarly analysis, with brief statements from communist party officials representing the official culture, and song lyrics by rock musicians critical of the communist regimes presenting the counterculture. This lesson highlights the concepts of **socialization** and **dominant culture** underlying the stabilizing and destabilizing role popular culture and **social movements** can play in any political system.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the concept of socialization as a means of perpetuating a political system,
- define the terms counterculture, dominant culture, and official culture,
- assess to what extent and in what ways rock music was both a perceived and real threat to the stability of the communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s,
- recognize how political events were reflected in the lyrics of rock music.

Background Material for the Teacher

Read the background material handout from Sabrina Petra Ramet, entitled **The Politics of Rock**. (Extensive background reading has been included because such information is often not easily accessible. While it may not be necessary to read this selection in its entirety, you may wish to make this available to students who demonstrate particular interest in the subject.) This material was written before the break-up of Yugoslavia.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Write the above quotation from Plato's *Republic* on the chalkboard or on a transparency:

1. Ask them to analyze what Plato is saying, noting that there are two parts to his statement: a) analysis and identification of a problem, and b) remedy or solution of the problem.
2. Ask if they agree with his analysis. What about his remedy? Ask them to explain their answers.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute a copy of the handout **Rock Music and Counterculture** to each student and have them read the excerpt by Sabrina Petra Ramet, an analysis of rock music by a Czech music critic, and a critique of youth culture by an Albanian Communist Party newspaper. When all have finished, discuss the answers to the questions at the end of these selections.

Break students into groups of 3 to 4; half of the groups will examine Polish sources, while the other half focuses on Czech materials. According to the country their group has been allocated, give each individual a copy of the appropriate student handout (**Poland** or **Czechoslovakia**). Have them answer the questions at the end of their handouts as a group, then discuss their answers with the whole class.

Concluding the Lesson

Conclude the lesson by discussing the following questions:

1. What was the communist attitude to the rock music? Why?
2. How and why would music influence the fall of Central and Eastern European communism?
3. Can rock music influence the survival of democracy in former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe? Why or why not?
4. What role does rock music play in the democratic life of the United States?

Extending the Lesson

Students could examine the socialization of young people into the political system of the U.S. By whom and how is this process brought about? Students could be asked to provide and explain examples of song lyrics from the dominant culture of the U.S. that stabilize our political system. Provide and explain examples of song lyrics from a counterculture in the U.S. that destabilizes our political system.

1. Assess to what extent and in what ways rock music was both a perceived and real threat to the stability of the communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1970s and 1980s.
2. Recognize how political events were reflected in the lyrics of rock music.

Extending the Lesson

Students could research the role jazz and jazz musicians played in the pre-1989 unrest in various countries. For example, the Jazz Section of the Czechoslovak Musicians' Union during the mid 1980s.

Further discussions could occur regarding the youth cultures of Central and Eastern Europe as both *results of* and as factors *contributing to* the ultimate fall of communist regimes, (see Ramet, 240-54).

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Rock Music and Counterculture-A"

1. It was important to communist regimes to socialize individuals into "a new communist man and woman" because they needed to instill specific values and attributes in the younger generation.
2. Of the six background variables mentioned in the article, rock music reflects or contributes to the following: (1) alienation of intellectuals and youth; (3) economic difficulties; and, (6) anticommunist attitudes.
3. Music is an ideal vehicle for social criticism and political protest because: it is an esoteric language with clear messages for the target audience that may be excused as pure entertainment where unsympathetic listeners are concerned; it creates a feeling of collective solidarity among listeners; and, it is a kind of escape valve that may become a symbol of hope and transformative opinion.
4. *Counterculture* is a culture that challenges the official party's culture. *Dominant culture* is

the most influential culture and *official culture* is seen as the only legitimate interest. Rock music may be seen as representative of the counterculture, but may also become the dominant culture as a "beacon for mobilizing opinion" against the official culture.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Rock Music and Counterculture-B"

1. Jan Kryzl's criticism of rock music is that it encourages a retreat from reality and an indifference to the concerns of socialism.
2. The two background conditions relevant to this critique are; (1) alienation of intellectuals and youth; and, 6) anticommunist attitudes. Implicit is (5) contacts with the West.
3. The writer is biased against Rock music as he sees it as a threat to socialism.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Rock Music and Counterculture-C"

1. The specific criticisms against clothing and hair fashions suggest that 'alien' (Western) fashions such as long hair and miniskirts are representative of one's world outlook and ideology. Therefore these fashions show the penetration of "degenerate bourgeois and revisionist ideology."
2. Degenerate: a decline in physical, mental, or moral qualities. Bourgeois: middle class, merchant, businessperson, or salaried worker. Revisionist: a person who supports revision and change. Ideology: a set of doctrines or opinions.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Poland"

1. The conditions reflected in these songs are: (1) alienation of intellectuals and youth; (4) divisions within the party; and, (6) anticommunist attitudes.
2. Certainly views that are alien to socialism are present in these songs as highlighted by the Czech music critic if you consider socialism the official culture. The words of the songs are representative of the counterculture and reflective of the attitudes of discontent and rejection of that official culture.
3. The chronology highlights a period of rejection of the official culture as a deteriorating economy and civil uprising reflect the desire for change in the country.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Czechoslovakia"

1. The conditions represented in these songs include: (1) alienation of intellectuals and youth; (4) divisions within the party; and (6) anticommunist attitudes.
2. The first song reflects an indifferent approach to life as highlighted in the Czech music critics excerpt. The second song highlights the antisocialist attitudes that the Czech music critic considers a major concern. The rock music seems to be a reflection of these attitudes rather than a cause.
3. In 1968 it seemed as if Czechoslovakia's communist party was becoming more democratic and increasing personal freedom. However, the invasion by Soviet troops put an end to such reforms and a harsh and strict clamp down on personal freedom of expression followed.

Background Material

The Politics of Rock

From Sabrina Petra Ramet, "Rock Music and Counterculture," *Social Currents in Eastern Europe*, pp. 234–61. Copyright © 1995 by Duke University Press. Reprinted with permission.

The political effects of rock music depends on explicit (or perceived) messages in the lyrics and includes reinforcement of political attitudes through reference to the peer group.

Music has always lain within the sphere of the politically relevant for communist regimes. When the Bolsheviks first seized power, they were convinced that it would be necessary to create "a totally new culture, one that would eventually permeate every aspect of life and art." Symptomatic of this orientation were the establishment in 1923 of the Association of Proletarian Musicians for the purpose of spawning ideologically approved music, and the activity of the Blue Blouse movement between 1925 and 1929, which, under director Boris Yuzhanin, took party views on events and issues of the day and set them to dance and song.

Soviet wariness of popular music began with the fox-trot, which, like jazz, was seen as a "capitalist fifth column" aimed at subverting the forces of progress. The Soviets changed their minds, however, when the Nazis condemned the genre. If the Nazis hated it, the Soviets rationalized, perhaps it was not so bad after all; and besides, they were starting to develop a liking for jazz.

The emergence of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s confronted the Soviets and their allied East European regimes with a new challenge. The Soviets feared that the overt rebelliousness of rock'n'roll would have deleterious effects on the political consciousness of the young, and rock music was banned. "When the Beatles craze hit Russia in the mid-sixties, efforts to reinforce the ban were strengthened." This proved untenable.

A constant refrain—repeated by Soviet Politburo member Konstantin Chernenko in June 1983—was that through Western rock, "the enemy is trying to exploit youthful psychology." As recently as 1988 the ultraconservative journal *Rabochaya gazeta* wrote that rock was "the devil's work, morally corrupting, anti-national and ideologically subversive." In orthodox communist eyes, Western rock seemed to encourage the withdrawal from social engagement to a focus on personal feelings; the glorification of the West; the infiltration of political skepticism, if not outright dissidence; the introduction of standards, fashions, and behavioral syndromes independent of party control; and a general numbness thought to foster political indifference and passivity.

The focus of personal feelings, encouraged by songs about "feeling good" and "doing your own thing," was clearly unwelcome in the more strident regimes of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and, until Gorbachev, the Soviet Union. Curtis notes that in the process of obsolescing big bands, rock 'n' roll encouraged "a new sense of the singer as an individual," a sentiment that after 1964 would grow into adulation of specific rock figures. This symbolic individualism also has its psychological counterpart in the stimulation of narcissism noted by Curtis. The Prague newspaper *Tribuna* commented, in this vein, that "individualization of life as a program does not have anything in common with a socialist way of life. It is motivated by old egotism; it is accompanied by petit bourgeois mentality." Similarly, *Sovetskaya Kultura* attacked rock idol Michael Jackson in June 1984 for being "apolitical in the extreme, a vegetarian, sentimental, and a religious believer," while *Literaturnaya gazeta* blasted Donna Summer for singing songs full of "vulgar sexual shrieks," describing her as a "marionette" of the "ideological masters" of the United States. The Soviets refusal to issue a visa to Boy George in mid-1984 probably reflected a related concern—that is, that Boy George's transvestism might stimulate transvestism in the Soviet musical scene.

Glorification of Western Culture is a latent feature in Western rock when transplanted to the communist world. Even if not consciously, Western rock promotes certain values and behavior which are associated with Western society, and there is a historical tendency for urban youth throughout the world, and perhaps especially in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, to be attracted to things Western, and to believe that the West is culturally superior. As an intellectual position, this orientation has a long history in Russia.

East European youth, including members of official youth organizations, commonly wear blue jeans, and sometimes stars-and-stripes emblems and crucifixes. The East German government forbade the wearing of blue jeans, viewing the fashion as a potential "Trojan horse." American university sweatshirts became so popular, moreover, that by the late 1970s the Yugoslav's were making their own facsimiles and selling them in the stores. In Romania, however, the popularity of American university sweatshirts and of T-shirts with pictures of American pop singers was seen as evidence of "moral pollution." Similarly, in Czechoslovakia, an official commentator warned that Western paraphernalia in music and fashion convert their buyers into "walking advertising pillars for Western companies" and thereby "shape and nourish illusions about the Western way of life and the superiority of the capitalist social system and impede the shaping of a socialist life-style." In Bulgaria, where only about a third of "pop music" broadcast on Bulgarian television and radio was native (the rest being mostly American or British), young people started making and wearing facsimiles of Western military uniforms in the early 1980s, American and British being the most popular.

The infiltration of political dissidence is a more serious problem, however, and the East European rock groups repeatedly drifted toward social criticism and political commentary. One of the best known rock groups in Eastern Europe was a Czech group, Plastic People of the Universe. This outspoken group was put on trial in 1976 after releasing an album titled *Egon Bundy's Happy Hearts Club Banned.* The album came with a sixty-page soft-cover booklet entitled "The Merry Ghetto," and included a song with the message, "war is hell." The album was banned by the authorities. A similar fate befell the East German Renft Combo.

Among rock groups of the 1980s, the now-defunct Yugoslav band Panktri (Bastards), based in Ljubljana, was one of the more daring. In open mockery of the partisan mythology, the group proposed to release an album showing a man hugging a war monument, and to call the album *The Bastards in Collaboration with the State.* The producer circumspectly disallowed the title and refused to run a picture using any monument from World War II. The Bastards therefore staged the same pose using a monument from World War I, and titled the album *Bastards—Lovers of the State.*

The fourth epiphenomenon associated with rock music is *the propagation of cultural standards, fashions, and behavioral syndromes independent of party control.* To the extent that they persist in spite of party antagonism, they become explicitly antiparty, quite independently of any political messages being propounded. Punk and heavy metal countercultures penetrated the U.S.S.R., East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, imposing a cultural specificity in fashion with rejectionist and nihilist overtones. In the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, punk brought cultural neo-nazism in tow, with the now defunct Slovenian punk group 4-R (Fourth Reich) appearing in Nazi uniforms. The Albanian party paper *Zeri I popullit* put it this way:

> To accept the extravagant bourgeois and revisionist modes of dress is to create an appropriate terrain for undermining socialist attitudes, behavior, and convictions. To think that long hair and narrow pants or miniskirts have nothing to do with one's world outlook, one's ideology, is as naive as it is dangerous. Not to fight alien fashions means to give up the fight against the penetration of the degenerate bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Finally, rock music is seen to produce a *general numbness,* blurring concentration. Party spokesman sometimes argued that the passivity and retreat into indifference fostered by certain bands was a deliberate ploy by "the bourgeois manipulators of thought, ideologues, and subversive centers" of Western capitalism. Czechoslovak communist newspapers compared the "new wave of rock" to a drug, arguing that the "deafening noise, monotonous tunes, and primitive, often vulgar texts" are well chosen to *inculcate* nihilism and cynicism.

The bottom line for more orthodox elites, as phrased by Albanian communist spokespersons, was that liberal attitudes in arts and fashion (underpinned by an ultraliberal philosophy expressed in songs) lead to liberal attitudes in morals, which in turn lead to liberal attitudes in politics. Political liberalism thus undermines communist rule, which could lead to the overthrow of the communist power monopoly. It seemed only logical for Valdimir Makarov, writing in the Krasnodar youth newspaper *Komsomolets Kubani,* to link Western rock with a CIA master plan to subvert the communist bloc. Indeed, claimed Makarov, Allen Dulles once "said that if we teach young Soviet people to sing our songs and dance to them, then sooner or later we shall teach them to think in the way we need them to."

The Polish Rock Scene

Rock music and fashions have hit every Eastern European country to one extent or another (probably even including Albania). Their most tangible impact has been in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The three most popular rock countercultures in Poland in the late 1980s were punk, popper, and the hippie (possibly in that order). The Polish punk scene is diverse. There were at least seven types of Polish punks, including punks and skins, skanks, Krasowcy, skinheads, and others. There were probably well over three hundred active rock groups in Poland in 1984, including numerous punk bands, in such cities as Warsaw, Gdańsk, Nowa Huta, and Kraków. Polish Radio broadcasts as much as twenty-four hours of

Western rock per week on channel 3, and ten hours per week on channel 4. And a survey conducted in 1982 by Leszek Janik found that listening to rock music was the most popular form of recreation for young Poles, and that more than 70 percent of Polish high school students were "well acquainted" with rock music and culture.

Polish rock is infused with politics, and many of the leading rock bands have taken overtly political names, such as Delerium Tremens, The Fifth Column, SS-20 (re-named, under pressure, The Deserter), Pathology of Pregnancy, Verdict, Crisi, Shortage, Paralysis, and Protest. Other well-known groups include TSA, Republika, Perfect, Kombi, Exodus, and Turbo. Where punk is concerned, this trend may have been reinforced, in particular, by the despondency created by the suppression of Solidarity and numerous other independent structures in December 1981. The regime is especially sensitive to punk, but uncertain how to cope with it.

In August 1984, the fifteenth annual Jarocin rock festival attracted nearly 19,000 youth to listen to sixty Polish groups perform. Three hundred groups applied for regime permission, but only sixty were approved after submitting their songs for clearance. The uncertainty in such a procedure is illustrated by the case of the approved group, Perfect, which had properly submitted the texts of its songs to the authorities. At the concert, the approved line "we want to be ourselves," was replaced with "we want to beat off anyone," and the approved line "don't be afraid" was replaced with "don't be afraid of Jaruzelski." The group was subsequently disbanded by the authorities, but staged a comeback at the 1987 Jarocin rock festival.

Most new wave bands were unable to obtain official clearance to cut a record, but the private tapes of garage performances proliferated. Although Polish punk is a western import, Polish punks felt they represented a purer, even superior, strain of punk culture. "Those in Britain sing 'no future,' " said a leading Polish punk vocalist. "But I'd like to be on welfare payments there! If you want to know what is 'no future' come to Poland!"

This bleakness colored the lyrics sung by Polish punk bands in the mid-1980s. The punk band WC, for instance, offered a nihilistic vision in one song:

Posers, fetishists—destroy them all!
A generation of conformists—destroy them all!
Your ideals—destroy them all!

And in another song, WC mocked the coercive foundation upon which the post-Solidarity regime was built:

I am a tank, I am a tank.
I am strong, I am healthy.
I can only beat everyone…
I can only go [straight] ahead
And I do not need to eat.
I am afraid of nothing,
You are tight—so what[!]

Other bands, with names like Cadaver and Clinically Dead, projected despair that deepened into resignation and apathy. Another band, Manaam, won critical acclaim in 1983 for the release of an album called Night Patrol. One of its songs was set against the background of wailing sirens and the sounds of breaking glass, and, in a dispassionate falsetto, described daily life in martial-law Poland in these terms:

Shadows in the dark city
Linger through the night.
Danger lurks by your doorway,
Don't turn out the light…
Don't go out alone
Evil is prowling…
Night patrol's alert
Making sure that you're OK
That you don't get hurt,
Anxious to protect you.
Everything's all right.
Shadows in the sad city
Bleed through the night.

Lyrics like these have drawn charges of "fascism" from the party dailies *Zolnierz Wolnosci* and *Trybuna Ludu.*

Manaam's lead singer, Kora Jackowska, was among the most outspoken, and won prizes from the youth weekly *Sztander Mlodych*, and the magazine *Jazz Forum*. Jackowska also came to the regime's attention, and for good reason, since she has not shied away from searing commentary. In one criticized song, for example, she sang:

Treason, treason
Cunning, cold, calculating…
Broken promises, broken light,
White is black and black is white…
Don't talk back, turn the other cheek…
Talk out of line if you dare.
Don't make me look, I don't want to see.
Is everyone a traitor or is it just me?
Treason sneaks into your bed.

What happened in Poland, as this song reflects, is that the nihilism and skepticism of much of rock, and of punk especially, became more focused, more clearly anti-government. Rock culture was thus overtly political. In the early 1980s Polish rock had an antiregime edge, and tended to blame the regime for society's pathologies. By the late 1980s rock groups began to sing a new song: people were responsible for their own problems and had enslaved themselves.

To deal with the groundswell of "social pathology" (as the regime called it) among Polish youth, Warsaw issued directives in January 1984, advising school teachers and administrators to compile lists of punks, hippies, "fascists," and social "misfits." These lists were turned over to the police, and thus those identified were placed under surveillance. In addition, the Ministry of Education drew up a set of "social preventative and resocializing measures" aimed at "eliminating the causes of poor social adaptation" and "protecting children and young people from the effects of social pathology."

In the West, punk is already passe. Not so in Poland, where punk became a favorite vehicle for expressing youth's complete despair of the system. The punk group Insects, for instance, boasted that it took the name "because you can't kill off all the insects." Another group, Goring's Underpants, combined a coquetry with nazism with outright ribaldry—an odd combination. Their motto: the underground must piss against the wind." Another group took the name Trybuna Brudu (Dirt Tribune), which rhymes with *Trybuna Ludu (People's Tribune)*, the communist party paper. General Secretary Jaruzelski confessed on Polish television that he did not understand all this "screechy youth music." So much the better, as far as the punks were concerned.

Aside from punks, a Satanist movement has also emerged within the Polish rock scene. The rock group Kat, which revels in Satanist imagery and whose most recent album (1987) is titled *666*, is in part responsible for this trend. Polish Satanists dress in black adorned with satanic emblems (such as 666 or the devil's pentagram, a star within a circle), and wear chains and an upside-down cross pendant. A group of one hundred Satanists attended the Jarocin rock festival, where they burned a large cross and celebrated a black mass.

Straight-Laced in Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak rock scene presented a striking contrast to that in Poland. In communist Czechoslovakia, the kind of noisy defiance displayed by Polish groups was out of the question. Lyrics had to be more subtle if the band planned to stay out of prison, and the singers had to be content with irony or, at the most, ridicule and ambiguous sarcasm. An untitled Czech number from the early 1980s illustrates this quite clearly:

> Women leave me unmoved
> Emotions I scorn
> I'm well liked at work
> My record stays clean.
> I welcome after-hours chores:
> The bosses always get my vote.
> I ask for extra duties free
> And hope they will take note…
> I'll miss [my] date
> But not the meeting—
> Union of Youth, you know.
> Sessions and lectures
> All day long.
> Friends of Cremation
> Have asked me to call.

By contrast, the Czechoslovak group Safran produced a song entitled "Prison," in the late 1970s:

> As we eat our bread in prison,
> each of us can be certain,
> that he has perpetrated terrible things
> and therefore sits behind bars.
> Leave me in peace with politics,
> I am a criminal:
> I could not keep my mouth shut,
> Now I am a prisoner.

These lyrics clearly went beyond irony and ambiguity, as did the regime's response. Safran members Jaroslav Hutka and Vastimir Tresnak were arrested, abused by Police, brought to trial, eventually deported to the West, despite thousands of letters of protest from young fans.

Rock music arrived in Czechoslovakia in the early 1960s and quickly took hold. The Comets, a Prague based group, gave Czechoslovakia's first major rock concert in spring 1962, and in 1963 Czechoslovakia saw the launching of *Melodie*, the country's first rock magazine. By 1964, there were 115 big beat groups in Prague alone, and by 1985 more than 1,000 such groups country-wide. In Bratislava a young man who called himself George L. Every put together the James Bond Club, whose members, generally twenty-year-old university dropouts, wore jeans, let their hair grow, and gathered together to listen to rock music.

During the liberal phrase of Dubček's rule in 1968, a Prague psychedelic band called the Primitives graduated from "fire-and-light" shows to generally crazy "animal happenings" in which the musicians had special costumes and everybody pelted everybody else with fish and birds. During the "Fish Fest," band and audience also hurled water at each other, so that the extramusical elements finally became more important than the music itself.

The end of Dubček's years meant the end (until 1989) of liberalism in official policy toward rock, among other things. For twenty years, the Prague regime was to remain suspicious of all rock music. Yet certain groups were beneficiaries of official sanction, such as Olympus, Abraxus, and Catapult, though the last of these was banned in 1983 from performing in central Bohemia, including Prague. Another group, the Yellow Dog Band, changed its name in 1983 to The Musical Entertainment Group of O. Hejma, and adjusted its repertoire in order to stay off the blacklist. The straight-laced Czechoslovak regime thus forced the more daring music underground.

Yet even among those groups that received official support, lyrics could be provocative. If they had not been, it is difficult to see how they could have established any credibility among youth. An example is the rock band Bronz, which performed a rock opera in Prague with official support. One of its songs included the line, "Our master is king; his name is heroin."

The 1976 suppression of Plastic People of the Universe and DG-307, two of the most popular groups in their day, was followed by a general clamp down on the rock scene. From 1976 to 1981, Czechoslovak authorities kept a tight rein on rock music. The bureaucrats decided what was permissible and what was not, though these decisions were not taken on the basis of aesthetic training or expertise. As a rule, authorities were most concerned about lyrics, but the two talented musicians, Vladimir Merta and Vladimir Misik, ran into trouble after authorities decided their music was "too inventive and interesting."

In the late 1970s avant-garde groups like Electrobus, Extempore, Stehlik (Goldfinch), and Zaba (Frog) began to strain the prescribed limits in semiofficial concerts. Their performances played havoc with rhythm and melody, interspersed periods of silence between songs (in one case for half an hour), and naturally attracted the attention of the police. It was not until 1981, however, that punk, by then five years old, reached Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakian punk bands such as Jasna Paka (Patent), Letadlo (Aeroplane), and Prazsky Vyber (Prague Selection) were able to hold a number of concerts in Prague by mid-1982. Their songs dealt with sexual problems and the drab and depressing life in Prague apartment buildings. Various student clubs also began to organize punk concerts about this time. Since every concert had to be cleared by a party official, it appears that some of the supervisors of musical tastes were inclined to ease up.

In March 1983, however, an aggressively abusive article by Jan Kryzl in *Tribuna* signaled a stiffening of resolve on the regime's part. Rock music, charged Kryzl, encouraged:

....passivity and a retreat from a reality into a dream world....Be indifferent to life around you, do not go with anyone and be against anything! Nothing has any meaning! This should become the creed of the young generation. The enforcement of this creed was, and is, to be aided by the so-called punk rock, crazy rock, or repugnant (previt) rock....The aim is more than obvious—to ...instill in young people's minds the philosophy of "no future" and attitudes, conduct, and views that are alien to socialism.

Patent and other bands were banned, and many groups were stripped of their managers and sponsors. The official blacklist of "unrecommended" rock groups, which contained thirty-six entries in 1981, was tangibly augmented, and by September 1983 the blacklist for the central Bohemia region alone listed twenty-seven bands. Punk bands came to be considered" public-enemies."

Melodie, the officially supported pop music journal which had established a substantial following among devotees of the rock scene, fell into disfavor. The entire, highly qualified editorial staff was ejected, and replaced by people lacking the appropriate professional credentials.

The crackdown stimulated public outcry. *Tribuna* was flooded with letters of protest, and the issue which had carried Kryzl's rather overstated article became a high-demand commodity. The Jazz Section of the Czech Union of Musicians published a reply to Kryzl in May 1983, linking punk with *left-wing* politics and pointing out that the increase in social violence in Czechoslovakia attributed to punk predated its arrival in that country. The dissident movement Charter 77 also spoke out on behalf of Czechoslovak rock groups. *Tribuna* itself, in a series of follow-up articles, mused ambiguously on the "lack of knowledge" of Czechoslovak youth and even seemed to back off: "[L]eading officials, who are usually people belonging to the older generation, should realize that their notions of music and its 'correct' form are not necessarily always adequate and realistic," hence there sound be "greater tolerance of the divergent tastes of different generations....We should support searching, the raising of questions, critical reasoning, and the solution of real problems, even this entails taking risks."

Public outcry had only the slightest impact, however, on regime policy. The protesting Jazz Section of the Czech Union of Musicians, which had published a history of Czechoslovak rock, was subsequently harassed, and eventually ordered to disband in October 1984. A rock festival planned for June 1983 in the village of Zabcice was canceled by the authorities at the last minute. The blacklist was enforced, and recalcitrant bands retreated to garage performances. An exceptional relaxation came in spring 1984, when Czechoslovak authorities allowed British rock star Elton John to play in Prague. He had already been booked to perform in Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia.

As of late 1986 there were more than fifty popular rock groups in existence in Czechoslovakia, including punk bands enjoying large followings, and an estimated two hundred lesser-known bands, many playing illegally. In June 1986 the government allowed the musicians to hold a rock festival at the Palace of Culture in Prague. Some eighty rock groups took part, including two Prague bands, Bossa Nova and Vitacit, Brno's Z Kopce, Genesis from eastern Bohemia and Yetti from northern Bohemia. Zdenko Pavelka, evidently an advocate of rock music, wrote that the success of the festival showed that "it [was] not necessary for rock music to languish somewhere in dark corners."

But for a rock group in Czechoslovakia to emerge out of the "dark corners" and obtain a professional license, its members had to pass a written test covering topics ranging from musical theory to the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. Not surprisingly, this test proved to be an obstacle for many groups.

Student Handout

Rock Music and Counterculture

From Sabrina Petra Ramet, "Rock Music and Counterculture," *Social Currents in Eastern Europe*, pp. 234–61. Copyright © 1995 by Duke University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Rock music is an organic inseparable part of the sociocultural consciousness and activity of a society. Rock music, therefore, both reflects and contributes to the ideas of the age and the changes taking place in consciousness and behavior. In the context of Eastern Europe more specifically, rock music played a role in reinforcing the steady growth in the demand for freedom and in providing outlets through which alternative political ideas could be expressed and nurtured. As Goran Bregovic, leader of the Yugoslav rock group White Button, told me in 1989, "We can't have any alternative parties or any alternative organized politics. So there are not too many places where you can gather large groups of people and communicate ideas which are not official. Rock 'n' roll is one of the most important vehicles for helping people in communist countries to think in a different way." By the same token, the passage of communism has created a crisis for rock musicians in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and, for as long as it still existed as a separate entity, East Germany…

…Students of political culture are fond of reminding us that the self-perpetuation of systems is contingent upon the successful socialization of the young. Political culture— "the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which defines the [context] in which political action takes place"—is the attitudinal environment in which governments function, and may be either supportive, corrosive, or indifferent to authority. The superstructure of communist regimes is attuned to the task of molding "a new communist man and woman," that is, to the task of transforming political culture and instilling specific values and attributes in the younger generation.

The task of "building communism" signified that communist regimes saw themselves as the managers of…social change….therefore, any alternative culture or set of patterns would be unwelcome….changes in culture generally and political culture in particular are likely to be accomplished by changes in social structure, thus confirming Plato's observations in The Republic….

Differences in regime levels of toleration of rock music seem to roughly parallel differences in toleration toward religion, ethnic subcultures, dissent, and the scope of autonomy allowed to writers and journalists. These differences may be traced…to the presence and extent of six background conditions:
(1) alienation of intellectuals and youth;
(2) political reforms;
(3) economic difficulties;
(4) divisions within the party;
(5) contacts with the West; and
(6) anticommunist attitudes.
Rock music is clearly relevant to variables (1) and (3), and arguably also to (6)—all variables relevant to political culture and socialization. Rock music may thus express and articulate the alienation of youth, with the danger that articulation of disaffection will serve to sustain and deepen it. Moreover, rock music overtly promotes contacts with the West; directly when Western rock groups tour Eastern Europe; indirectly, when indigenous groups sing Western songs and imitate Western styles; and vicariously, through the proliferation of Western rock records and associated paraphernalia from Michael Jackson sweatshirts to punk fashions.

Finally, while there is nothing intrinsically anticommunist in rock music, despite occasional charges to the contrary in the bloc press, rock music has, empirically, often served as the vehicle for protest—a feature that is scarcely unique to the communist world…(T)here are several aspects that in fact make music in general an *ideal* vehicle for social criticism and political protest. First, music is a kind of esoteric language whose messages, however clear to the target audience, may be excused as "entertainment" where unsympathetic listeners are concerned. Second, music creates a feeling (whether limited or intense) of collective solidarity among concert-listeners: Woodstock serves as an obvious example, or the "Polish Woodstock" at Jarocin as a less well-known one. Third, music has always served as a kind of escape valve (as the blues genre exemplifies), with the possibility of always existing that an escape valve may be transformed into a beacon for mobilizing opinion.

Counterculture may be defined broadly or narrowly. Broadly defined, any culture which challenges the party's official culture, which is premised on the concept of a single, legitimate general interest, can be seen as a *counterculture*. More narrowly defined, counterculture could be seen as a set of ideas, orientation, tastes, and assumptions which differ systematically from those of the dominant culture, recognizing that dominant culture and *official* culture are not the same.

Under the broader definition, one can identify four broad categories of counterculture, at least within the context of communist policies: political dissent and opposition, including peace movements, feminists, and ecological groups; religious alternatives, insofar as religious organizations promote alternative explanations of the purpose and meaning of social life; criminality and social deviance, chiefly insofar as these represent and further stimulate the desocialization of their practitioners; and foreign culture importations, usually via youth....

Music will be treated here as symbolic language—that is, as a medium of communication of given meanings. In some ways music is less precise than a spoken language; in other ways it is more precise. The nature of the communication process may in fact differ, but it is communication all the same. As such, music depends on conventions to convey its meanings. These conversations may be specific to a given culture, subculture, or group, and those outside the reference group or lacking familiarity with its conventions will not be able to understand the music except as opaque confusion. To put it another way, those who listen to rock music habitually and those who avoid it necessarily *hear* rock differently.

A. Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Why was it so important to the communist regimes to create a "new communist man and woman"? Be certain to relate this to the term *socialization.*
2. Which of the six background conditions discussed above does rock music either reflect or contribute to? Explain.
3. Why is music an ideal vehicle for social criticism and political protest?
4. Define the term *counterculture* from the article, then use a dictionary to define *dominant culture* and *official culture*, and tell how they are different. How does rock music relate to these terms?

Excerpt from a March 1983 Article by a Czech Music Critic

In March 1983, however, an aggressively abusive article by Jan Kryzl in *Tribuna* signaled a stiffening of resolve on the regime's part. Rock music, charged Kryzl, encouraged:

....passivity and a retreat from a reality into a dream world....Be indifferent to life around you, do not go with anyone and be against anything! Nothing has any meaning! This should become the creed of the young generation. The enforcement of this creed was, and is, to be aided by the so-called punk rock, crazy rock, or repugnant (previt) rock....The aim is more than obvious—to...instill in young people's minds the philosophy of "no future" and attitudes, conduct, and views that are alien to socialism.

B. Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What is Kryzl's criticism of rock music?
2. Which of the six background conditions are explicit parts of his critique? Which are implicit?
3. Identify the bias of the writer.

Excerpt from the Albanian Communist Party Paper *Zeri I popullit*

....To accept the extravagant bourgeois and revisionist modes of dress is to create an appropriate terrain for undermining socialist attitudes, behavior, and convictions. To think that long hair and narrow pants or miniskirts have nothing to do with one's world outlook, one's ideology, is as naive as it is dangerous. Not to fight alien fashions means to give up the fight against the penetration of the degenerate bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

C. Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What specific criticisms does the paper direct against clothing and hair fashions among youth?
2. Define the following words: degenerate; bourgeois; revisionist, ideology.

Student Handout

Poland

Selection #1

Posers, fetishists - destroy them all!
A generation of conformists - destroy them all!
Your ideals - destroy them all!

Selection #2

I am a tank, I am a tank.
I am strong, I am healthy.
I can only beat everyone…
I can only go [straight] ahead
And I do not need to eat.
I am afraid of nothing,
You are tight - so what[!]

Selection #3

Shadows in the dark city
Linger through the night.
Danger lurks by your doorway,
Don't turn out the light…
Don't go out alone
Evil is prowling…
Night patrol's alert
Making sure that you're OK
That you don't get hurt,
Anxious to protect you.
Everything's all right.
Shadows in the sad city
Bleed through the night.

Selection #4

Treason, treason
Cunning, cold, calculating…
Broken promises, broken light,
White is black and black is white…
Don't talk back, turn the other cheek…
Talk out of line if you dare.
Don't make me look, I don't want to see.
Is everyone a traitor or is it just me?
Treason sneaks into your bed.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Which of the six background conditions are reflected in these song lyrics. Be specific.
2. Do any of these lyrics contain any of the attitudes found in rock music by the Czech music critic, Kryzl, we discussed above? Be specific. Was rock music a cause or a reflection of these attitudes? Explain.
3. What events from the chronology of Polish history might explain the context of any of these lyrics? Explain.

Polish Chronology

1980 **(Aug.)** The Communist regime, faced with worker unhappiness, with the deteriorating economy exhibited through big strikes in Gdansk and Szczecin, agrees to allow the legal formation of non-communist labor unions and to permit strikes.

The independent union Solidarity soon has 10 million members.

The Communist government is under increasing pressure from Solidarity to make economic and political changes, while the Soviet Union urges the Polish authorities to stop this "anti-socialist" labor movement.

1981 **(Dec.)** General Jaruzelski, prime minister of Poland since February, declares martial law (rule by military authorities, with normal legal procedures suspended), arrests the Solidarity leadership, and abolishes all freedoms gained during the past year and one half. Riots are put down with force, several people are killed, and more than 10,000 people are arrested.

Student Handout

Czechoslovakia

Selection #1

Women leave me unmoved
Emotions I scorn
I'm well liked at work
My record stays clean.
I welcome after-hours chores:
The bosses always get my vote.
I ask for extra duties free
And hope they will take note…
I'll miss [my] date
But not the meeting -
Union of Youth, you know.
Sessions and lectures
All day long.
Friends of Cremation
Have asked me to call.

Selection #2

As we eat our bread in prison,
each of us can be certain,
that he has perpetrated terrible things
and therefore sits behind bars.
Leave me in peace with politics,
I am a criminal:
I could not keep my mouth shut,
Now I am a prisoner.

Czechoslovakian Chronology

1968 **(Jan.)** Beginning of the "Prague Spring" under Alexander Dubček. Czechoslovakia's Communist party instituted internal party democracy and personal freedom in an attempt to build "socialism with a human face."

1968 **(Aug.)** Invasion by 500,000 Soviet and other communist bloc troops results in arrest of Dubček and the abandonment of reform.

1976-8 Harsh and strict clamp down on rock and other popular musical groups by the Czechoslovakian bureaucracy. To receive a professional license, band members have to pass a test on such topics as music theory and Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

1983 Another crackdown on rock groups begins.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Which of the six background conditions are reflected in these song lyrics? Be specific.
2. Do any of these lyrics contain any of the attitudes found in rock music by the Czech music critic we discussed above? Be specific. Was rock music a cause or a reflection of these attitudes? Explain.
3. What events from the chronology of Czechoslovakian history might explain the context of any of these lyrics? Discuss.

AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM: POST-REVOLUTIONARY BLUES

> ***This is why people who, under a dictatorship, chose moral absolutism usually feel bad in democracy.... They worshiped democracy, struggled for it—but they are not comfortable in it.***
>
> *—Adam Michnik, Polish writer, newspaper editor, and former dissident under communism, 1996*

Summary of the Lesson

Through the analysis of a series of quotations and an excerpt from an essay by a former Central/Eastern European **dissident**, students will explore the reasons for the "melancholy of rebirth" that has accompanied the reconstruction of public life after the fall of communist dictatorships and that is so prevalent among many former dissident leaders and intellectuals. Students will also examine the differing **democratic attitudes and skills** needed for opposition to tyranny and for functioning in a democracy. In addition, students are asked to ponder questions about the tension between **morality** and truth on the one hand and **democratic compromise** on the other.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain reasons for the growing disappointment of many former Eastern and Central European dissidents, now that the struggle against communist regimes is over,
- analyze the tension between morality and compromise in a democracy,
- discuss figures who act as the conscience of a society—their role, its requirements, and its dangers.

Background Material for the Teacher:

Adam Michnik [pron. AH-dam MEEK-neek] is editor-in-chief of the influential Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*[pron. gah ZEH'ta vee BOR'szha]. Trained as an historian, Michnik became prominent in the Workers' Defense Committee (known by its Polish initials as KOR) in the mid-1970s. This group of dissident intellectuals aided striking workers by offering legal aid and by investigating cases of police brutality. Michnik became an adviser to the workers' union, Solidarity, in the 1980s. After free elections were permitted in 1989, Michnik was elected to Poland's parliament.

For additional information about some of the dissident literature and the role of dissidents in communist regimes, refer to **Lesson 11: "Analyzing Voices of Dissent."** In particular, it may be helpful to read Václav Havel's essay, **"The Power of the Powerless."**

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Put the following two quotations on the chalkboard or on a transparency:

> *"Let me be, for the rest of my life, forced to make choices in such clear and morally obvious situations as the present one."*
> —Jailed Polish dissident, 1970s

> *"We have left the gate of an imaginary extermination camp, pinching ourselves in disbelief. The possibility that we will die a natural death is growing steadily, though death is never natural. The kind of life we live—peaceful, sad—will now be our own doing. Less danger, more responsibility."*
> —George Konrád, Hungarian essayist and dissident, in *The Melancholy of Rebirth*, 1994.

Remind students that communist dictatorship ended in both Poland and Hungary with the 1989 changes in government. Then ask:

- What did the Polish dissident mean by this statement? What was so "clear and morally obvious" about the situation at that time?
- What is Konrád saying? Does Konrád seem to think that his Polish fellow-dissident's hope for a world of clear moral choices has been realized in the post-Communist era?
- Are there any moral advantages to the status of victim? Is there any consolation in being in the position of the one wronged, especially if the victimizer is seen as clearly evil?

Now share with students (on the board or on a transparency) the quotation from Michnik at the beginning of this lesson:

- Give a brief biography of Michnik. (See **Background Material for the Teacher**.)
- Explain that many former dissidents have been upset to see themselves or other members of the old revolutionary movements defeated in elections by candidates who were not a part of the pre-revolutionary opposition to communism. In fact, some of the new, successful politicians are former communists who worked for the dictatorships prior to the 1989 changes in government.
- Tell students that this is one of the reasons for the melancholia among former dissidents evident in Konrád's quote and apparent among many former leaders of the 1989 transitions and the pre-transition opposition.

Developing the Lesson

As homework, have students read the student handout **Post-Revolutionary Blues** (by Adam Michnik), marking important passages and jotting down tentative answers to the questions at the end as they go along. Explain that students must examine this article carefully, as they will be contributing to small group discussions.

Option: After students have read the article and jotted down notes, but before dividing them into groups, allow them to further organize their thoughts, and to focus, by spending a few minutes writing freely and/or clarifying points in the article.

Divide students into groups of 3-6. Have students work with other members of their group to check their understanding of the text. Specifically, the group should make certain that each group member understands the answers and can act as spokesperson for the group when called upon to give answers in a class discussion. Encourage them to seek help if they are having any difficulties understanding the text.

As a class, go over the answers to the questions, calling on group members at random to check that all group members have an understanding of the material.

Option: In order to increase involvement, have students reach consensus on answers.

Concluding the Lesson

Use the following questions to facilitate large group discussion.

1. What do you think of Michnik's analysis regarding the skills needed to oppose dictatorship and the skills needed to function in a democracy? Are they so different?
2. Is compromise always necessary in a democracy? Is it one of democracy's virtues or one of its vices?
3. Does the necessity of compromise ultimately weaken a democracy at the level of truth and morality? Does the necessity of compromise ultimately pervert or destroy a democracy? Does process become more important than

content? What do you think Konrád would say? What about the jailed Polish dissident?

4. Are there or have there been any "Unbroken Princes" in American public life? Explain. Would you expect the same kinds of figures to play this role in the U.S. as Michnik suggested they might play in Poland? Why or why not?
5. What do you think of Michnik's ideal of an "Unbroken Prince": (in other words, someone who stands up for truth but understands the world in which he/she lives, someone who works to build a common welfare *with* others and not *for* others without their will and knowledge, someone who feels contempt for deeds but never for people)? Is it possible to fulfill this ideal or is it too idealistic? Can a person really do all these things at one time? If so, how?

Extending the Lesson

Have students write an essay exploring this question: Are all revolutions doomed to fail, resting as they do on myths of innocence and unity that are shown to be false when the more divisive and messy work of reconstruction and daily living begin? Why or why not?

Students could research and write a report on an "Unbroken Prince" in U.S. or world history who has either succeeded or failed at the role of being a conscience to society. Why did the person succeed or fail? Is this consistent with Michnik's idea of how an "Unbroken Prince" ought or ought not to behave?

Students could dramatize Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski's short-story "The Unbroken Prince" by creating dialogue for both the characters. Other characters could be created to illustrate various points made by the two main characters.

Students could dramatize one or more of the reports they write on other successful or failed "Unbroken Princes" in U.S. or world history.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Post-Revolutionary Blues"

1. Dissidents may remember their struggles against communism with a certain nostalgia because at that time moral lines were clearly drawn—right vs. wrong, good vs. evil. As quoted in the article, this was a "starry time," an "epoch of unselfish and pure activity"... of "communing with the most sacred Polish and human values." At that time, they were fighting for "freedom, not power"—freedom against dictatorship.
2. Freedom against dictatorship, according to Michnik, "demands courage, dignity, and a bit of fanaticism." Likewise, struggle for power in a democracy demands "professionalism, cleverness, and a good sense of circumstances." Fighting against a dictatorship means risking one's life (or at the very least, one's reputation and well-being). Fighting *against* repression, and *for* freedom, however, are much clearer and nobler goals than the more ambiguous or fuzzy promises required to gain political power in a democracy, such as those formed through "unclear alliances and...compromises."
3. The second part of the suggested response to question #2 is also applicable here. Also, citizens' moral guidelines for judging right and wrong are not as marked as in a dictatorship.
4. The Unbroken Prince is an aristocrat and liberal philosopher who withdraws from (his country's) public life, but is still known to the world through his symbolic gestures against the fascist regime. The Unbroken Socialist organizes and supports anti-fascist resistance abroad, and believes in the masses' ability to implement freedom.
5. According to the Unbroken Prince, it will not be through the masses' efforts that the regime might eventually collapse (nor will it be through external pressures); instead the regime will be brought down by "its own stupidity and internal decay." He believes that the masses are easily satisfied with promises of "bread and colonies," implying that they are easily led and therefore not leaders. This viewpoint assumes that human nature is to follow (be easily led) and that if a government collapses, it will be because of its inherent weaknesses. The Unbroken Socialist, however, places great faith in the masses, who "possess the pure instinct of freedom." This viewpoint assumes that human nature is to fight against oppression, and that governments cannot thrive against the leadership of the masses.
6. The Unbroken Prince hoped that the country could (and should) now be led by the "true anti-fascists"—those like himself who had

"stood aside and waited for 20 years." However, few if any people who have survived 20 years of dictatorship fit such morally "pure" criteria. Yes, his hopes were doomed to disappointment, since it could be argued that his expectations were so unrealistic to begin with—that is, that so many could somehow remove themselves from such a situation, and/or be unchanged, unaffected, "pure." (Note: students could certainly argue that the Unbroken Prince's hopes were not doomed to disappointment, too. These answers should be carefully reviewed and awarded accordingly, if they are well-reasoned and include a solid understanding of the material.)

7. The Unbroken Socialist realized that the masses had just changed their skin to superficially support the new regime, that they were just a "stupid, fanatical, impatient and desperate mob."

8. Mickiewicz seems to be making the same point as Michnik, in his description of both the Unbroken Prince and Unbroken Socialist's disappointment following the fall of fascism—that neither the morally pure heroes (for "[t]hey will forget the names of their former heroes") nor leadership by the enlightened masses ("The heritage will be taken over by quiet, stupid, ordinary people") will prevail following the collapse of a regime.

9. "It is bound to contain the stigma of the old regime."

10. The public must recognize that while the Unbroken Princes are responsible for the persistence of ideology and/or moral values, it is not them but the "ordinary" people who provide continuity with their ongoing respect for democratic rules. People may have mixed feelings for the Unbroken Princes because while they may respect them for their beliefs, they may feel resentment for their lack of physical participation in the overthrow of the regime.

11. According to Michnik, the role of the Unbroken Prince in a democracy is to act as its conscience. The Unbroken Princes' courage and righteousness make them unfit for ruling more than a short time, as people do not want to be ruled by those who perceive themselves as "morally better than the majority of its citizens."

12. The role of Unbroken Prince in a democracy can be played by "the Prince of the Church, Prince of Poets, or Prince of Philosophy," and also by a politician—only if "he [or she] can differentiate his moral message from his struggle for power and from his party's interests." Since he/she is a "guardian of the rules," and someone who passes moral judgement, he/she must understand the world in which he lives. If he does not, "his moralizing becomes inhuman and grotesque."

Student Handout

Post-Revolutionary Blues

Excerpt from "When the Majority Rejects Virtue" by Adam Michnik, *Transition*, June 14, 1996, V. 2 n. 12, pp. 32–35, published by the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI), Prague, Czech Republic. Reprinted by permission of the Open Media Research Institute.

…[The Worker's Defense Committee] KOR members struggled for freedom, not for power. This was an anti-political position, because it did not allow for political compromise with the rulers.

…This "starry time," as Jacek Kuron [a left-wing oppositional intellectual] called it, was for each of us an epoch of unselfish and pure activity. We had an almost physical feeling of communing with the most sacred Polish and human values.

…The logic of the struggle for freedom against dictatorship and the logic of the struggle for power in a democratic country differ greatly. The first demands courage, dignity, and a bit of fanaticism; the second, professionalism, cleverness, and a good sense of circumstances.

This is why people who, under a dictatorship, chose moral absolutism usually feel bad in democracy, among shrewd intrigues and empty election promises, among unclear alliances and equally unclear compromises. They worshiped democracy, struggled for it—but they are not comfortable in it. This is the spiritual state of the moralists from the democratic opposition. Once, the attitude toward dictatorship was the measure of their moral norms. They felt contempt for informers, executioners, and cowards, but they demanded much from themselves. They paid for their declarations with their own lives. A dry poem of a moralist went like this: "Yes, yes—no, no."

…In his short story "The Unbroken Prince," Gustav Herling-Grudzinzki described two great critics of Mussolini's dictatorship.[1] One of them, an aristocrat and liberal philosopher, chose the path of intellectual withdrawal. Through his obstinate [stubborn] absence from public life and through symbolic gestures, he demonstrated to the world that he was against fascism. The second, a socialist writer, chose emigration, and he organized and supported resistance against blackshirts [Mussolini's fascist supporters] from abroad. The two often argued about who had chosen the better way. The first one believed that "if the regime collapses, it won't result from external intervention or a revolt by the masses, who are always easy to satisfy with bread and colonies, but from its own stupidity and internal decay, on which the culture continues to work by accusing fascism and showing its baseness." The second said: "My hope and faith were in the masses. Only the masses possess the pure instinct of freedom, because it is they who have always lived in slavery, and the moment will come when they give evidence to this instinct."

They were both wrong. When Mussolini's regime collapsed, both of them—Unbroken Prince and Unbroken Socialist—had a short moment of triumph. Virtue was rewarded. They were perceived as people of tomorrow, as those who won. But that lasted for a only a short time. The aristocratic philosopher "searched for true anti-fascists. He believed that Italy, ruined by fascism, could be built only by those who, like himself, had stood aside and waited for 20 years with their lips proudly screwed up. He was ready to forgive his old friends who had left him in order to get a fascist party card, which made life easier, but, at the same time, he felt contempt for them and believed that they should, at least for some time, stay out of political life. For practical reasons, he wanted to deal quickly with purification at a grassroots level, but for moral and basic reasons he was for an absolute purity at the top. He searched for pure and unbroken people. But where can one find a sufficient number of them after 20 years of dictatorship?"

On the other hand, the Unbroken Socialist understood what had happened during the 20 years of fascism in Italy: "Almost everybody had changed their skin to a fascist one….But the moment fascism collapsed, the same people began to foster new illusions and hopes. In 1945, it was said that 'the hour of socialism has come.' Crowds of people joined the Socialist Party. But at the same time, the Communist Party was full of blackshirts that had been dyed red overnight. Streets were full, not of the masses or of the people but a stupid, fanatical, impatient, and desperate mob. It is members of such a mob who change the color of their skin overnight, without changing the actual skin; it is they who fall on their knees before any altar of demagogy; it is they who dream of marching in line and wearing invisible uniforms."

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[1] Benito Mussolini was the fascist dictator of Italy from 1922-1945.

And the prince wrote a book about "people who had been forced by fascism to wear masks. His book did not manage to leave the printing house when he said that masks long worn change the faces underneath."

The situation in post-fascist Italy was the same as in a menacing prophecy by [Adam] Mickiewicz[1]: "The people will cut the hands that fought for them/ They will forget the names of their former heroes/ Everything will pass. After rumble, noise, and toil/ The heritage will be taken over by quiet, stupid, ordinary people."

..."The Unbroken Prince" presents a diagnosis that is both bitter and realistic. And yet, in spite of the political defeat of both great spirits of Italian anti-fascism, the democratic system celebrated its triumph on the ruins of dictatorship. Italian democracy certainly did not implement the ideals of the philosopher and the socialist. But it was a political system cut to fit the Italians of that time.

And every democracy that emerges from the darkness of dictatorship is like that: it is bound to contain the stigma of the old regime. It owes its existence to such people as the Unbroken Prince, [Andrei] Sakharov and [Aleksander] Solzhenitsyn, [Jan] Patočka and Jan Jozef Lipski[2]; but it owes its continuity to the quiet, stupid, ordinary people who respect democratic rules.

Such a democracy needs Unbroken Princes, with their courage and righteousness, to stay in power only a short time. Later, it does not want to be ruled by people who perceive themselves, due to their anti-fascist or anti-communist past, as morally better than the majority of citizens.

"The Unbroken Prince" inspires in the reader both admiration and shame. The admiration is for the prince's courage, the shame for one's own everyday caution. It is hard to live with such shame. Such shame must be rationalized, made banal [commonplace], rejected from memory. This is not a particularly positive mechanism, but it must be understood. Otherwise, a former oppositionist is liable to give in to fanaticism resulting from the frustration of a virtue that has been rejected by a democratic verdict of the majority.

On the other hand, he can end up like the characters from the Herling-Grudsinski story, who applied such a high moral standard to reality that they were rejected by reality. Moral intransigence [unwillingness to compromise] in the face of dictatorship turned into political helplessness in democracy. Because how can one be an unbroken Prince in a parliamentary democracy?

...However, cynicism and efficiency are not sufficient for any democratic state that wants to have a future. This is why the parliamentary democracy needs its Unbroken Princes; it needs its conscience. This role can be played by the Prince of the Church, Prince of Poets, or Prince of Philosophy. It can also be played by a politician, but under one condition—that he can differentiate his moral message from his struggle for power and from his party's interests.

When an Unbroken Prince, priest, or moralist-philosopher becomes a popular icon or professional politician, the results are rarely sound. But that does not mean that he should stay silent. A philosopher, just like a priest, is efficient in different spheres of public life from a member of parliament who wants to win his post. Because an Unbroken Prince is a guardian of rules that are put to the test every day. If he does not understand the world in which he lives, his moralizing becomes inhuman and grotesque, since moral judgment must be preceded by an effort to understand. The dogmatic defense of rules can turn everyday life into hell; resignation from rules corrupts politics understood as a striving for the common welfare.

And common welfare can be built by the Unbroken Prince only together with others—not for others without their will and knowledge. Forgive me this self-evident observation: the Unbroken Prince should apply the language of dialogue, not the language of contempt. One can feel contempt for deeds, but never for people...

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. According to Michnik, why do many former Polish dissidents look back with a certain nostalgia to the time when they lived under, yet struggled against, communism? What were they fighting for at that time?
2. In what ways does the struggle for freedom against a dictatorship and the struggle for power in a democracy differ from one another? Explain the reasons for these differences.

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[1] Editor's Note: Adam Mickiewicz (pron. meek HAY'vitch) was a famous, 19th-century poet and dramatist—the "Polish Byron."

[2] Editor's Note: These are all dissidents. Sakharov (SAK' hah rove) and Solzhenitsyn (soltz suh NEET'sin) are Russian writers, Patočka (pah TOETCH'ka) a Czech philosopher, and Lipski (LEEP'skee) a Polish writer.

3. Why do those who struggled against dictatorship often feel uncomfortable in a democracy? Explain this paradox.
4. Describe the different paths of opposition to Mussolini's Italian fascism chosen by the Unbroken Prince (an aristocrat and liberal philosopher) and the Unbroken Socialist (a socialist writer) in Gustaw Herling-Grudzinski's short-story "The Unbroken Prince."
5. Explain their differing views of the masses and the eventual collapse of the fascist regime. Upon what assumptions about human nature and about governments were these views based?
6. The Unbroken Prince and the Unbroken Socialist were hailed as winners and visionaries in the aftermath of the collapse of fascism, but this soon soured for both. What were the new hopes and the disappointing reality for the Unbroken Prince? Were his hopes doomed to disappointment? Explain.
7. What disappointing truth did the Unbroken Socialist discover?
8. What point is Adam Mickiewicz making? Whose post-war outlook would he endorse: that of the Unbroken Prince, that of the Unbroken Socialist, neither, or both? Why?
9. According to Michnik, what is the twin legacy of every democracy that "emerges from the darkness of the dictatorship"?
10. Describe the public's ambivalence toward Unbroken Princes in the post-revolutionary era. What accounts for these mixed feelings?
11. What is the role of an Unbroken Prince in a democracy?
12. Who can play the role of Unbroken Prince in a democracy, according to Michnik? What must an Unbroken Prince do, however, to play this role realistically and effectively? What are the pitfalls to be avoided?

RIVAL VISIONS OF THE FUTURE: THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

> ***We need, quite simply, a new vision...one that considers the cultivation of our citizens' lives, our political and economic identity....***
>
> *—Václav Havel, speech, 28 October 1994*

> ***...I do not agree with the idea that we should be cured by someone else. We already had some experience in this area.***
>
> *—Václav Klaus, speech, 17 November 1994*

Summary of the Lesson

Students will explore differing views of the accomplishments of the 1989 Revolutions, specifically, the "Velvet Revolution" of the subsequently divided nation of Czechoslovakia. Students will also discuss the post-revolutionary directions the Czech Republic should take, especially concerning issues of **individualism,** the ***"New Moralism,"*** and the future **role of the state**. Students will read and discuss in groups excerpts of speeches by Václav Havel, president of the Czech Republic since 1992, and Václav Klaus, prime minister of Czechoslovakia from 1990-1992 and of the Czech Republic since 1992.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- trace the ongoing debate about the 1989 Revolutions,
- outline the terms of the debate between proponents of individualism and of the "New Moralism,"
- list and explain the advantages and disadvantages of both interventionist and non-interventionist visions of the role of the state in a democracy

Background Material for the Teacher

To understand the context of this debate, the teacher should:

1. Know that Havel and Klaus are important figures in Czech politics. Havel, a playwright and dissident under the communist regime, became de facto leader of the revolution in 1989, was elected president of post-communist Czechoslovakia in 1990 and was elected president of the Czech Republic in 1992, after the Czecho-Slovak separation.
2. It should be noted that President V. Havel and Prime Minister V. Klaus are not rivals, but they do express different views on the civil society, citizenship and the role of the state. They do support the same basic principles and they pursue a common aim of democratizing the Czech Republic.
3. Review the events of the Czechoslovakian "Velvet Revolution" of 1989.

4. Read the comments of Petr Pithart, Prime Minister of the Czech Republic from 1990 to 1992, when it was still federated with the Slovak Republic as Czechoslovakia. (Be warned, however, that Pithart's comments are hardly unbiased, since he himself has been a subject of this political process and debate.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Write the following on the board or on a transparency:

> *"What is the proper role of government: a) to make people free so that they might improve or, b) to improve people so they might be free?"*

Ask the class what they think this statement means. You may need to encourage them to define terms such as "free" and "improve," and to note that "might" implies possibility rather than certainty in the first part, whereas "must" in the second part implies certainty. Ask how they think we as Americans answer this question today. Is this answer the same as intended by the American Founders in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution? After some answers have been suggested (but without delving too deeply into these questions), move on to the next part of the lesson. These questions will be discussed further at the end of the lesson.

Developing the Lesson

Divide the class into four groups and assign each group a different handout to analyze (Havel 1, Havel 2, Klaus 1, and Klaus 2).

The members of each group should analyze the assigned text and answer the accompanying questions. Encourage them to mark the important parts of the text as they read and note answers as they encounter them. When all group members are finished, they can then compare answers with the rest of the group.

Next, combine groups by author (e.g., Klaus 1 group joins Klaus 2 group). Provide extra copies of articles to group members, so that everyone has both pieces. Group members should then share their texts and answers with one another, instructing each other thoroughly enough so that all students examining a particular author can answer ALL the questions about BOTH TEXTS and give reasons for their answers.

Select one student from each group to role-play Havel and Klaus. The two should carry on a dialogue concerning their viewpoints: On what do they agree? Disagree? What is their reasoning? Allow the two role-players to initiate the debate or facilitate it by using the questions/issues raised in **Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas** in each of the texts. An alternative would be to have one student or a panel of students act as moderators or reporters to initiate questions for each of the statesmen. At the end of this dialogue, all students should understand the conflicting views of these two statesmen.

Pick students at random to reiterate and summarize the issues upon which Klaus and Havel agree and disagree, being certain that students discusses BOTH authors in order to assess what they learned from the dialogue.

Concluding the Lesson

Return to the statement regarding the proper role of government presented at the beginning of the class. Ask the students: Is this a fair statement of the issues separating Havel and Klaus? Is it a fair statement of the alternatives? How is it (or a modified version of it) answered in the U.S. today? Explain. Do you agree with that answer? Explain. Ask if they think that such an on-going debate is healthy for a democracy and have them explain their reasoning.

Extending the Lesson

When the student groups have reiterated and summarized the works of Havel and Klaus, they could individually write essays demonstrating understanding of the authors position.

Students could use the Declaration of Independence and/or the U.S. Constitution to write a brief essay telling how they think the American Founders answered this question (or a modified version of it), citing and analyzing those parts of the text they feel best supports their answer. Were the American Founders closer to Havel or to Klaus in their thinking about the role of the state? Explain.

The commentary by Petr Pithart could be reproduced in part or in whole and distributed to students, who could answer the following questions as they read it:

1. Does Pithart take sides in the debate between Havel and Klaus, or is he critical of both? Feel free to suggest an analysis of Pithart's position between these two poles if you think that it is warranted. Whatever your analysis, be prepared to explain your reasoning.
2. Do you agree with Pithart's analysis of both men and the reasons for the positions each has taken? Explain. What does this tell us about

the role of individuals and their life experiences and personalities in politics and in history?

Guidelines to Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Havel Text #1"

1. Havel believes that the revolutionary era of upheaval and fundamental systemic change is coming to an end.
2. Czechs could rely on the systemic changes already made, allow them to do their work, and make minor adjustments as needed. Or they could reflect at their leisure on the changes made, their meaning, goals for the future, and means for realizing those goals. Havel prefers the second path because he sees capitalist democracy at a crossroads: although the system of capitalist democracy has been created, what is to be its character?
3. He wants to include issues of the varying roles of the individual citizen, the local governments, and the central/national state, as well as the cultivation (improvement) of the lives of citizens, the Czech Republic's political and economic identity, and its role in the international community. He sees democracy as resting on moral and spiritual foundations.
4. Havel foresees concrete planning by the government based on clear principles, which will result in specific laws to accomplish these goals and to political behavior directed at the same ends.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Havel Text # 2"

1. They hoped for a transformation of human life to a less egotistical and more humane basis, resulting in brotherhood, solidarity, a spiritual dimension to life, love for fellow humans, tolerance, and a reborn civil society. They hoped that the revolutionary atmosphere of brotherhood and enthusiasm would last beyond the overthrow of communism.
2. Havel cites the rising rate of crime, spreading racism, sense in the marketplace that anything is permitted in the name of profits, drug addiction, cult of violence, indifference to others, decline of respect for the law, politics based on simplistic solutions and extreme nationalism, and vapid advertising and mass media (TV).
3. It cannot be left to itself; neither democracy and a market economy nor a growing chronological distance from the communist era will cure this malaise. Active measures are required. (The students may see that Havel is implying that the state, as newly envisioned above, can deal with this problem, but this may not be clear to them until they share answers with the Havel 1 group).
4. He does not trust them and their claims to having the right answers. They are too focused on power for the party and not on the common good. They ignore others in society, especially the intellectual elite of society.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Klaus Text #1"

1. The *passive* (noninterventionist) deregulating and liberalizing both the political and economic systems and resulted in a market economy and a political marketplace within which political parties emerged. The active (interventionist), especially economic privatization, sped up the creation of free markets. Both created systems allowing greater freedom and choice for individuals and groups and reduced the role of the state.
2. Citizens have been made free through the transformation of social (and political) institutions. The *system* has been changed; "some people," however, want to transform *human beings themselves*. These latter want not just free citizens but better citizens because they see Czechs becoming too materialistic, egotistical, short-sighted, and self-focused.
3. He agrees that Czechs are becoming too materialistic, egotistical, short-sighted, and self-focused, but he is afraid of having someone other than the individual citizens themselves curing this. He thinks it would violate human nature, implying that he believes that such behavior is to some extent natural among humans. He also recalls the communist era experience of the state treating people as a collective and not as individuals and of state control over society. He sees this as the project of elitists whose efforts to perfect people would only result in a new round of totalitarianism.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas in "Klaus Text #2"

1. Speeches and writings about morality are an obligatory feature of current political discourse. Ethical universalism does not draw a clear distinction between the "is" (what exists in society, the "normative") and the "ought" (what one desires, "positive" statements about the way things should be).
2. They either reject the distinction or undervalue it because: a) they have a different view from his about mechanisms for reality, implying that they believe that the state can make people better through its own efforts; b) contrary to modern social scientists, they do not believe that humans are by nature autonomous, rational individuals pursuing their own interests (they equate such views with moral/cultural relativism); and c) they set themselves up as knowledgeable experts who can better the behavior of others.
3. Like traditional European religions, it claims to apply to everyone, no matter their culture, nation, and individual choice. Klaus implies that is undemocratic, like traditional churches, because it relies on an outside source rather than the individual. Adam Smith (Scottish economist and philosopher, 1723-90) saw each person motivated by self-interest, the pursuit of which balanced all the individual self-interest for the good of the community since selfishness canceled out selfishness. Kant (German philosopher, 1724-1804) said that the individual exists as a morally autonomous unit who responds to an internal, intuitive moral sense that owes nothing to outside authority, either religious creed or the social environment. Enlightenment thinkers tended to deny traditional universalism about behavior based on their observation of the varying customs of both European and non-European societies. They argued for truth based on reason and observation, not some outside authority or tradition.
4. Individuals are the basic units of society, not institutions or communities or value systems. He implies that this is dangerous because setting up an authority over the individual fosters elitism and a return to totalitarian coercion of individuals in the name of someone's notion of a higher, community good.

Background Material

Commentary

by Petr Pithart

Excerpt from "Civil Society After Communism: Rival Visions," by Václav Havel, Václav Klaus and Petr Pithart in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 7.1 (January 1996): pp. 12–23.
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The current Czech political situation is not very clear. All sides claimed victory after the November 1994 local elections. Only one aspect of the political scene has been simplified—Václav Havel and Václav Klaus have become dramatic symbols of different approaches to politics. A conflict is taking place that is difficult to resolve. It is a conflict between pragmatism (the usual power politics, with a dominant role played by the political parties) and a broader, more ethical understanding of politics, which does not question the role of the parties but also does not limit itself to them.

It may seem as though only different emphases and nuances are at play, but the heroes of this conflict are radically different men. In psychological makeup, Havel is shy and extremely polite; Klaus is aggressive and self-assured. In the course of their lives, Havel has been a frequently imprisoned dissident, Klaus a cautious technocrat.[1] Professionally, Havel is a playwright who focuses on the absurdity of the human condition; Klaus is a macro economist who does not doubt anything. It is also clear, however, that more than just nuances are involved. Some openly speak of "Klaus's party" and "the president's party." This of course does not mean that these are political parties in the true meaning of the word. But neither are they only "spiritual factions." Havel is a nonpartisan president not only because this is consistent with Czechoslovak tradition, but above all, because of his deep, longstanding personal convictions. He has resisted all attempts at being cajoled into creating and leading his own party. And he surely will not change his mind in the future. Contrary to this, Klaus is every inch a party man. After all, it was Klaus who introduced the spirit of political rivalry into Czechoslovakia after the November 1989 "Velvet Revolution," and he is extremely proud of this act. It is still too early to ascertain whether that situation had to become confrontational.

Klaus radiates self-confidence and satisfaction: Everything we do, we do well, and whoever doubts this is probably a crypto-leftist intellectual. We do this well "because our Civic Democratic Party does this well, because I do that well....We are absolutely the best of the postcommunist countries....The requirements for membership in the European Union are met today only by Luxembourg and the Czech Republic."

Havel is not the voice of the disappointed but of those who wanted—initially during the anticommunist opposition period and then in November 1989 and after—something more than just a change in property relations and promises of prosperity. They really wanted what the all-encompassing drive for prosperity expels from human hearts and minds—more decency, a greater spiritual and cultural dimension in life, and a more law-abiding state.

Recently, the direct and indirect controversies between Havel and Klaus have focused on the broad topic of the role of intellectuals in society, with particular emphasis on the Czech case.

Both protagonists also differ in diction. Havel, who sees something missing in Klaus's politics, speaks about the prime minister in understandable allusions. He does this in a very refined manner.

Klaus refers to Havel through allusions that are not only understandable but also sharply accusatory in tone. Havel's concept of politics is too much for him to take. In addition to this, he assigns to Havel the terrible sin of pride, the pride of omnipotent[2] "social engineers."

Havel says that "instead of learning from the West about civic and political culture, we have been quick to acquaint ourselves with the empty world of inane commercials and ever more inane television series, allowing them to plunder...our lives and our souls." And, in reference to politicians of the Klausian mold: "When citizens detect in politicians indifference, a lenient attitude toward improper things, or simply evil, they automatically and often subconsciously are encouraged to imitate this." And again: "Politicians' lax attitudes toward the law automatically lead citizens to stop taking the law seriously. For example, if one implies that it does not matter whether a certain institution in the constitution should or should not exist, one indirectly encourages citizens to conclude that it does not matter whether or not they pay taxes."

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[1] Editor's Note: technocrat—supporter of government run by technical expertise.

[2] Editor's Note: omnipotent—having virtually unlimited authority.

These are responses to Klaus's claims (while he was still federal minister of finance) that he was incapable of distinguishing between dirty and clean money. They are reactions to the fact that even within his party there are some unscrupulous people (as demonstrated by a series of major and minor scandals), and to his abusive statements regarding the Senate, an institution that, for over two years now, has existed only on paper.

Naturally, Klaus is capable of recognizing dirty money. However, during one period, he thought it appropriate not to be bothered by that fact and to push forward with a rapidly paced privatization program, even at the cost of "sloppiness": "We have given priority to speed over accuracy." "Accuracy," here, is a euphemistic, belittling term for being in accordance with the law, for clean money, and for equality of opportunity for everybody. Klaus defends his people to the last because he is probably convinced that this is expected of the leader of the strongest party, in which is vested the greatest responsibility.

Without giving in, Klaus replies: "Some people want to take advantage of the collapse of communism to create something more than 'just' a free society....They pretend to know what is wrong with us and why, and presume that they can straighten us out. We are too egotistical for them, too shortsighted, too narcissistic....I do not agree with the idea that we should be cured by someone else."

These are allusions to Havel's speech appealing for the creation of a holistic vision of society that would reach beyond the everyday political and economic agenda, beyond an automatic defense of what had already been accomplished. They are also a warning against the intellectuals who, according to Klaus, are people with a tendency toward an ideological, utopian way of thinking and who played a decisive role in the introduction and maintenance of the previous regime.

Klaus assumes the role of an anti-intellectual: he wants to be the pragmatist with common sense, not anyone or anything else. Havel, however, has always been and still is one of the most radical critics of ideological thinking. His continuous references to spiritual values, transcendentalism[1], and a greater vision are all a modest appeal, if not directly to God, then at least to faith. He would, however, never renounce his intellectual roots: on the contrary, he urges intellectuals to make their voices better heard in Czech society, to be more self-assured, to become more engaged in society and politics.

Havel's weakness is not that he speaks too often on too many topics—he probably thinks that this is what he should be doing, since other intellectuals are not being heard—but that he moralizes too much. This does not mean that every speech of his is about morality. It means that there is a lack of balance in such speeches. As a president with few powers, Havel ought to demonstrate the importance of properly functioning institutions, and of respect for the rules of the game, the constitution, and the legal system. He ought to explain that the moral climate in the society should be viewed and judged above all through this institutional prism and not "directly" through ethical values. Otherwise he risks being perceived more and more as a hopeless preacher.

Klaus's weakness is that he derives pleasure from exaggerating everything he says. He does this in an apolitical way—everything is painted in either black or white. Obviously, democracy without political parties is not possible, but that does not mean that civil society, which mediates between the citizen and the state, is the devil's child. Obviously, "visions" can become full-blown intellectual constructions that can easily be transformed into ideological dogmatism. But political parties, in whose hands Klaus wants to maintain the monopoly of creating the "vision," function only from one election to the next; this narrow perspective constitutes their immutable limitation. Obviously, intellectuals have failed on numerous occasions (never all of them, however, and frequently not even a majority of them), but that does not mean that they should all be branded as notorious leftists and misguided ideologues. It is possible that an argument about credibility is at the heart of this frontal assault. The debate over the dissidents cannot be avoided. Klaus did not belong to them. Quite recently, however, to the surprise of many and with absurd exaggeration, Klaus described himself in the following way in an interview with the influential journal *Central European Economic Review*. "The Russians came, and I was treated as the main anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary in this country. Ever since, I have been considered the leader of the anti-Bolsheviks."

It is clear, then, that he would have been happy to be in the opposition. But naturally not in the one that

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[1] Editor's Note: transcendentalism—a philosophy that emphasizes going beyond the limits of ordinary existence.

actually existed—for it was led by Havel. If this is true, it is easy to see why Klaus is always so sharp in his criticism of so-called antipolitical politics—a concept that was created by Havel in the dissident environment to vindicate the Charter 77 movement. Today, Havel—clearly defensive—no longer refers to this idea and claims that he was only a child of those times.

I think he is wrong. "Antipolitical politics" never intended to defeat, exclude, or marginalize "political politics" (by which I mean party, parliamentary, and governmental politics). The term was coined only to show that people are motivated to engage in politics for reasons other than the mere desire to gain power, and that much can be achieved beyond an electoral contest for power. For example, it is the dissident who cannot exist in "political politics"—he would be driven crazy.

Klaus cannot, or rather does not, want to think on a broader scale: it is obvious to him that democracy is best guarded by the rules of the struggle for power. In this sense, "political politics" as a check on power is a necessary condition for democracy—an essential condition. However, the president believes that it is not a sufficient condition, while the prime minister does not seem to understand or accept this dual aspect of politics. To the contrary, he is convinced that everything beyond this necessary condition not only comes from the devil but actually threatens democracy.

Although he does not possess a deep knowledge of industrial, ecological, or regional politics, Klaus is an eloquent and shrewd macro economist. It appears that he is also a "macrodemocrat"—that is, he treats democracy only in reference to its governmental aspect. Havel, on the other hand, has had, and probably still has, a very superficial understanding of this fundamental aspect of democracy.

In any case, the positions currently represented by these two politicians are, luckily, not only a necessary but, at the present moment, a sufficient condition for the pluralistic articulation of some basic problems that confront Czech society today.

Student Handout

Havel Text #1

Excerpt from "Civil Society After Communism: Rival Visions," by Václav Havel, Václav Klaus and Petr Pithart in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 7.1 (January 1996): pp. 12–23.
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The era of radical social, political, and economic upheaval, indeed, of fundamental systemic change—is without a doubt drawing to a close. Five years after the revolution, the period of dramatic, hurried construction of the foundations of our infant state is also coming to an end. At such a moment, two paths lie ahead of us:

On one hand, we could feel satisfied about what has already been completed. We could applaud our achievements and lapse into a state of lethargy while awaiting the results of all the changes. At most, we could engage in minor repairs to the state or make sure that it functions without major complications. In other words, we could sprinkle water only when we think that something is beginning to smolder.

There is also the other path, the better option, which I myself support and recommend,… its underlying principle is to reflect on the meaning of all the changes that we have introduced, on the goals we seek to achieve, and on the future steps that need to be taken. We should do this not by hurrying at a revolutionary pace, but through peaceful contemplation, with insight and depth.

In other words, we find ourselves at an intersection that presses us to consider, once again, the character of the state that we have created. The task for the immediate future is no longer the reconstruction of the fundamental principles, tools, and institutions of democracy and free-market economy. All of that has already been accomplished, I do not believe that our future goal should be merely the creation of an efficient capitalist democracy.

We need something more: we need to begin a serious discussion about the character of the democracy that we wish to cultivate—its roots, spirit, and direction. With equal seriousness, we should also consider what needs to be done at the different levels of the reconstruction market economy so that its fruit may be enjoyed by the general public. We need, quite simply, a new vision: one that is mindful of the future role of our citizens, local government, and state; one that considers the cultivation of our citizens' lives, our political and economic identity, and our country's position within the European context.

The time has come to describe anew the role that our country is to play in the international arena. And the time has come to ask openly: Do we want, through our responsibility and solidarity, to be respected, trusted, and welcome members of the international community? Or do we want to be a country that, owing to its conceited and egocentric behavior, is treated with a courteous distance? The vision that I am speaking of must stem from a clear recognition of the moral and spiritual precepts upon which our young democracy rests. The vision must also stimulate concrete conceptual planning, which in turn will give rise to a body of laws and to practical politics. *(From a speech given on the state holiday of the Czech Republic, 28 October 1994.)*

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts

1. What does Havel believe about the era of revolutionary change?
2. What alternatives lie ahead? Which does he prefer? Why?
3. What is to be included in Havel's "new vision"? What should this new vision recognize about the foundations of democracy?
4. What will be the practical results of this new vision?

Student Handout

Havel Text #2

Excerpt from "Civil Society After Communism: Rival Visions," by Václav Havel, Václav Klaus and Petr Pithart in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 7.1 (January 1996): pp. 12–23.
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In the atmosphere of common brotherhood and enthusiasm characteristic of the November 1989 Revolution, many of us hoped—and what is more, deeply wished—that a significant change in the very way that human beings coexist would take place. It seemed that people would quickly crawl out of the egotistical shells into which they had been driven by the communist regime, and that all of the social life would suddenly assume more humane features, it seemed that people would stop being unkind toward others and that a small portion of the feeling of brotherhood evoked by the revolution might even remain permanently within them, it seemed that such values as solidarity, a spiritual dimension of life, "love thy neighbor," tolerance, and civil society would experience some kind of renaissance. I fully understand the disappointment of those who are no longer capable of seeing such a renaissance in our country. I also fully understand that the more they believe in it (even with a large dose of naivete), the more disappointed they are today.

There certainly is no need for widespread skepticism. It is possible to enumerate a long list of impressive accomplishments… Nevertheless, we have no reason to rejoice over the spiritual and moral condition of our society. The crime rate is rising, although perhaps a bit more slowly now. It seems that the majority of our society has been infected by the virus of racism. Many people feel that freedom means the ability to do everything, and that the market excludes ethics. In reality, one cannot do without ethics—drug addiction, the cult of violence, and a widespread indifference to the fate of other human beings are spreading. Respect for law and legal consciousness are very low. Political culture and civil society frequently assume grotesque features. Many people, whose previous value structure collapsed and who were incapable of either creating or finding a new one, have become frustrated and are accepting illusory proposals for simplistic solutions offered by various extreme-nationalist pseudo-leaders. Instead of learning from the West about civic and political culture, we have been quick to acquaint ourselves with the empty world of inane commercials and even more inane television series, allowing them to plunder without resistance our lives and our souls.

What can be done in such a situation? Is it enough to leave this social climate to its own devices and to hope that the passage of time and the ongoing stabilization of the political and economic system will allow it to improve on its own? I am deeply convinced that relying on the system to stabilize itself is not sufficient and that one may and even should do much more….

I do not approve of political parties behaving as if they possess a monopoly on knowledge, truth, and the solution to problems. I do not think parties should be an end unto themselves, just as the power for which they compete is not. Parties and power are only the means to fulfill the goals of the common good. Parties should listen to the multifaceted opinions of a pluralistic civil society, as expressed by all individuals, groups, and organizations, including educated people, expert, academics, and intellectuals. They should not ignore or slight those to whom they may not be directly linked. Self-indulgent parties that do not become aware of this life-giving environment will weaken and wither, becoming mere elevators to authority. ***(From a speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution…delivered to students on 17 November 1994.)***

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What hope about attitudes developed among many revolutionaries such as Havel during 1989? What made them think that this was possible?
2. What developments in post-revolutionary Czech society does Havel cite as evidence that these hopes have been largely disappointed?
3. What, if anything, does Havel believe can be done about this? To whom or to what does he appear to be looking for a solution?
4. What criticism of political parties does he offer? What group especially does he accuse them of ignoring?

Student Handout

Klaus Text #1

Excerpt from "Civil Society After Communism: Rival Visions," by Václav Havel, Václav Klaus and Petr Pithart in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 7.1 (January 1996): pp. 12–23.

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The underlying transformation process has two slightly different aspects. One is quite passive, the other active. Both are radical and revolutionary, and both are based on a clear, transparent vision of the future—and on an ability to "sell" both this vision and a pragmatic, rational, and not-so-simple strategy of transformation to the citizens of our country. In understanding the logic of this process, the difference between these two aspects is crucial.

The passive or noninterventionist side of the process is that of radical deregulation and liberalization. The recent change in political systems was entirely in this mode. It was guided by liberalization, by the creation of unlimited access to the "political market." We soon realized that this change would be enough, that nothing else needed to be forbidden, that the existing political parties did not need to be transformed. Though it may sound simplistic, this conclusion should not be seen as trivial. The artificial vacuum was quickly filled by new political groups, thanks to whom a standard political groups structure has been created. This structure is characterized by clearly define political parties.

The economic transformation was also based on liberalization, deregulation of the market (i.e., the deregulation of prices, foreign trade, and private enterprises) was an integral part of the underlying economic change; yet market deregulation alone was not sufficient. Such a transformation would be far too time-consuming and expensive. It was therefore necessary to facilitate the transformation through positive actions, of which widespread privatization was the most important. It required the application of a specific mix of standard and unique types of privatization. At present, this particular transformation process is coming to an end.

Nothing else needed to be done. Some people, however, still want to take advantage of the collapse of communism to create something more than "just" a free society. Five years ago, these individuals did not agree with our vision of the world; it is not surprising that they disagree with us now. For them, it is not enough that our country has free citizens—they would like it to have better citizens. They pretend to know what is wrong with us and why, and presume that they can straighten us out. In their eyes, we are too materialistic, too egotistical, too shortsighted, and too narcissistic. They do not believe that freeing people from their various shackles is enough. They would like to transform not only social institutions but human beings themselves.

I agree with their criticism of excessive materialism, egotism, shortsightedness, and narcissism. But I do not agree with the idea that we should be cured by someone else. We have already had some experience in this area. Several decades ago, the violation of human nature by collectivism[1] and state control created an Orwellian[2] world here, which we are now happy to have put behind us. Today, the violation of human nature by moralizing, elitist, and perfectionist ambitions would create a Huxleyan[3] "Brave New World." *(From a speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. 17 November 1994.)*

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Explain the difference between the two aspects of the radical and revolutionary change process that has transformed Czech politics and economics since 1989. How were they related to one another?
2. For Klaus, what was the essence of the changes that have taken place since 1989? What further changes does he believe are desired by "some people" in Czech society? Why, according to Klaus, do they want these changes?
3. Does he agree with any of the criticisms of society offered by those who would change the system further? If yes, what? Why, then, does he oppose the further changes they propose?

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[1] Editor's Note: collectivism—collective control over production and distribution.

[2] Editor's Note: reference to George Orwell, whose *Animal Farm* warns of the dangers of excessive state control.

[3] Editor's Note: reference to Aldous Huxley, whose *Brave New World* describes a society in which humans are engineered for perfection and dissension is not tolerated.

Student Handout

Klaus Text #2

Excerpt from "Civil Society After Communism: Rival Visions," by Václav Havel, Václav Klaus and Petr Pithart in the *Journal of Democracy,* Vol 7.1 (January 1996): pp. 12–23.
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We are witnessing the advent of a new moralism. This does not mean that we are any more or less moral today than in the past, either as individuals or as whole nations. It is a fact, though, that verbal moralizing has become one of the most fashionable trends of our time. Everyone wishing to take part in public life must make a show of grappling with this issue. That is why it has become part of our political discourse. This ethical universalism, as I call it, can be characterized by one specific feature: a blurring of the difference between what exists and what one desires, between normative and positive statements. It seems to me that those who support ethical universalism, for a variety of reasons, either reject or undervalue this key distinction.

They act in this manner, I believe, mainly for the following reasons. First, they see the existing situation differently as regards the possible mechanisms for changing reality. Second, they rely on a view of the elementary determinants of human behavior that refuses to accept as a staring point the fact that man is an autonomous, rational individual fighting for his own interests. They consider the defense of such a view as an expression of cultural and moral relativism, as subjectivism and worthless nihilism. They see man and the world differently than does standard social science. Third, they have certain feeling of superiority, a feeling that they know best. That is why they think they can and should advise others on what is good, both morally and socially. They believe in the necessity of this method of influencing others' behavior.

It seems to me that this ethical universalism, which aspires to the role of a new contemporary religion (it has, incidentally, been accepted with open arms by Catholicism), is in complete opposition to the ideals of the Enlightenment, to the political economy (and the moral impulses) of Adam Smith, and to the legal ethics of Immanuel Kant. In other words, it is probably much closer to the Aristotelian concept of "the good life," which can only be lived in a certain community.

I do not trivialize everything connected with this view. Nobody claims that man is a rational computer, that he does not possess a shred of altruism, or that he is not embedded in some form of human community. We only claim that in looking at the world, one must first focus on the individual and everything that the individual represents. Conceptions of the world should not begin with an examination of this or that institution, or other systems of values to which one might be connected. Therefore, we should move carefully through the minefield that is the criticism of "empty" and the defense of "collective humanity." It is dangerous.

(From the article "Ethical Universalism and Our Times," published in the Prague newspaper *Lidove noviny,* 12 December 1994.)

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What does Klaus mean by saying that "We are witnessing the advent of a new moralism"? What is the chief feature of what he characterizes as "ethical universalism"?
2. What do supporters of ethical universalism think about this distinction? What three reasons for this does he outline? What does he mean by each of these points?
3. Why do you think Klaus calls this ethical universalism "a new contemporary religion"? Recalling what you know about the ideas of the Enlightenment, why does Klaus see ethical universalism as a rejection of the ideas of the Enlightenment? Which Enlightenment idea do you think he means?
4. Why do you suppose Klaus is wary of ideas based on "collective humanity"? What does he suggest society focus upon instead? Why?

CHANGING ECONOMIES: A PRIVATIZATION SIMULATION

> ***The theory of Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.***
>
> —*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* The Communist Manifesto, *(1848)*

Summary of the Lesson

The lesson, designed for two or more class periods, explores the issues of **public good** versus **private interests**, the transition to **privatization**, and the human side/generational perceptions of these changes. After enacting an interview with second and third generation Ukrainian miners (then part of the U.S.S.R.), students will compare and contrast the principles of communism's **command economy** with those of the **market economy**. Special attention is given to Gorbachev's ***perestroika.*** The lesson concludes with an engaging simulation whereby students role-play four parties' vested interests upon learning that the local coal mine is to change from public to private ownership.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- improve understanding of key economic concepts in command and market economies,
- compare and contrast key economic concepts in command and market economies,
- identify some of the issues facing the economies of post-communist countries,
- understand the role and historical context of Gorbachev's *perestroika,*
- analyze the concept of public good versus private interest using primary source material.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Prior to the introduction of this lesson, ask 3 volunteers to perform an interview in front of the class. Distribute copies of the script from student handout **A Miner's Dynasty** and assign the roles of interviewer, Ivan Kushch (2nd generation miner), and Gennady Kushch (his son). Allow them to practice the interview before performing in front of the rest of the class. During this run-through, have these volunteers identify unclear names and/or concepts (such as Stalin, Khrushchev, Gorbachev, *perestroika*) and facilitate their understanding, so that the performers can later explain these words to the rest of the class.

When beginning the lesson, introduce the interview by explaining that this is intended to help the class identify with the day-to-day concerns of Soviet citizens as they seek solutions to their problems and prepare for political and economic changes. Encourage student-led facilitation of this initial discussion.

Developing the Lesson

Lead students in a discussion about the basic differences between market and command economies. See background material **Market vs. Command Economies**. This piece could also be used as a student handout. (For more detailed discussion/lessons about these concepts, see *Economies in Transition: Command to Market*, published in 1997 by the National Council on Economic Education, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036, ISBN: 1-56183-484-X.)

Build upon this foundation by discussing issues presented in background material **Perestroika and Economic Reform in the U.S.S.R.** and **The Politics of Change**. (These could also be used as student handouts. Students could be divided into small groups, each of which would prepare an outline of a concept and/or article.) The purpose of these articles is to aid students' understanding of the transitional nature of economic reform in the U.S.S.R.

After a discussion of these concepts and ideas, explain to students that they will be engaging in a simulation concerning privatization.

Privatization Simulation. Indicate to students that they are now part of the 390 individuals who make up Stroganoff #14, one of the mines located in the former Soviet Union, and the community's largest employer. In a class of 30, students should be grouped (approximately) according to the following suggested ratio:

1. Representatives of Communist party officials who oversee mine employees **(3 students)**;
2. Mine Commissars who are the heads of the mine and determine operation **(9 students)**;
3. Heads of the Mine Worker's Collective who represent the union and who also determine health and social issue priorities **(15 students)**; and
4. Local government officials who are concerned with the impact of the mine on the local community **(3 students)**.

Divide the student handout **Vested Interests** into its 4 sections, and distribute the proper piece to each of the four groups as labeled. (You may want to make enough copies for each member of each group to have their respective "vested interest.") This information does not have to be shared at this time but will be used later in discussion. Explain that the information on this paper should be used to guide each group's actions.

Announce that there has been a change in the economic situation. Since its formation in 1919, and up until now, the mine has been government owned and operated for the production and protection of the general public. *Now, it is to be privatized.* The mine's estimated worth is a little over 3 million rubles and each of the 390 workers now owns a share. That means each worker will be given a voucher good for approximately 8000 rubles. Have each group briefly brainstorm and discuss how their situation could be affected by considering the following questions:

1. What does it mean to "own" a share of the mine?
2. What options are before each of the groups?

Point out that in order to have a controlling interest in the mine production and operation at least 196 workers would have to either agree to a plan or buy the vouchers of the 194 other workers.

Explain that each group will have 20 minutes to develop a plan for the privatization of the mine. They should discuss the issues of shared representation and organization, as well as economic concerns and how their plan will benefit their group. Each group will then make a presentation of their proposals based upon the following 2 sets of instructions.

Instructions for Group Presentations:

1. In their groups, students should decide how voting will be handled by discussing the following:
    - Who has the power to make decisions?
    - If a few people have enough savings to buy out someone else or even if they may be able to buy a few other vouchers, who will control the votes?
    - Will someone with 3 vouchers have more of a vote than someone with one voucher?
2. Groups should then decide upon a plan for handling the mine's equipment. The mine can continue operation for one month, but then immediate decisions need to be made. The equipment is very old and the cost of replacing it is estimated at two million rubles. If equipment is to be replaced, although it will increase the safety of the mine, it may mean shutting down for an additional month. However, *not* replacing the equipment means that the mine will continue to operate inefficiently and that workers will barely make it, financially.

Following the presentations, give workers their vouchers. (Xerox student handout **Vouchers** as many times as is necessary in order to distribute them. Even though all 390 workers are not here, the vouchers for that group are to be held by the representatives present. Therefore, each of the 15 student representatives should get 26 shares. Based on the options presented by the groups, ask the students if any group wants to buy, sell or trade some of their vouchers for guaranteed protection of their rights. Allow groups to bargain individually while reviewing the plans presented by each of the other groups. Final plans should then be made by each group, based upon all of the previous activities.

Option: If the class is limited by time constraints, students may at this point wish to skip to the discussion under **Concluding the Lesson**. This will allow students to sufficiently process the key concepts of this lesson. However, the simulation can continue as follows, with voting upon final plans.

Ask each group to send two representatives to a general meeting of all participants. They will be seated in the middle of the room. Allow the other students to observe the general meeting by seating them around the outside of the representatives' meeting. The representatives' task is to present the final offers from their individual groups. After each group has presented, the whole group of miners and representatives (the class) votes upon a plan. Remind students that each group votes in the manner equal to the ratio of their representation. The first vote should be an agreement on how to vote, the second which plan of privatization to follow.

Concluding the Lesson

As a class, discuss the motivations of each group and process what occurred. (If students conducted a vote, include that in this discussion.)

Discuss the issues raised by privatization.

1. What problems did privatization create for the workers?
2. Are there disadvantages to private ownership for each of these groups?
3. Are there any problems which seemed unsolvable? If so, which ones?
4. How might foreign investment help or hurt the process?

Extending the Lesson

Students could write an essay on one of the following questions, based upon class activities and readings:

1. What problems were brought on by privatization?
2. How did workers view the coming of privatization?

Have students write and perform TV or radio interviews in the spirit of the Ivan and Gennady

Kushch piece from the beginning of the lesson. Have them build the interview around the final plans of the simulation and develop realistic character roles to discuss what has happened and how they are responding to these changes. How will their lives be different? How will the community change?

The class may study the issue of privatization as it relates to American History. Areas such as reduction of logging, restrictions on the advertising of tobacco and issues which relate to privatization and deregulation in the trucking and airline industries. Research could also be conducted on the successes and failures of communes and utopian communities in America. The class could also bring in city workers who have been displaced by outsourcing (the awarding of private contracts for goods or services previously provided by public employees) to discuss the impact of this on their city.

Students could conduct comparative research on the effects of privatization in various countries and/or regions throughout Russia and Central and Eastern Europe.

Student Handout

A Miner's Dynasty

Reprinted from *Workers of the Donbass Speak: Survival and Identity in the New Ukraine, 1989—1992*, by Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Daniel J. Walkowitz, by permission of the State University of New York Press.
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The following is excerpted from a 1989 interview with Ivan and Gennady Kushch, father and son miners (respectively) in Ukraine, when Ukraine was part of the U.S.S.R. In this section, they discuss the successes and failures of the Soviet state's ability to meet their needs—a conversation which highlights the close relationship between politics and the economy.

Interviewer: So, Gennady, you're a second generation miner?

Gennady Kushch [son]: Yes, if you count my father. If you go by my mother and grandpa, it's the third. My grandpa was killed in the mine…

Interviewer: And how long have you lived in this apartment?

GK: We received this apartment on the sixtieth anniversary of the Soviet state. That was in 1982, seven years ago.

Interviewer: How many of you live here?

GK: How many? Well me, my wife, my daughter, my son-in-law, my granddaughter, and my mother-in-law, well, count for yourself.

Interviewer: Six people.

GK: And my son, also. Seven people.

Interviewer: How big is the apartment?

GK: Forty-one square meters. [Approximately 150 square feet, i.e. a 10x15 foot space.]

Interviewer: It's quite comfortable and attractive.

GK: What do you mean, comfortable? My son sleeps with the grandma, me and my wife are in one bedroom, my son-in-law sleeps in the other with my granddaughter and daughter. It's a bit crowded.

Interviewer: Ivan, how would you compare what it was like to raise a family after the war [WWII] to today's conditions?

Ivan Kushch [father]: I'll tell you the truth about the way it was during Stalin's time. All of us, my generation, we approved of him. We approved because right after the war he did away with food rationing and gave people better living conditions. And if a ruler provides people with better living conditions, they will respect him. Under Stalin, we had price reductions almost every year for food, for supplies, for footwear, for everything. And under Stalin, although there was such devastation everywhere in our country, we had everything in the stores, I can tell you. We had meat, fish, smoked fish, butter, and at prices that were ten, fifteen times cheaper than now. So we all, our generation that is, approved of Stalin….

Stalin died in 1953, and everything died in the stores and became more expensive. It even got to the point under Khrushchev that we started to eat corn bread. We, our children, couldn't get a bagel or real wheat bread. So, how can we remember him well? After Stalin died, everything died and it hasn't gotten any better since. All they do is promise and promise, and we just carry on.

Now, it's up to our *perestroika*, to Comrade Gorbachev. Maybe he will take us out of our misery. It seems those earlier leaders didn't use their power, I mean, our power. Maybe someone frightened them, or maybe they were not really interested. They didn't go around the country much, seeing how people worked and lived, the way Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev does.

Still, Gorbachev has made some mistakes. It's the truth. We have sugar rationing, soap rationing, everything is rationed. Vodka prices have gone up five times. Of course, not all miners are alcoholics. I mean, it didn't go up only for the drinkers, but it also went up for me and my children—not that we are alcoholics. Him [Gennady] and me, we are workers. But if it happens to be a religious holiday, or Victory Day [May 9], you want to have a glass at your table. But to get this one glass, you have to reach into your pocket and shake well, because it costs 15 rubles. That is five times more than before.

But let's not talk about vodka; let's talk about razor blades—there is nothing to shave with. And detergent!

How can Gennady's wife stand in line if she has to work? A few days ago, in the "Central Store" in the city, I saw a hundred people standing in line for soap. Can his wife stand in that kind of line, if she is tired after working all day? That's where the leaders got us. How can we approve of him [Gorbachev] after he got us to such a point that the miners went on strike? If everything were good, they wouldn't strike. They lie, saying, "You will have this and that. We are giving you this and that."

GK: My father has talked about Stalin. Well, I will tell you that I don't think he could have gone on strike under Stalin. Since there was such repression under Stalin, I don't think he could ever have gone on strike. Now we have more freedom and that's why somehow it's easier to breathe for us. His generation was stifled.

IK: That's true. We were stifled then. We couldn't say a free word like now, with Mikhail Gorbachev. Now we have the right to speak up, to call our superiors into account. And, in general, we are not afraid.

[*Later in the interview*]

GK: Now that I've been there [in the mine] for fifteen years, I'm used to it. I began working, as we say here, by grandpa's methods, the way my father used to work. When I started, we were still using the shovel. Now, it's only been a year since we started using the belt collector. When my father started, they were mining coal some eight hundred meters to a kilometer from the shaft. We go deeper and deeper. All the top coal layers are exhausted, and of course there is less oxygen, more dust, more gas in the mine. Otherwise, as far as the work goes, we have fewer difficulties.

But in thinking about our wages, we measure, how can I explain, by our lifestyle. In the past, you needed less than now, than we need for our families. Our earnings are not enough, not enough, especially if it's a large family. We are paid according to quotas. How are our quotas determined? My father had his quota—five tons—but I have to extract eight tons. This is for manual labor.

Interviewer: How is this quota established?

GK: The quota is established from above, like we say. Establish a record today, and it will be the norm tomorrow. For example, if one person manages to produce more than his quota, they make that the average and there you have it. Since one person can do it, you can establish it as a norm.

Interviewer: And they still use the same system?

GK: That's why we're fighting. So that the quotas are not hiked up. That's the reason why we sat there on the square [on strike] so that they won't be hiked up.

Interviewer: Is the union involved in establishing norms?

GK: In fact, previously the union did very little to help the workers, and we struck so that it would help more. The union was more concerned with pleasing our higher authorities, and now we are fighting so that the union will protect the rights of workers....

As to the dangers of the mining, we have a lot of injuries. If you count the fingers, we don't even pay attention to them. If we break a leg, a finger, or a hand, we consider it a light injury. We count the serious stuff, when your spine gets broken, when it's your head. I had a big injury; I was completely buried in a cave-in.

In general, there is no such thing as bad faith among miners, because the miners are a united body. Each works and each is responsible for his work....

Background Material

Market vs. Command Economies

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The Differences Between Market and Command Economies

Market Economy

1. Productive resources are owned and controlled by individuals in the economy.
2. Decisions about how resources are to be used are made by numerous individual buyers and sellers in markets.
3. Individuals are motivated by their own self-interests.

Command Economy

1. Except for human resources, most productive resources are owned and controlled by the state and government.
2. Decisions about how resources are to be used are made by central planners of the government.
3. Central planners are motivated by the social goals they establish.

Worker Woes: Labor Transition Challenges

In the command economy of the former Soviet Union, central planners attempted to do manpower balancing on a regional basis. Labor staffing (determining the amount and type of workers) was a decision made by planning authorities in the various ministries in accordance with the production plans they also developed. Enterprise managers did have some input into these decisions and did have some flexibility with respect to moving workers into different classifications. They over overstated their needs for labor to ensure that they could meet their output targets.

Once the "demands" for labor were aggregated, it was the central planner's responsibility to see that there were sufficient supplies. Although there are examples of workers being administratively assigned to particular jobs (especially in times of national emergencies, such as wars), generally the plans were met through the use of differentiated wages to attract workers to those occupations, enterprises, and regions where they were needed. There were also attempts to "manipulate" future labor supplies through training and selective education. For example, the Ministry of Education planned the number of students entering particular fields. The Ministry also planned the type of educational facilities to be provided (again, based on the overall plan and its anticipated requirements). Most graduates from secondary schools, vocational schools, and institutions of higher learning were initially placed by local regional authorities.

Under the command system, nearly nine of every ten people worked for a state-controlled enterprise, and employment was essentially guaranteed to all those who wished it. However, indications are that many people were underemployed (due to managers' incentives to overstate needs) and productivity was low (due to a lack of meaningful incentives and outdated capital).

After the break-up of the former Soviet Union, real wages fell for many reasons, such as output fell due to supply shocks related to the break-up, a loss of a huge free-trade zone among the former Soviet republics, supplier distributions, and so on. In some former republics, there were periodic energy crises and fears about war. As prices were liberalized by the elimination of price controls, prices rose for many products. Workers whose wages did not rise correspondingly suffered the effect of a loss in real wages. While many states responded and increased wages, monetary restraints required governments to try to limit the wage increases. Falling real incomes meant that people bought lower quantities of goods and services which led to negative growth in many of the transition economies. Shutdowns of state enterprises and failure of newly privatized enterprises have forced many workers into the "shadow" economy.

Background Material

Perestroika *and Economic Reform in the U.S.S.R.*

Excerpt from *Revolution in Eastern Europe* by Peter Cipkowski, copyright © 1991 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Perestroika

By his own admission, Gorbachev [leader of the U.S.S.R., 1985-1991] inherited an enormous backlog of problems. Domestically, the Soviet Union was in economic, political, and moral decline. Expenditures in the Soviet arms buildup had long exceeded the country's capability to pay for them and at the same time maintain the population's standard of living. Externally, the country faced numerous challenges, ranging from the collapse of relations with the West to the stalemate in the war against the Afghan resistance.[1]

From the very outset, Gorbachev made it clear that his first priority was to invigorate the stagnant economy, and he spoke of the need to "restructure the economic mechanism." On assuming office, Gorbachev and his associates expected to have a fairly easy time reviving the economy. In Gorbachev's own words: "We had initially assumed that basically the task was only to correct certain deformations of the social organs, to perfect the entire system set in place during the preceding decades." The premise turned out to be wrong. By the end of 1985, Gorbachev had concluded that "everything pertaining to the economy, culture, democracy, foreign policy—all spheres— had to be reappraised."...

Once Gorbachev realized the immensity of the Soviet Union's economic problems, he dropped the original slogan *uskorenie*, or "acceleration," for *perestroika*, or "restructuring." The latter entailed reducing the grip of the bureaucracy on the country as well as stimulating the private initiative in all spheres of national life. Essentially, it meant bringing society into a limited partnership with the ruling elite, making it an active participant in the life of the country.

Economic Failure

The centerpiece of *perestroika* was economic reform. Yet, in view of the problems facing Gorbachev's government, economic reforms became risky. Bold plans to reinstate private property, for example, were given up because they could not be reconciled with the maintenance of a planned economy and the one-party system. The construction of a free market was indefinitely postponed because it required a fundamental pricing reform, which was certain to cause inflation and result in social unrest. The situation with consumer goods became extremely bleak. Staple foods were in short supply and even when available were shunned because of saturation with pesticides, nitrates, and other chemicals. There was a sad joke that claimed even Soviet cats snubbed the sausages produced for human consumption.

Countless additional factors contributed to the failure of economic-reform plans. Many scholars emphasize the inherent difficulty of developing private enterprise in a centralized economy. Soviet citizens did not trust the government to honor promises to respect the rights and earnings of cooperative enterprises. But above all, there were vested interests of the Party bureaucracy to whom state ownership assured an easy and comfortable living. The bureaucracy feared the political consequences of the accumulation of wealth in private hands. Moreover, *perestroika* aggravated social inequalities in a country where inequalities are poorly tolerated. It also increased unemployment, which is not supposed to exist in a communist state. "Such inequalities and such unemployment, on top of generally declining living standards," wrote one scholar, "create a situation laden with revolutionary possibilities."

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[1] Editor's Note: This refers to the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Background Material

The Politics of Change

From *After the Fall: The Pursuit of Democracy in Central Europe*, by Jeffrey C. Goldfarb, published by BasicBooks, a division of HarperCollins Publishers, New York, NY, pp. 169–70.

As a political-economic system, socialism of the Soviet type was strong on politics and very short on economics. It was not simply that political collectivistic exhortation replaced individual economic initiative.[1] A great deal of initiative was actually necessary for survival. Rather, to a large extent, ideological political logic replaced economics. Although grand designs were drawn and realized, industrial output was increased, and an unsurpassed military was constructed, these achievements were more the result of political than economic coordination.

Official trade unions, for example, were unlike any non-Soviet institution… A convenient way of thinking about Soviet unions is as party-state company unions. Yet, even though these unions functioned to control workers' actions, enforcing the company's (that is to say, the party-state's) interests and ideology, distributing scarce goods such as vacations, scholarships, and even food and housing according to the company plan, they were much more than Western company unions… The unions of the Soviet type commanded, as an integral part of political, economic, and cultural life… They are not unions in any sense with which we [Westerners] are familiar.

From *Eastern Europe: The Unfinished Revolution*, by the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). © The Leland Stanford Junior University Board of Trustees. Used with permission from the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), Littlefield Center, Rm. 14, Stanford, CA 94305-5013.

The lack of competition among industries in communist Central and Eastern Europe and the huge involvement of the state in the economy meant that state enterprises (most industries were owned and run by the state, or government) were inefficient and outdated by western standards. Some industries even lost money; they were kept alive by subsidies (money provided by the state). In 1991, many of these industries faced a serious challenge: to shut down or restructure at a great expense. Both options dramatically affected workers…

New governments…had to figure out what to do with the old state-run enterprises. International agencies such as the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund) demanded that they be privatized. This means putting them in the hands of private owners and resting their fate on their ability to make profit. In Czechoslovakia, a massive auction was held in Spring 1992 in which state-owned enterprises were sold to the public. Each citizen received 1,000 points with which to purchase a percentage of one or more companies. Many people bought bakeries and suppliers of basic consumer goods they thought were most likely to stay in business. Many other companies didn't draw much interest and were threatened with extinction. In Poland, the government chose to provide state support to some companies rather than force them out of business. Protests from workers forced the government to raise wages at factories that were losing money. This move drew a lot of criticism from observers outside the country.

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[1] Editor's Note: In other words, Soviet socialism was not merely a system of replacing individual choices and actions with heavy state-control.

Student Handout

Vested Interests

Communist Party Officials: You are actually a divided group. You know that in the past, your function has been not only to help determine quotas for mine production and the means by which such quotas were met, but to provide political information and access to the party for the workers. However, you know that the top, official position of the party has been to lead workers to believe that your party supports all of the worker's demands. In the past, farm collectives have been privatized and this is now apparently the future for the coal mines. Many of you agree that privatization is important and must be achieved; some of you fear the change; and others are opposed to the change, because you think that private enterprise and private ownership are not only hurting the country's economy in the short run, but also because it goes against everything in which you believe.

Mine Commissars: As the head of the mines, you determine the day to day operations and keep peace between the workers, the Communist officials and the local government officials. Your greatest concern is to keep the mine running at all costs. You are not against change but you do not see how the mines will operate if there is no central plan for the economy. How much will we produce? Who will buy? How will equipment be replaced? What happens if any one of the other groups wants more? How will a balance be struck?

Mine Workers Collective: You are more than a union or a trade association. You have been in charge of the worker's safety and health issues for many years and you believe that these issues are important. This mine needs much rebuilding to make it safe. You are concerned with the low pay of the workers. You are the organization which controls the issues of child care, medical service, and emergency relief for the workers. You are concerned about what will happen to the workers in the transition.

Local Government Officials: You are very concerned about the mine because it is the economy of the town and region. If it fails, there is no safety net for the people of the town—there will be widespread poverty, unemployment, unrest. If you are a risk taker, it must be a calculated risk.

Student Handout

Vouchers

This voucher is worth **1 (ONE) share of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 8,000 Rubles	This voucher is worth **1 (ONE) share of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 8,000 Rubles
This voucher is worth **5 (FIVE) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 40,000 Rubles	This voucher is worth **5 (FIVE) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 40,000 Rubles
This voucher is worth **10 (TEN) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 80,000 Rubles	This voucher is worth **10 (TEN) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 80,000 Rubles
This voucher is worth **20 (TWENTY) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 160,000 Rubles	This voucher is worth **20 (TWENTY) shares of stock** in *Stroganoff #14* Value: 160,000 Rubles

RUSSIA'S ECONOMY: A HIGH PRICE FOR FREE MARKETS

> ***Economic growth may one day turn out to be a curse than a good, and under no conditions can it either lead into freedom or constitute a proof for its existence.***
>
> *—Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) German-born, U.S. political philosopher*

Summary of the Lesson

The transition from a command economy to a free market economy is a difficult and dangerous task. Human nature would argue for the speed of change that a highly centralized government might offer, yet the definition of free enterprise will not permit massive government intervention. In most Western countries that enjoy a free enterprise system, these systems developed on an evolutionary path over many years. Such is not the case for many Central and Eastern European states. This lesson provides students with insight into Russia's new Constitution and its economic policies. There will also be an opportunity to compare the U.S. Constitution and free enterprise with the new Russian Federal Constitution and its economic content. Economic terms such as **real income, inflation, capitalism, taxation policy, monopolies,** and **entrepreneur** are discussed in this lesson.

Objectives

Students should be expected to

- recognize some similarities and differences between the U.S. Constitution and the Constitution of the Russian Federation,
- identify the differences between constitutional provisions and actions in the Russian Federation,
- interpret political cartoons to obtain opinions concerning economic and constitutional trends in Russia.

Background Material

Two points regarding the struggle with privatization in Russia form the conceptual foundations of this lesson: 1) the state's inability to provide the minimum public goods necessary for the functioning of a market economy (freedom from crime, a stable currency, the rule of law) and 2) that privatization thus became a vehicle for the consolidation of managerial control over the old state enterprises, even as it was trumpeted by the government to be the most successful element in the reform program.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Explain that since the fall of the communism, Russia has struggled to maintain order in both its political and its economic system.

1. Ask students what they know about the economic and political situation in Russia. (This will provide an opportunity to assess what students already know.)
2. Explain to the class that this lesson will give information on Russia's struggle to change governments and economic systems.

Handout the cartoon, **The Worst of Both Worlds**, and have students answer the questions that go with the cartoon. Discuss student answers by exploring how inferences were made.

Developing the Lesson

Have the students read the magazine excerpts in student handouts **Supermarketing, Russian Style**, and **Ivan Othertaxbill** to document possible constitutional incongruities. How could the Russian Constitution impact these situations?

Explain to the students that Russia's struggle to embrace capitalism is a painful one—especially when the new Russian Constitution has bred political as well as economic turmoil. Have students read the following parts of the Constitution of the Russian Federation: Section One, Chapter 2, Article 34:1,2; Article 37:3; Article 57. Compare them to the following parts of the U.S. Constitution: Article 1, Section 8, Number 1; Section 9, Number 5; Section 10, Number 2 and also Amendment XVI. What comparisons can be made? Which area of the United States' Constitution seem to regulate or effect commerce? Discuss the similarities and differences.

Read student handout **Has Democracy Failed Russia?** Organize the students into small groups of three or four. Provide time for individual students to write down the main points of the article and then, as a group, they are to agree on one point to share with the class (always having a couple of other main points in reserve if needed).

Concluding the Lesson

Review the cartoon used earlier to refresh the students memories about taxes, unemployment, real income, inflation and the shortages in Russia.

Assign pairs of students to draw a cartoon with the following options:

a) draw a cartoon that revises the cartoon used in the lesson to forecast Russia's future, or

b) create a new cartoon which indicates a future economic concern of Russia.

Suggestions for Assessment

The cartoons from this activity could be given to a different class (English, Art, or younger social studies students) who will explain the cartoons in a written format. This feedback will tell the students how well they conveyed their message in the cartoon. The students may also explain their cartoons to the class, after cartoons are transferred to an overhead or reproduced, in a formal oral presentation.

Extending the Lesson

A study of the Russian Mafia's impact on the Russian economy might be useful and interesting. Students may also be asked to keep a cartoon portfolio during the year in which they could create a collection of political cartoons about world issues. This booklet could be collected periodically for grading. At the end of the year a cartoon book could be created called "The Best of '97," in which the class would select the best cartoon from the collections of students to publish in a final format.

Students could discuss the implications of the statement—"Most citizens don't know what is in their constitution!" The following question may be asked, "If the Russian Constitution sounds democratic in theory, yet the practice sometimes seems undemocratic, what does this mean for the constitutions of other democratic countries?"

Student Handout

The Worst of Both Worlds

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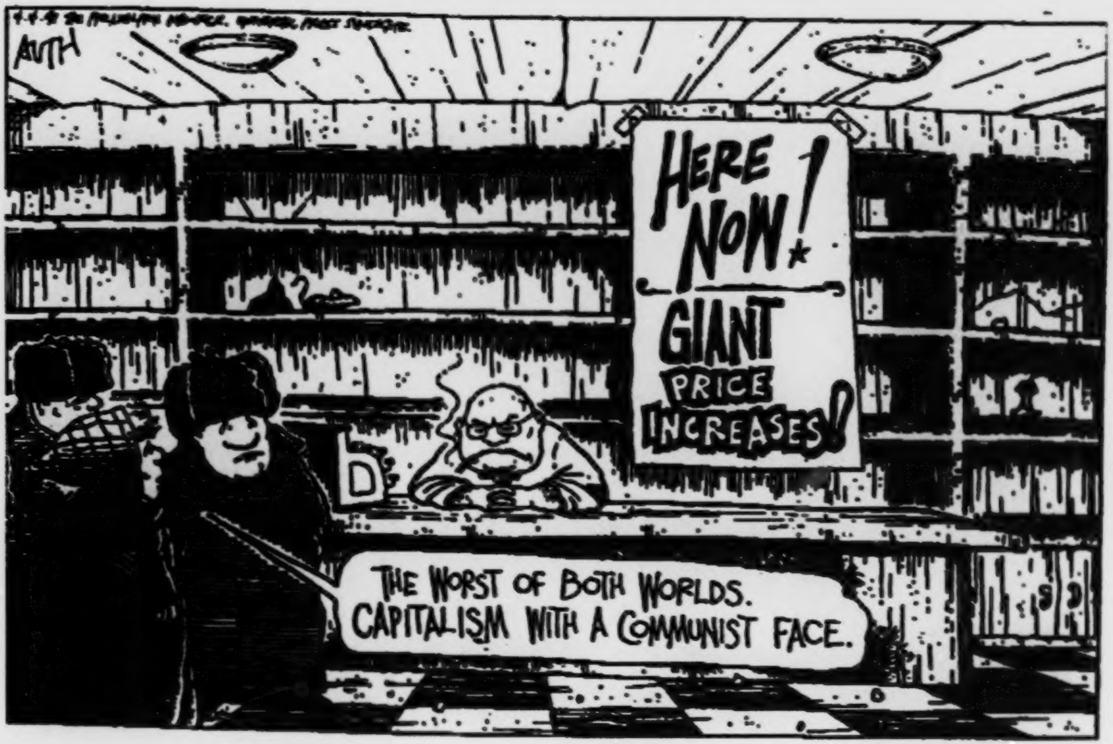
AUTH
HERE NOW!*
GIANT PRICE INCREASES!
D
THE WORST OF BOTH WORLDS. CAPITALISM WITH A COMMUNIST FACE.

Use the cartoon to answer the following questions:

1. What message(s) is the cartoonist trying to convey to the reader?

2. Why do you think there are so few goods on the shelves?

3. How do you interpret the shopper's comment, "The worst of both worlds. Capitalism with a communist face?"

4. Individual tax in Russia is approximately 13%, but for private enterprises it is 50%. How may this affect economic development as evidenced by the shortages discussed in the cartoon?

Student Handout

Supermarketing, Russian Style

by Mikhail Ivanov and Paul Richardson

From *Russian Life*, August 1995. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Mikhail Ustinov, 28-year-old Russian entrepreneur, is worried. Sitting in the air-conditioned office overlooking his newly-opened supermarket (his fifth) on Moscow's Leninsky Prospekt, he exudes confidence and demonstrates rare experience in Russian retailing. The problem is, Ustinov's supermarket chain (which goes by the name of "Sam"—Russian for Self) seems to have hit "the wall." His rapidly expanding business is having serious trouble keeping up with its insatiable need of cash.

In many ways, Ustinov's business history reflects Russia's economic changes over the past decade. In the late 1980's, Ustinov received a degree in applied mathematics from a Moscow institute. Not knowing how best to apply himself, he turned to the flourishing black market. He discovered a knack for business.

"Back in 1988," Ustinov recalls, "private business was not yet fully legal. But we started buying and selling things anyway."

In those early days of perestroika, Russian communists often branded traders like Ustinov "*spekulyanty*" (speculators). In reality, the young traders were gaining business experience that would give them an early advantage in Russia's nascent[1] market economy.

By the early 1990's, trading was legal and Ustinov was specializing in trade of electronics. He had banded together with other young traders to found a company called Microdin. As General Director, Ustinov built Microdin into a large holding company.

Then came privatization, In the summer of 1993 over 40,000 Russian retail shops and small companies were put up on the auction block. In either case they changed hands for a fraction of their real or potential worth.

But even privatization couldn't help many shops, burdened by crumbling systems of supply, insufficient capital and a total lack of private business skills.

Enter the traders.

The successful young traders had long since secured reliable Western lines of supply, had been accumulating capital for 3-4 years. They had developed not only private business skills, but the tenacity required to survive in Russia's anarchic marketplace.

For their part, Ustinov and Microdin saw struggling (empty) grocery stores as an opportunity for diversification. Microdin cosigned on unsecured notes (at interest rates of 30% per annum) with commercial banks. Self Supermarkets ("Taste for yourself all that is Tastiest") were born.

So, find some space, renovate it, line up some suppliers and you're off, right?

Wrong. This is Russia, after all, where bureaucrats have roamed the countryside in packs since the time of Peter the Great.

"It's very simple," Ustinov says, "The local authorities go after you if they figure you have money. They see our nice store fronts and start coming around and issuing fines for litter or whatnot."

And then there is the fire inspector.

"I've traveled in the U.S. and in Europe," notes Ustinov, "and it's perfectly common to see insulated telephone and electrical wires running along the ceiling, out in the open. Here that's not allowed. And of course there are the door requirements. Fire codes here require that all doorways be at least 1.6 meters wide. But the standard in the rest of the world is 1.2 meters. Why do our doors have to be 30% wider? I don't understand."

How about the Mafia, asks a reporter? What sort of run-ins have you had?

"The Mafia?" Ustinov says, contemplating his reply. "Ask me about the Mafia when I'm over there (in America). Frankly, the Mafia has its own rules and you know what to expect. Myself, I find the government much more difficult—it's the most unpredictable thing."

In March of this year, Ustinov notes, without warning the Russian government slapped a 10% VAT[2] on all food products. Similarly, on July 1 duties of 15-30% were imposed on all imported foodstuffs.

And don't even get Ustinov started on Rotest.

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[1] Editor's Note: nascent—recently come into existence.

[2] Editor's Note: VAT—Value Added Tax—a form of sales tax.

"The government," he argues, "is just passing laws with no consideration for how they will be carried out."

"We have over 4,000 different food products that we sell," Ustinov says. "The law requires every imported food product to pass certification of safety with Rotest. That means we have to obtain about $300 to process. But that's not the worst of it. Anytime we want to sell a new product, we must submit three or four samples to Rotest and then wait up to three weeks for results. By then the goods stored in our warehouse may have expired. So then you have to decide whether to sell these goods while your waiting for approval, risking a huge fine, or wait and risk losing inventory.

"Early this year," he says, "we were required to start putting excise stamps across the seals of every bottle of alcohol we sell (the move was in response to health concerns amid alcohol poisoning from bootlegged spirits). But there is just one printing plant in Moscow that is responsible for printing these stamps and selling them for R620 (Russian Rubles) apiece. And they cannot keep up with demand. You have to order stamps six months in advance. So a huge black market has grown up selling excise stamps for R350-700."

Still, all these obstacles considered, Self Supermarkets is growing and expanding like a successful start up. The company's newest store on Linisky prospect had sales during its first month (March 1995) of $170,000. By July, sales at the store had more than doubled to $400,000 per month.

After two years in business, Self has yet to make a profit. This is mainly thanks to high loan interest rates, which cripple low margin businesses like retailing. And with other costs of doing business also rising, Self has hit the wall: it cannot expand further for lack of cash, and cannot slow expansion as this will cripple future cash flow. Unable to sustain further Russian financing at 30% annual interest rates, Ustinov is in search of foreign investors.

"Maybe they will be Swedish," Ustinov says. "I don't know. But this place is rapidly changing. People no longer switch from business to business in search of bigger margin. We have to think down the road. We feel that a grocery store, if done right, is something which will be around for the long term."

Student Handout

Ivan Othertaxbill

From *The Economist,* April 1, 1995, p. 55.

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Petrol is not the only fuel in short supply in Russia. Recently Moscow has an imported-beer drought. Several hundred kegs of the stuff, it turned out, were sitting in Moscow's Sheremetevo Airport, the object of a bitter dispute between restauranteurs and zealous tax officials, who had raised the import tariff on beer from $9 to $35 per keg overnight. After defiant restauranteurs refused to pay, the government backed down and lowered the tariff.

For complexity and arbitrary bloody mindedness, Russia's tax system has few equals. Anyone transporting personal belongings in and out of the country has to pay a 63% duty on some goods, such as furniture, if their collective value exceeds $2,000. However, the law does not say how the goods should be valued, leaving foreigners at the mercy of customs officials. Moscow alone has 51 taxes, including a tax on pet dogs and cats, In Arkhangelsk, there is an "environmental tax;" Vladivostok has introduced a logging tax.

Business must pay a 13% profits tax to the federal government as well as a complicated 38% tax on "excess wages" for Russian employees whose monthly salary exceeds six times the minimum wage, now about $26. This comes in addition to a social-security tax that makes up about 41% of the wage bill. One American businessman in Moscow, who says he has yet to make a profit, complains that he has already paid $22 million in taxes. Many import tariffs have more than doubled, from 7-8% in 1993 to 13-15% in 1994—and rates seem to fluctuate daily.

The central government has finally woken up to the idea that this fiscal nightmare might be frightening investors. In March, Alexander Pochinok, a deputy in the lower house of parliament, who sits on the financial committee, said that some of Russia's more outrageous taxes, such as the one that requires businesses to pay a tax for using the words "Russian Federation" or "Russia" in their titles, have not brought in as much revenue as the government had hoped, they may thus be eliminated within the year.

A controversial 23% value added tax was already set to be trimmed to 21.5% on April 1st; it is now scheduled to be reduced to 20% by January 1996. A 25% local profits tax, which businesses were required to pay to any local government that chose to impose one, has now been reduced to a still extortionate 22%. Is there any protection from the fiscal onslaught? "Only losers and foreigners pay taxes," mutters one entrepreneur. Foreigners can at least take comfort from the fact that Russian taxes stay in the country. In neighboring Kazakhstan, foreign businesses have been told by the tax man to make out some cheques to Credit Suisse, a bank in Switzerland.

Student Handout

Has Democracy Failed Russia?

by Peter Rutland

Excerpt from a larger article in *The National Interest*, Winter 1994/1995.
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The economics transition is typically discussed in terms of a trade-off between social justice and economic growth, or even between democracy and economic development. Russia has not yet faced the luxury of such a trade-off. Social inequality has been increasing and economic output has plummeted, while the struggle to build a viable democracy is still far from over.

Talk about building a market economy is premature, since Russia is still experiencing the death throes of central planning. The command economy was not built in a day and it cannot be got rid of overnight. The 40 percent decline in industrial output is a consequence of the collapse of the old system, not of the decisions taken by politicians since 1991. The "shock" did not come from the government's decision to liberalize prices—in 1991 inflation was already out of control. Rather, it came from lifting the stone on seventy years of gross misallocation of resources and violation of the laws of market economics.

The January 1992 price liberalization simply delivered the *coup de grâce* to an economic system that was already in its final agony. That said, Gaidar can be properly criticized for being too optimistic in believing that freeing prices and foreign trade would sweep away the inherited inefficiencies of the past. Price liberalization[1] without the presence of competing producers was a recipe for sustained inflation. Liberalizing foreign trade led to a fire sale of natural resources, with much of the earnings staying outside the country. Since 1992 capital flight from Russia has been $12-15 billion a year—while the government reneges on its debt repayments and pleads for Western loans.

In its enthusiasm to apply shock therapy, the Gaidar team overlooked the state's inability to provide the minimum public goods necessary for the functioning of a market economy (freedom from crime, a stable currency, the rule of law). In a travesty of Hayekian logic, it was assumed that such market institutions would be self-generating. Rebuilding an effective Russian state would require political compromise with key political elites inherited from the Soviet past—the parliament, the industrial managers, and so on. The Gaidar team eschewed such efforts, preferring a "technocratic fix." The swift implementation of economic reforms before an opposition coalition could be assembled. Economic reform came to be seen as a substitute for political reform. In the event, however, Congress forced Yeltsin to delay key elements of the program, and the shock therapy—dubious in the best of circumstances—was stillborn.

The reformers hoped that Yeltsin's political prestige would carry through the economic reforms. In practice, the polarity was reversed, and Yeltsin's political authority came to hinge on his controversial economic program. There was a mass distribution of privatization vouchers in July 1992, in the hope that this would build popular support for economic reform—as in the Czech Republic. The Supreme Soviet was persuaded to adopt the privatization law by including a provision allowing workers and managers to buy 51 percent of the shares. Privatization thus became a vehicle for the consolidation of managerial control over the old state enterprises, even as it was trumpeted by the government to be the most successful element in the reform program.

The traditional industrialists still control most of the country's resources out in the provinces, although they have not been able to articulate a collective interest at the national level. While the old lobbies have lost much of their political base, the new businessmen have failed to create one. Russia's new capitalism revolves around short-term, rent-seeking behavior. There is no money to be made in manufacturing, whereas rich profits can be had speculating in foreign currency, exporting raw materials and importing consumer durables. The old and new elites compete for access to the political decision-makers who can allocate export quotas or bank credits.

It is hard to see how this raw, predatory capitalism can be justified to a democratic electorate. On the other hand, this is just what many Russians, raised on Upton Sinclair, expected a market economy to look like.

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[1] Editor's Note: liberalization—loosening of state control and regulation (of prices, for example).

Given the lack of real democratization there is little chance of this popular discontent being translated into an effective political movement. For most long-suffering Russians the "market" is a political abstraction, a symbol of change which must be accepted as inevitable.

In their haste to embrace capitalism, the reformers did not dwell on the fact that there is no standard Western model. The emphasis on trade liberalization is particularly puzzling. Most capitalist countries saw their economies grow behind protective barriers for decades, and only introduced convertible currencies in the 1970s. China has enjoyed spectacular economic growth without implementing almost any of the prescriptions of the Russian reform program. Chinese exports have boomed—but exchange controls are still in place, and barriers keep out foreign imports. The existence of a range of options within the capitalist path did not deter the Russian reformers from presenting their program as the only alternative that could save Russia. This accords well with the ideological mindset inherited from the past, in which politics is reduced to a choice between right and wrong, between obedience and dissent.

* * *

Unlike most of Eastern Europe, Russia has not experienced a more or less clean break with the old system. Instead of a wholesale turnover of the political elite, there has been a protracted battle between the executive and legislative branches of government, each claiming to be the true guardian of democracy. Unlike the other countries in transition, Russia is a former empire that has still not defined its relations with its neighbors and its character as a federal state. Very few countries with a living standard of less than $5,000 per capita a year have been able to operate as democracies. Russia is less than half way to this target, and has few of the cultural traditions (such as a history of British colonialism) which have enabled countries like India and Botswana to buck the trend. Thus the prognosis for the future of democracy in Russia must be rather grim.

None of this is to suggest that Russia would be better off with some sort of authoritarian regime. For all its flaws, the haphazard democratization of Russia was the only way to rid the country of the Soviet system and set it on course towards a more civilized society. But the adoption of the American separation of powers model has exacerbated political feuding at national level and encouraged the fragmentation of central authority. Russia has not been and will not be served by hasty efforts to transplant models of democracy and the market economy, as if local circumstances and conditions count for nothing. Still less does it need the "propaganda of success" which has often accompanied the exercise, usually at American taxpayers' expense.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE MEDIA: CHALLENGES AND CONTROVERSIES IN HUNGARY

Anybody in the world can consider themselves the owner of the power only if they have their own TV channel.

—István Csurka, one of the vice-presidents of the Magyar Democratic Forum (governing party in Hungary from 1990-1994), who was later expelled from MDF

Magna est veritas et praevalebit

—"The Truth will prevail," a Latin saying

Summary of the Lesson

A **free press** is usually considered a prerequisite for a democratic society. Transforming control and coordination of the media from **state control**, as it existed under the communist government, to the operation of the media under a government dedicated to the **rule of law** is difficult. In Hungary this struggle was exemplified by an event called the **"Media War."** By reading this case study of the media in action and an expert opinion about the role of a free press in the creation of an **open society**, students will gain a better understanding of the complicated relationship between the media, the state and the public.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the events preceding Hungary's "Media War,"
- analyze the political situation affecting the media after the changes in 1990,
- evaluate the importance of a free press in an open society.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Begin by reading the following scenario to students:

> *A ruthless dictator seizes power in the United States, eliminates the democratic institutions, has the most outspoken leaders of the democracy executed, and appoints his own people to key positions. The independence of the media is also severely limited. Dark days of dictatorship loom over the U.S. Some people in television manage to keep their positions by collaborating with the new regime. After several years, democracy is restored and the dictator flees to another country. The new democratic leaders struggle with the issue of how to deal with people who collaborated with the dictator but claim to be democrats now that democracy has been restored. Especially difficult is the situation in television, where some of the talkshows and political programs are still dominated by people who were involved in the previous regime. As the new president and his/her administration are rebuilding the economy and democratic freedoms, they are often viciously attacked and criticized by these controversial figures in the media.*

Ask students, "To what extent should individuals who happen to be in positions of considerable indirect power (e.g. a talkshow host) enjoy unlimited independence and freedom in the situation just described? If students suggest that former collaborators and/or current critics of the government be censored in any way, remind them that one of the tenets of a democratic society is a free and open press.

Explain to students that this situation parallels recent events in Hungary during the communist government and following its collapse in 1989. Like the situation described above, this is a complicated issue in which the government is trying to establish a free, open and democratic society but must also deal with the legacy of its authoritarian past.

Indicate to students that they will examine the importance of the media in a democratic society. Brainstorm a list of ways a free media is important. Place these ideas on the chalkboard.

Developing the Lesson

Have students brainstorm (either as a whole class or in small groups) and produce a list about possible changes in the media during a transition from a closed to a democratic society. Explain that, before the transition from communism to a democratic state, Hungary's media (like virtually all communist countries) was tightly controlled by the government. In fact, the media was often seen as the primary tool for promoting the government's propaganda. However, during the years of communist regime in Hungary, few people found official media reports credible. On the contrary, very often media's promotion of an official line proved counter-effective—making it less believable to the average Hungarian.

Pass out and read the student handout **Changing the Role of the Media in Hungary.** Use the following questions to guide discussion with students:

1. What was the greatest challenge facing journalists during communist rule in Hungary?
2. In what ways does the "Media War" reflect Hungary's democratization process?
3. How did the government in power jeopardize the independence of the media?
4. What similarities and/or differences do students see between events in Hungary and the role of the media in the United States?
5. Can students name the management of major national television and radio stations? (Students may not know and that is expected.) Explain that the names of managers in media became quite well-known during Hungary's Media War.
6. What are the implications of the fact that few Americans know the names of the owners and CEOs of even the largest media companies?

Finally compare this situation to any similar situation in the U.S.

1. Can the government determine what is shown on television? How? Remind students that when the president makes a statement or speech, virtually every television station (and many radio programs) cover the event.
2. How does this custom affect the president's ability to shape or influence public opinion? In what ways does the media attempt to balance the president's power?
3. What happens if the press was generally opposed to the president's position on an issue? Can s/he order them to present his/her

view on an issue? If the president feels the press is misrepresenting him/her, does the president have the power to censor the media?

Distribute the student handout **The First Amendment to the United States Constitution.** Discuss the implications of the First Amendment on the issue of a free and open society.

Concluding the Lesson

For homework or as an in-class reading assignment, distribute copies of A. E. Dick Howard's piece **Toward the Open Society.** This essay places the relationship between a free press and media and an open democratic society in its broader context.

After students read **Toward the Open Society**, have them review the role of the media in an open society by writing a new media law for Hungary. Students should be sure to specify the role of government officials in hiring and firing heads of government-owned television and radio, the right of the government to censor content and control of the airwaves in general.

Extending the Lesson

Historical examples of manipulation and government control of the media could be explored. Materials from the ***Freedom Forum*** could be gathered from the World Wide Web and discussed.

Bring in newspapers and magazines from various political orientations and try to find different perspectives (e.g. liberal and conservative) of the same event. It may be necessary to review these terms with students. Form small groups and give each group one article. Have students identify style, viewpoint and political orientation of the writing. Ask students to present their ideas to the other groups. Compare and contrast the various perspectives. Discuss possible reasons for the differences.

Students could collect political cartoons from various periods of time and across different countries to compare and contrast the ways in which this genre of media has influenced and/or reflected political and social issues.

Student Handout

Changing the Role of the Media in Hungary

adapted from Anna Nagy

Introduction. Freedom of press is a sensitive point in every country and it is especially difficult in a non-democratic society. The influence of media in these countries is often too big and too obvious. The media is usually one of the first institutions to be corrupted in such societies. What people read in the papers or see on television is often presented as the absolute truth. Often, people perceive the credibility of a written article or a nightly newscast to be much higher than any other source of information. Consequently, when people in power want to sell an idea, the first means they use is the media.

The Media in Communist Hungary. That was also the case in socialist Hungary: it was very hard to realize fact-based, objective journalism in a country where the official role of media was not providing people with information but generating propaganda and raising enthusiasm for the communist government. The leaders of the country wanted to keep power and hide problems, and the objectives of journalism were basically subordinated to these goals. It was not a very hard task, as all the papers belonged to the state and the party. The biggest Hungarian daily, *Népszabadság*, for example, declared itself to be a socialist daily until 1994. Under these circumstances journalists had two choices: either, out of commitment to the system or out of fear for their job, they wrote what they had to write; or they tried to cling to their mission by risking and sometimes losing their jobs. As time went by, however, and changes became more and more obvious, this situation started to shift gradually.

The structure of the media was quite simple: on national level there were two television channels, four major daily newspapers and three radio channels. Papers and channels of smaller communities, mainly counties, also played an important role.

Hungarian Media Reforms. The first big step toward reform was the privatization of newspapers. The change in ownership favored mainly big foreign investors and, rarely, Hungarians. Private newspapers have a different approach in journalism and the transformation was not easy. Instead of government subsidies, privately owned papers depend on advertising, which required changes in attitude and structure. The changes in ownership did not always happen very smoothly and were often followed by loud scandals.

As for radio and television, these two were not as closely regulated as the print media. Distributing frequencies was forbidden for years but still there were some exceptions. Some commercial radio and television channels started to operate with temporary government permission for their operations. But, as nothing was legally regulated, it created a chaotic situation. Different groups in society were pushing for a media law to make the situation easier to handle but it took more than six years for the law makers to reach consensus and create this law.

The Beginning of the "Media War." One of the most important and least glorious events of these six years was the so-called "Media War." After the first democratic election in 1990 the Magyar Democratic Forum (MDF) gained power. The leaders of the party soon declared war on the independence of public television. The newly formed Hungarian government knew, just as well as every other government in power, that media can play a crucial role in keeping power. MDF wanted to establish a public media with strong ties to the government. The tug of war was obvious in the changes among the leadership of the National Radio and Television. Media became not only the narrator but also the protagonist of news: for months the most important internal political event was this war and the presidents, vice-presidents, editors involved in it. Demonstrations, strikes and dismissals showed that freedom of press is not easily attained. As is the case in many other countries, there is an undoubted liberal bias in the Hungarian media. This caused conflict when a dominantly conservative coalition government took power in 1990. In addition, there have been many internal conflicts within the media.

The relationship between the media and government was complicated by Hungary's communist past. Many talented and senior professionals in the media had been heavily involved in communist propaganda and power games before 1989. These morally discredited people had, and many of them still have, quite strong ties with certain political groups. Several of these people have managed to "survive" and are still on air every day. The most common strategy has been to suddenly become newly-born "democrats" following the change of regime in 1990, and criticize heavily anyone who dared attack them personally and/or call for their removal.

A Tentative Peace. According to some experts, media "peace" was born in December of 1995 when a new media law was passed. However, while the situation is somewhat calmer, there is no guarantee that there will be a lasting peace. Experts are also concerned that dismantling the state monopoly, privatizing electronic media and re-distributing the market will make this peace more controversial than the Media War ever was. The media law's most important part is the privatization of two national channels, both in the radio and in the television, which will break the state's monopoly.

Public televisions and the national radio operate as limited companies under the control of public foundations. The system is quite big and complicated; besides these foundations, there are three controlling bodies, three supervising committees and the National Radio and Television Corporation —which will also be a decisive body in frequency of distribution.

This structure, even with its complicated nature, is said to guarantee an objective and non-partial system. In order to avoid another media war, presidents of the institutions are not elected but selected after applying for the position.

Current Conditions in Hungary's Media. As mentioned there have been great changes from the original structure of the Hungarian media. After the reforms, the following situation exists:

- *radio*: three public + two private channels
- *television*: two public channels (one on satellite) + Duna Television (a national channel operated by a foundation with a strong emphasis on programs for Hungarian minorities outside the country) + two private channels

Smaller local radio stations and cable televisions are not included in this list. An important factor is that, besides Hungarian channels, many foreign programs are broadcast in Hungary from Austria, Germany, France and other European countries and various continents.

As for the printed media, the number of daily newspapers has increased considerably, some of them even specialized in certain fields (e.g. economy).

A crucial issue of the present situation is whether the advertising market of such a small country will be able to support five national television channels, without even considering the smaller commercial ones. Under the new circumstances participants of the media have to live with the concept that a radio or television channel is just another piece of goods, which must be sold to consumers.

Conclusion. It must be understood that the "Media War" in Hungary has not simply been about a government trying to interfere with the affairs of a supposedly independent media. Instead, this conflict should be understood in the context of what it means to acquire freedom after decades of (communist) dictatorship. Included in this context is the difficulties associated with sincere democrats living together with those who use democratic ideas only for political opportunities and advancement.

Student Handout

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution

Congress shall make no law
respecting an establishment of religion,
or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;
or abridging the freedom of speech,
or of the press,
or the right of the people
peaceably to assemble,
and to petition the Government
for a redress of grievances.

Student Handout

Toward the Open Society in Central and Eastern Europe

by A.E. Dick Howard

An excerpt from *Toward the Open Society in Central and Eastern Europe* by A.E. Dick Howard, 1995. Permission courtesy of the University of Utah Press and the Trustees of the Tanner Lectures on Human Values.

To survive and flourish, constitutional democracy has many requirements. They include consent of the governed, respect for human dignity, fairness in criminal procedure, limits on arbitrary government power, and a commitment to the rule of law. No premise, however, is more fundamental than the ideal of the open society. There must be freedom to hold what opinions one will, to follow religious beliefs of one's own conviction, to express even unpopular ideas, to engage in full-ranging debate on the issues of the day. One must be free to draw upon the lessons of history, to make judgments about the present, to shape the future.

In the American founding period, Thomas Jefferson understood the search for the open society. Among his greatest legacies is the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. In it Jefferson said that truth "is great and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them."

Central and Eastern Europe, the field of so much historic conflict, has also been a proving ground for efforts to foster principles of the open society. The events of 1989 and beyond in the region invite comparison with the revolutions of 1848, the "springtime of nations." In 1848 students, writers, and their friends gathered in the cafes of Budapest to debate the need for reform. In 1989 students in Prague organized discussion clubs and launched the demonstrations in Wenceslas Square [a square at the center of the city, near the university] that led to the unraveling of the old regime's authority.

In 1848 intellectuals in Hungary signed petitions seeking the recognition of liberal constitutional principles. Entitled "What Does the Hungarian Nation Desire?" their manifesto demanded freedom of the press, equal civil and religious rights for all, and popular representation. In 1989, in Prague's Magic Lantern [a theater which served as the base for Civic Forum—the coalition of opposition groups which opposed the communist government] Václav Klaus (later to be the Czech Republic's prime minister) read a document, "What We Want"—the program of the Civic Forum. It proposed a new Czechoslovakia, with the rule of law, an independent judiciary, free elections, a market economy, social justice, respect for the environment, and independence in academic and cultural life —in short, as Timothy Garton Ash (the only foreigner present during those remarkable days at the Magic Lantern) described it, a "normal country in the center of Europe."

Like other revolutionary periods, the changes that began unfolding late in 1989 illustrate the place and force of ideas. For decades captive peoples had lived under Communist ideology. One might debate the merits of Marxist thought as an abstraction, but as applied to actual life it had proved bankrupt. Certainly people in the countries unwillingly thrust within the Soviet sphere knew as much (one suspects that many of their rulers knew it, too).

Ideas—the quest for reality, for communication of aspirations and beliefs—were central to the revolutions that brought down the Communist governments of Central and Eastern Europe. Timothy Garton Ash, present at the creation, described what for him was one of the "great symbolic pictures of 1989" the long queue that Wenceslas Square for copies of a newspaper called the *Free World.*

Before the collapse of the Communist system in Central and Eastern Europe, dissidents and their friends could only hope that they might live long enough to see the day of the open society. International norms—such as those found in United Nations documents, in the European Convention on Human Rights, and in declarations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—proclaimed universal freedoms including speech, press, association, and assembly. Such handmaidens of the free and open society were, of course, rarely honored where one-party rule made authentic democracy a hollow hope.

How far have the countries of Central and Eastern Europe traveled in the days since the Cold War? If one takes the repressive years of Communist rule as a yardstick, giant strides have been made in most countries of the region. Much progress can indeed be documented. For example, a report by the Polish ombudsman in early 1994 concluded that the media in that country enjoys freedom of speech and press, unhindered by state censorship. Likewise Czech novelist Ivan Klima, a former dissident whose work was banned for twenty years in his native country, affirmed the triumph of the free speech principle in the Czech Republic: "So to the question, is freedom of the press restricted in my country? I can reply, with all honesty, no. There is no external censorship whatsoever."

In answering the question, "How far have we come?" much depends on who makes the assessment. Journalists, especially those from Western countries, tend to be particularly critical of the failure of the emerging democracies to realize the promise of the democratic revolution, especially regarding speech and press. They write articles with titles like "Free Press Eludes New Democracies" and "Eastern Europe's Media: Read, Write, Disbelieve."

Americans schooled in the teachings of First Amendment law—in the "firstness" of the First Amendment—tend to urge their colleagues in Central and Eastern Europe to reach for ever higher protections for speech and press. Europeans, coming from a different tradition, tend to see the values of expression, especially press and media, as measured against competing values such as morality and reputation.

Pronouncements about progress of backsliding depend, not only on who makes the assessment, but also on what standard they invoke. Human rights groups are concerned both about developments in the emerging democracies and about trends on the international scene. Helsinki Watch says that in Eastern Europe "the initial euphoria of freedom has given way to crude attempts to control the press—often relying on discredited Communist-era laws—and battles for control of state radio and television media." But Helsinki Watch is equally alarmed about the "disturbing signs of erosion for universal free expression standards on the part of international and continental bodies that should be insisting on bedrock protection for freedom of the press." As an example Helsinki Watch cites language approved by delegates to the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna (1993) that set press freedom "within the framework of national law" —a formulation that Helsinki Watch saw as a step back from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Helsinki Watch also decried the July 1993 declaration of the Council of Europe on journalistic "ethics" that struck the statement's critics as putting media "responsibility" before media freedom and, in general, allowing government to make judgments not properly within its province.

Any effort to assess progress toward the open society in Central and Eastern Europe must reckon with the fact that judgments about specific controversies will often rest upon uncertain conclusions. During the days of the one-party state, an outsider's generalizations about illiberal ideologies and repressive actions in the Soviet sphere were not difficult to make. Regimes faithful to Marxist-Leninist notions of state and law rarely set out to nurture authentic freedoms, in particular the right to speak one's mind. Today the scene is murkier in countries now free of Soviet domination. Many of those countries have made unmistakable progress toward constitutional democracy. Yet there are old habits to be unlearned and new ways to be nurtured. In this transitional period, it is often not easy to know just when those in authority have used their power to unfair advantage.

The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe have powerful incentives to measure their progress by the best standards of liberal democracy. Leaders who wish to bring out a country's best traditions can point to historical precedent—for example, the legacy of Poland's Enlightenment era, which culminated in the still cherished Constitution of May 3, 1791. Intellectuals in the region prize their standing among European thinkers; a lawyer from Kraków or Bratislava wishes to hold his head high when comparing notes with colleagues from Heidelberg or Paris.

Moreover, we speak here of countries who through their history have seen themselves to be, and in fact have been, part of Europe. Through no wish of their own, they were torn from their natural European moorings during the unhappy years after World War II. Now, with communism's overthrow, it is only natural that they wish to be, once again, part of the family of Europe.

Historical and cultural ties are reinforced by economic incentives. If they are to improve their economic lot, Central and Eastern Europeans require ties of trade and investment with Western Europe. Therein lies the better life. The countries of the region aspire, of course to formal membership or other association with regional organizations such as the European [Union].

To all of these incentives are added moral sentiment. A region that can produce a Václav Havel, that can accomplish largely peaceful revolutions, surely can foster the currents that feed the civil society. Those who were privileged to hear Havel address a joint session of the United States Congress in February 1990, only weeks after the unfolding of Czechoslovakia's "velvet revolution," could only have been moved by his admonition that "the salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness, and in human responsibility."

Achieving the full measure of the open society in the emerging democracies will, to be sure, not be easy. Americans like to treasure the freedoms they associate with their First Amendment's guarantees of free speech, press, religion, assembly, and petition. Yet American history reveals the constant struggles—the setbacks as well as the triumphs—that have marked the road to the open society. Early in the republic's history came the Alien and Sedition Acts, authentically repressive measures. The American Civil War saw the internment of dissident newspaper editors. The First World War brought the "red scare" and more antisedition legislation. During the Cold War Americans had to endure the witch hunting one associates with Senator Joseph McCarthy. Blacks who sought equality in the civil rights movement of the 1960s faced intimidation. And the debate over the metes and bounds of freedom of expression continues wherever college campuses adopt codes aiming at "hate speech," or self-appointed censors seek to remove distasteful books from local libraries, or protests at abortion clinics oblige judges to make difficult choices in fashioning injunctions to govern protesters' behavior.

Anyone who has traveled to the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe—or, indeed, those who have only watched from afar—can only admire how far people of that region have come in their quest for freedom. The spirit what was more than a match for the ruling class of the Communist era will surely find ways to hold their elected representatives to account. As they fashion the frame of the open society, their friends elsewhere wish them great success.

WHAT DEMOCRACY IS...AND IS NOT

As citizens of this democracy, you are the rulers and the ruled, the law-givers and the law-abiding, the beginning and the end.

—Adlai Stevenson, 1952

As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.

—Abraham Lincoln, 1858(9)

Summary of the Lesson

An opening activity focuses on what constitutes a **free election** and asks, "Is a free election the only benchmark of a democracy?" In addition, students will work with excerpts of articles that discuss what components are necessary for a government to identify itself as a **democracy**. Students will explore and discuss the challenges of a **constitutional democracy.** Working in two teams, students share and interpret information about the definition of democracy and develop a children's book about the topic suitable for a fourth grade class.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- describe components of a democracy,
- analyze the challenges and frustrations of constitutional democracy,
- create a definition of a free election.

Background Material for Teachers

Most United States government textbooks have adequate to outstanding materials on the concept of democracy. Other sources contribute, as well, to the literature on this topic. This lesson puts the question of what is democracy into an international context. In this lesson it should be made clear that democracy and constitutional democracy are not the same thing. "Democracy" has many meanings—all of which agree on some form of majority rule. Constitutional democracy involves limiting the majority's will through the "rule of law." In constitutional democracies, the majority must sometimes acquiesce to minority demands. In addition, many aspects of human activity are excluded from government control and/or involvement (the concept of "limited government"). These activities are organized and monitored by nongovernmental associations.

For individuals in Central and Eastern Europe, democracy does not have simply a political meaning. Citizens of this region, prior to the fall of communism in 1989-90, waited for better living conditions. In the democratic movements which followed the collapse of communist governments, social and economic rights were considered as important as political rights. However, the transitions to more democratic forms of government have not always gone as individuals hoped.

Since 1989, economic crises have racked much of the region. The move from centralized to free market economies has not been smooth, although some countries (Poland and the Czech Republic) have fared better than others (Romania, Albania and Russia). Unemployment soared after the political changes in many regions. Responses to the challenges of the market economy were tempered by large blocs of voters who sought the supposed reassurances of guarantees for financial security provided by previous communist regimes. In many cases former communists have returned to power, but within a political context that limits the possibility of a return to communist forms of government—in effect making democracy the "only game in town."

Defining "what democracy is and is not" requires some understanding of the ambiguous nature of the problem. When discussing "what democracy is not" there is disagreement as to the economic benefits associated with democratic forms of government. Some experts argue that economically developed countries, if not democratic already, have strong tendencies toward democracy (i.e. Taiwan and South Korea). Many theorists agree that stable democracies tend to become more prosperous than undemocratic countries. Prosperous countries, in order to remain economically stable, tend to become democratic. Schmitter and Karl (the authors of the readings) do not necessarily concur. This lesson gives students an opportunity to explore some of the ambiguities between what democracy is and is not and to assist students in constructing a deeper understanding of the concept.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Using the student handout **Does This Seem Right to You?** as a handout or overhead transparency, have students tell why the situation does or does not seem right to them. Would they guess that any of these countries are democracies? What principles seem to be violated? (Country A's elections are not open to all, having been restricted to one gender; Country B's elections are unequal because property determines a weighted vote; Country C's election's are not secret; Country D's elections are not final; Country E's elections are not regular and power changes only periodically; Country F's elections are not competitive; and Country G's elections are not done in a direct manner).

Do any of the situations remind students of past issues regarding voting rights in the United States? Do any of the situations relate to current issues in the United States or elsewhere in the world? Students might mention women's suffrage, minority rights, grandfather clauses and literacy tests, communist elections for only one candidate or one party, dictatorships in which elections are not conducted or act only to "ratify" the candidate. Other students might mention the electoral college debate in the United States as a possible point of discussion.

Discuss the following questions:

1. Are free elections the only test of a democracy?
2. How do we know if a country is a democracy?
3. Many of the former Soviet-bloc countries and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had constitutions which, as they were written, appeared to be very democratic. How then can democracies be judged? Clearly, it is not in words or promises but in actions.

Let students brainstorm other ways in which democracy is defined, in addition to free elections. The quotes from the beginning of the lesson might be used as one tool to get students thinking about definitions.

Developing the Lesson

Present half the students with one interpretation of the essential components of a democracy—student handout **What Democracy Is...** by Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. The article quotes Robert Dahl and uses his index of the "procedural minimal" conditions to be present for a modern political democracy. In addition to Dahl's seven conditions, the authors of the article have added two of their own.

Give the other half of the class the student handout **...What Democracy Is Not** by the same authors, which discusses what democracy is not. Four illustrations emerge with a fifth observation in the conclusion. Allow students sufficient time to read their selection to themselves and to discuss their conclusions with a partner. *Note: The first group (what democracy is) may have an easier time, on the surface, since the conditions are presented in a direct manner, and the second group (what democracy is not) has a text with more narrative and explanation to illustrate the points.*

Pair the students again, this time with one from each article working together. Ask them to compare notes and share insights from the articles. Answer the questions found on the student handout **Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas: What Democracy Is...and Is Not.**

Tell students they have been asked to provide text and artwork for a children's book on democracy—to be used in a fourth grade class, studying the meaning of democracy. Each pair of students should develop a booklet. Use large sheets of paper and art supplies to make the books. Students must develop the concepts from their discussion of what democracy is and is not using simple terms and include an example or illustration of a situation that a child would understand. Also, each pair must provide eye-catching and attractive artwork to make the book visually appealing.

Students might want to make rough drafts or mock-ups of what they intend to do and share them with the rest of the class. Generating a rubric at the start of the project will assist the class as they serve as editorial board for each other's work.

Concluding the Lesson

In addition to creating a children's book (which can be donated to an appropriate elementary school with best regards from the writers, editors, and artists for their successful study of democracy), each group could also devise a simple true and false test for the other side of the class. (Based on a presentation and review over what each section of the class read).

Using examples from what they have read or heard presented, students could be asked to write an essay on the meaning of the following: "The basis of the democratic state is liberty"—Aristotle, c. 300 B.C. How does the concept of "liberty" relate to the Dahl's description of a democracy? How does the quotation bring a different meaning or a new light to what democracy is and is not?

Extending the Lesson

Students should be asked to create a web or other graphic organizer that reflects the components of democracy and their interrelatedness as discussed in this lesson and other sources available. These should clearly indicate the complexity of definitions, the student's views on procedural aspects of democracy and include the student's personal definition of what democracy is.

Students could compare the procedural organization of various countries in the world that classify themselves as democracies. Materials prepared by The Freedom House compare rights across the political spectrum and in countries around the world.

Students could also investigate ongoing arguments as to which should come first: economic development or democracy.

Guidelines for Student Responses

From "Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts: What Democracy Is...and Is Not"

1. Dahl's list includes the following:
   - a) Control over government decisions is given to elected officials.
   - b) Elections are frequent and fair.
   - c) Most adults have the right to vote.
   - d) Most adults have the right to run for office.
   - e) Individuals have the right to express opinions.
   - f) Individuals have the right to seek out alternative sources of information.
   - g) Individuals have the right to form independent associations.
2. Schmitter and Karl add the following to Dahl's list:
   - a) Popularly elected officials must be able to exercise power without overriding opposition from unelected officials.
   - b) The polity (community under the government) must be self-governing.
3. While it can be argued by most that Puerto Rico and Guam are part of a democracy, the line between being a democracy and being part of one is more complicated. Schmitter and Karl seem to argue that in fact neither would be classified as a democracy due to the outside control/influence over their ability to govern and limited ability to contribute to the creation of laws which affect their islands. Student responses, of course, will vary. Students might use Dahl's, Schmitter's and Karl's criteria as tools to construct their argument.
4. Schmitter and Karl identify the following as missing from the results of democracy: (Remember some theorists would disagree!)
   - a) Democracy is not necessarily more efficient economically.
   - b) Democracy is not necessarily more efficient administratively.
   - c) Democracy is not likely to appear more orderly, consensual, stable or governable.
   - d) Democracies do not necessarily have more open economies.
5. Schmitter and Karl describe a democracy whose political institutions compete to form governments and influence public policy, that can channel social and economic conflicts through regular procedures and have sufficient linkages to civil society to represent constituencies and commit them to collective courses of action.

Student Handout

Does This Seem Right to You?

Do you consider the following countries democratic?

Country A
Only men are eligible to vote because men believe that women are not interested enough in politics to decide on important issues.

Country B
Citizens cast a number of votes—depending on their property status, they can cast one, two, or three votes. How much they own is believed to determine how much they have at stake.

Country C
The elections are fully open. Voters must fill in personal data on the ballot to complete identification.

Country D
Presidential elections need not be final. For example, the loser who considers him/herself to be the better candidate can request another ballot—this gives voters a second chance to consider the candidate.

Country E
Presidential elections are rarely held because the president is elected for a life term so the public is not burdened with the costs associated with frequent elections. Besides, everyone knows that this way the president will get better as he or she has time to gain experience.

Country F
Multiple candidates usually run but only one has access to the mass media throughout the campaign. This main candidate has his/her name printed in bolder type on the ballot. This makes it easier to find the name of the correct candidate.

Country G
Elections are indirect. Citizens do not have to cast their vote directly but can report their choice to "delegates" who are usually police commanders. They, in turn, pass on the information collected to the central election commission which counts the vote and announces the returns, thereby saving everyone the time it would take to go to the polls.

Student Handout

What Democracy Is...

From Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is...and Is Not" in
***The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner.**
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...One of the major themes of this essay is that democracy does not consist of a single unique set of institutions. There are many types of democracy, and their diverse practices produce a similarly varied set of effects...Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.

...But democracy's freedoms should ...encourage citizens to deliberate among themselves, to discover their common needs, and to resolve their differences without relying on some supreme central authority. Classical democracy emphasized these qualities, and they are by no means extinct, despite repeated efforts by contemporary theorists to stress the analogy with behavior in the economic marketplace and to reduce all of democracy's operations to competitive interest maximization. Alexis de Tocqueville best described the importance of independent groups for democracy in his *Democracy in America*, a work which remains a major source of inspiration for all those who persist in viewing democracy as something more than a struggle for election and reelection among competing candidates.

...The new and fragile democracies that have sprung up since 1974 must live in "compressed time." They will not resemble the European democracies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they cannot expect to acquire the multiple channels of representation in gradual historical progression as did most of their predecessors. A bewildering array of parties, interests, and movements will all simultaneously seek political influence in them, creating challenges to the polity that did not exist in earlier processes of democratization....

The defining components of democracy are necessarily abstract, and may give rise to a considerable variety of institutions and subtypes of democracy. For democracy to thrive, however, specific procedural norms must be followed and civic rights must be respected. Any polity[1] that fails to impose such restrictions upon itself, that fails to follow the "rule of law" with regard to its own procedures should not be considered democratic. These procedures alone do not define democracy, but their presence is indispensable to its persistence. In essence, they are necessary but not sufficient conditions for its existence.

Robert Dahl has offered the most generally accepted listing of what he terms the "procedural minimal" conditions that must be present for modern political democracy (or as he puts it, "polyarchy") to exist:

1) Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials. 2) Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon. 3) Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials. 4) Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices in the government.... 5) Citizens should have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined. 6) Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information. Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by law. 7)...Citizens also have the right to form relatively independent associations or organizations, including independent political parties and interest groups.

These seven conditions seem to capture the essence of procedural democracy for many theorists, but we propose to add two others. The first might be thought of as a further refinement of item number (1), while the second might be called an implicit prior condition to all seven of the above: 8) Popularly elected officials must be able to exercise their constitutional powers without being subjected to overriding...opposition from unelected officials. Democracy is in jeopardy if military officers, entrenched civil servants, or state managers retain the capacity to act independently of elected civilians or even veto decisions made by the people's representatives.... 9) The polity must be self-governing; it must be able to act independently of

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[1] Editor's Note: a polity is a community under a government. The term is usually used to refer to those who are governed.

constraints imposed by some other overarching political system...with the development of blocs, alliances, spheres of influence, and a variety of "neocolonial"[1] arrangements, the question of autonomy has been a salient one. Is a system really democratic if its elected officials are unable to make binding decisions without the approval of actors outside their territorial domain? This is significant even if the outsiders are themselves democratically constituted and if the insiders are relatively free to alter or even end the encompassing arrangement (as in Puerto Rico), but it becomes especially critical if neither condition exists (as in the Baltic states).[2]

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[1] Editor's Note: In most cases the authors are referring to countries that still maintain strong ties to previous colonial arrangements. Some of these classifications keep countries from being defined as a "separate state."

[2] Editor's Note: Remember this essay was written in 1993. Most scholars mark the beginning of 1991 as the breakup of the U.S.S.R.

Student Handout

...What Democracy Is Not

From Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is...and Is Not" in
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...First, democracies are not necessarily more efficient economically than other forms of government. Their rates of aggregate growth, savings, and investment may be no better than those of nondemocracies. This is especially likely during the transition, when propertied groups and administrative elites may respond to real or imagined threats to the "right" they enjoyed under authoritarian rule by initiating capital flight, disinvestment, or sabotage. In time, depending upon the type of democracy, benevolent long-term effects upon income distribution, aggregate demand,[1] education, productivity, and creativity may eventually combine to improve economic and social performance, but it is certainly too much to expect that these improvements will occur immediately—much less that they will be defining characteristics of democratization.

Second, democracies are not necessarily more efficient administratively. Their capacity to make decisions may even be slower than that of the regimes they replace, if only because more actors must be consulted. The costs of getting things done may be higher, if only because "payoffs" have to be made to a wider and more resourceful set of clients (although one should never underestimate the degree of corruption to be found within autocracies[2]). Popular satisfaction with the new democratic government's performance may not seem greater, if only because necessary compromises often please no one completely, and because losers are free to complain.

Third, democracies are not likely to appear more orderly, consensual, stable, or governable than the autocracies they replace. This is partly a byproduct of continuing disagreement over new rules and institutions. These products of imposition or compromise are often initially quite ambiguous in nature and uncertain in effect until actors have learned how to use them. What is more, they come in the aftermath of serious struggles motivated by high ideals. Groups and individuals with recently acquired autonomy will test certain rules, protest against the actions of certain institutions, and insist on renegotiating their part of the bargain. Thus the presence of antisystem parties should be neither surprising nor seen as a failure of democratic consolidation. What counts is whether such parties are willing, however reluctantly, to play by the general rules of bounded uncertainty and contingent consent.

Governability is a challenge for all regimes, not just democratic ones. Given the political exhaustion and loss of legitimacy that have befallen autocracies... it may seem that only democracies can now be expected to govern effectively and legitimately. Experience has shown, however, that democracies too can lose the ability to govern. Mass publics can become disenchanted with their performance. Even more threatening is the temptation for leaders to fiddle with procedures and ultimately undermine the principles of contingent consent and bounded uncertainty.[3] Perhaps the most critical moment comes once the politicians begin to settle into the more predictable roles and relations of a consolidated democracy. Many will find their expectations frustrated; some will discover that the new rules of competition put them at a disadvantage; a few may even feel that their vital interests are threatened by popular majorities.

Finally, democracies will have more open societies and polities than the autocracies they replace, but not necessarily more open economies. Many of today's most successful and well- established democracies have historically resorted to protectionism and closed borders, and have relied extensively upon public institutions to promote economic development. While the long-term compatibility between democracy and capitalism does not seem to be in doubt, despite their continuous tension, it is not clear whether the promotion of such liberal economic goals as the right of individuals to own property and retain profits, the clearing function of markets, the private settlement of disputes, the freedom to produce without government regulation, or the privatization of state-owned enterprises necessarily furthers the consolidation of democracy.

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[1] Editor's Note: Income distribution and aggregate demand are both economics terms. Income distribution describes the level of inequality apparent when comparing income across populations. Aggregate demand is the total amount that all consumers, business firms and government firms are willing to spend on final goods and services. (*Economics Principles and Policy*, 1988)

[2] Editor's Note: An autocracy is a government led by one person who has unlimited power.

[3] Editor's Note: Bounded uncertainty is understood to be any situation where you do not know for sure what will happen but you know there are certain boundaries for the extent of possibilities.

After all, democracies do need to levy taxes and regulate certain transactions, especially where private monopolies and oligopolies exist. Citizens or their representatives may decide that it is desirable to protect the rights of collectivities from encroachment by individuals, especially propertied ones, and they may choose to set aside certain forms of property for public or cooperative ownership. In short, notions of economic liberty that are currently put forward in neoliberal economic models are not synonymous with political freedom—and may even impede it.

Democratization will not necessarily bring in its wake economic growth, social peace, administrative efficiency, political harmony, free markets, or "the end of ideology." Least of all will it bring about "the end of history." No doubt some of these qualities could make the consolidation of democracy easier, but they are neither prerequisites for it nor immediate products of it. Instead, what we should be hoping for is the emergence of political institutions that can peacefully compete to form governments and influence public policy, that can channel social and economic conflicts through regular procedures, and that have sufficient linkages to civil society to represent their constituencies and commit them to collective courses of action.

Some types of democracies, especially in developing countries, have been unable to fulfill this promise, perhaps due to the circumstances of their transition from authoritarian rule. The democratic wager is that such a regime, once established, will not only persist by reproducing itself within its initial confining conditions, but will eventually expand beyond them. Unlike authoritarian regimes, democracies have the capacity to modify their rules and institutions consensually in response to changing circumstances. They may not immediately produce all the goods mentioned above, but they stand a better chance of eventually doing so than do autocracies.

Student Handout

Thinking about Key Ideas and Concepts
What Democracy Is ...and Is Not

Answer these questions after reading or summarizing the articles **"What Democracy Is..."** and **"...What Democracy Is Not."** Questions should be answered by referring to both articles.

1) Robert Dahl is credited with identifying seven attributes of "democracy." First, identify what the attributes are and then, after consulting with your partner, list them in the priority you believe demonstrates a rank ordering from the most important item to the least important.

2) Schmitter and Karl identify two additional prerequisites (beyond Dahl's) they would require before a government may be considered democratic. What are they?

3) Is Puerto Rico a democracy? Is Guam? Use Dahl, Schmitter and Karl's arguments to explain your answer and defend for or against the classification of these two islands as democracies.

4) Schmitter and Karl identify four things that democracy is not. What are they?

5) Describe Schmitter and Karl's "ideal" democracy.

THE ROLE OF A CONSTITUTION IN ESTABLISHING A STATE

> ***Whereas the recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world....***
> ***Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law....***
>
> *—From the Preamble to the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948*

Summary of the Lesson

During a simulation, "Shipwreck Island," the students explore the main dilemma of public life: how to secure order in a state and at the same time guarantee basic **human rights** and **liberties** for the citizens. In most democratic countries, the solution to this dilemma is facilitated by the **constitution**. A constitution is a solemn record of the fundamental principles of the government. All the actions undertaken by the citizens and the government should be consistent with the constitution (i.e., **rule of law**). Students will assume the roles of legislators and citizens who must organize a new state while shipwrecked on an island.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain the dilemma involved with the need to provide for order in a state, *and* also secure its citizens' freedom and basic human rights ,
- describe how the supreme laws create mechanisms that regulate public life,
- recognize violations of human rights and freedoms in light of constitutional principles.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Divide the class into groups of 3–4 students. Distribute the student handout **Instructions.** Review the directions with the students.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute poster paper and colored pens to each group of students. In their groups, students are to complete the discussion questions and prepare a presentation of "Life on Our Island," outlining their responses to the student handout **Instructions** on the poster paper. The groups should include the following information:

1. the name of the island and its appearance, climate and geography,
2. how they intend to organize, use and share the various items and products rescued from the wreck,
3. the principles of the island's community,
4. the rules of the community.

The students will then be asked to reflect upon their group's solutions and assess the rules that are in force on the islands by presenting their "ideas" about life on the island, including the lists of principles. The best way is to hang them side by side in a visible place in the classroom. Each group will present their "Island." After each presentation, students should complete the student handout **Assessing Group Work**. *Note: Students should assess all groups except their own to ensure objectivity.*

Calculate the scores to provide peer assessment of the "Islands" (groups). To calculate the scores, tally the scores for each island, section by section. This should provide the teacher with a ranking of the islands for each section according to the students' votes. This could be used to aid the teacher in assessing the grade for the group presentations. It is also an important tool to highlight for the students' reasons for a variety of approaches to this challenging situation and material for reflection on their decision making processes.

Next, have students discuss the similarities and differences between the various sets of rules from particular islands. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the solutions accepted by the groups? Encourage students by asking more specific questions, such as:

1. On which island would you feel the safest?
2. Where are the limits imposed on the people exercising power insufficient?
3. Which islands created an independent judiciary?

(Students should support their answers. For example, "On Paradise Island I would feel the safest because there are independent courts of justice planned.")

Review the principles listed by each group for their island. Explain that these principles play the same role as a constitution. Now, tell students that the island inhabitants have decided to revise and amend the principles in force in their "island states." Give the teams some time to revise their statements of principle. It may be necessary to distribute some extra pieces of paper.

Using the revised principles/constitutions and students' heightened awareness regarding the quality of life on their island, introduce the next challenge. Tell the students that on all the islands three major problems have just occurred that pose a threat to the state's order or to the rights and freedoms of the island's inhabitants. Assume that the island's inhabitants want to operate within their "written constitutions." If a specific activity (or its plan) is contradictory to the "constitutional" regulations, the authors or the advocates of such an idea must withdraw it and declare it in public. Students must work in their previous groups within the rules of their island's constitution. Distribute the student handout **Situations** and decide as a class if each group should choose one of the problems or attempt to "solve" all three. Groups should analyze the situation/s in light of the "constitution" of their island, to discuss how the problem/s can be solved (or not) based upon their "constitution."

Have various "islands" summarize their discussion and present the group's conclusion to the class. In some cases, the teacher may have to assume the role of a Supreme Court Justice and help the teams sort out the meaning of the rules written down at the very beginning of the lesson.

In conclusion, the students should work together in their "island" groups and list what statements were missing in their "constitutions," and make appropriate revisions. This is also the time to make final adjustments of other rules and discuss the clarity and precision of specific items.

Concluding the Lesson

Conclude the lesson by discussing how the constitution and citizens' participation solve one of the major dilemmas of the organization of public life. The dilemma is:

> ***How can the state secure order and, at the same time, guarantee citizens their basic rights and freedoms?***

The constitution works as a force designed to limit the reach of government. Citizen awareness of the contents and processes embedded in the document help to insure its effectiveness. The existence of constitutional courts (the Supreme Court in the U.S. or the Constitutional Tribunal in Poland for example) serves as a check on the power of the government. For constitutions to be effective there must be a sense of trust in the processes designed to ensure they are followed. Rule of law becomes a defining aspect in this balance of power.

As a class discuss how effective the "rules" of the "island states" may be in attempting to solve this dilemma.

Distribute the student handout **The Role of the Constitution in a State** which describes the importance of developing a constitution that reflects the priorities of the state. Discuss the handout with students. How is "constitutionalism" reflected in our society? What are some examples of the way in which the government is limited in order to protect the rights of citizens?

Extending the Lesson

Discuss the comparative strengths and weaknesses of various constitutions throughout history. The current and ongoing process of creating constitutions in Central and Eastern Europe would provide interesting opportunities for comparison and further exploration of these ideas.

Students could write an essay that reflects on their experiences on their "island." This essay could also discuss the U.S. Constitution's separation of powers and analyze the usefulness of this separation of powers for other constitutions in Central and Eastern Europe.

Student Handout

Instructions

Instruction for the teams

1. While traveling on a passenger liner, a storm arises. You find yourself shipwrecked on a desert island, with about 100 other survivors. Your group has been selected as the "wreckers," representatives elected to work out the rules of coexistence on the island. There are a few items that survived the wreck: some tools (three knives, three shovels and a hammer) and a small amount of food (100 lb. of wheat, and 100 lb. of potatoes).

2. Imagine your island; it is located in the tropics. Share your visions on the island's appearance, its climate and geography. As a group, decide what it looks like and give it a name. Assume that the island is far away from the main sea routes and that there is no hope of rescue from the outside.

3. Decide how to use and share the items and products rescued from the wreck. Write down what you've agreed upon.

4. Define the principles of your life on the island. What should be the most important ideas on this island? Why are these principles essential for a peaceful, productive coexistence?

5. Discuss the following:
    1. What decision making processes will be used?
    2. Who will hold the power and how will this person or persons be chosen?
    3. What rights and responsibilities will the island inhabitants have?
    4. How will you deal with external threats and internal conflicts?
    5. What other rights are important to include?

    Make sure your set of rules includes all the important spheres that help a society function.

6. Create a poster including the following information about your island:
    1. the name of the island,
    2. its appearance, climate and geography,
    3. the organization and use of the various items and products rescued from the wreck,
    4. the principles of the island's community,
    5. the rules of the community.

7. Give a name to your agreement and elect a person who will present it to the other students.

Student Handout

Assessing Group Work

Instructions: Rank the islands (from 0-5, with 5 being the best) according to each of the following criteria.

1. How would you rank the island inhabitants' chances of survival, in case of a natural disaster?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

2. To what degree is the inhabitants' private life protected?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

3. To what degree do the principles in force on the island protect it, in case of external aggression?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

4. To what degree does the organization of life on the island secure the inhabitants' personal safety?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

5. To what extent can the island inhabitants influence the decisions concerning their lives?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

6. To what extent would the inhabitants' be free to do whatever they like, on the island?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

7. To what extent are the people who have power, limited and checked?

Island #1______ Island #3______ Island #5______
Island #2______ Island #4______ Island #6______

Student Handout

Situations

Situation 1

The person (group) wielding power has (have) just made a decision that from now on, only people who will join a recently created association named "The Only Right Way," can be appointed for public positions. In order to join the association one must pay a high entry fee as well as sign a declaration of loyalty to the Chairman.

The people who are not "The Only Right Way" members try to prove that the decision is contradictory to the rights guaranteed by the written rules (island's constitution).

Situation 2

The institutions that deal with keeping order on the island are concerned about the increase of the crime rate and have just made a decision that the people suspected of breaking the law are to be immediately locked in an isolated place for a year's preventive stay. To be arrested it is enough that either a victim or a witness inform the authorities. In the opinion of those in charge, quick reaction and severe penalties are the foundation of public peace and order.

Some of the citizens do not agree with the new procedures and believe that they violate the basic rights stated in the written rules (island's constitution).

Situation 3

Men constitute 51% of the island population. In recently held public voting, inhabitants decided that the women are obliged to assume the political convictions and rules of their husbands. The young girls (under voting age) and unmarried women have no right at all to express their views on those matters.

The women state that such a law is contradictory to the written rules (island's constitution) and want to prove it.

Note: If the opponents of the above-mentioned decisions find no discrepancies with the rules written down in the "Constitution," they will have to respect them.

Student Handout

The Role of the Constitution in a State

A constitution is a set of the most important laws in a state. All other regulations, such as parliamentary acts or government decrees, must be in accordance with the constitution. The constitution establishes the political foundations of a state, sets the competencies of the most important organs of legislative, executive and judiciary power, defines relationships between them and identifies the citizens' rights and responsibilities. In democratic systems, creators of the constitution seek such solutions so that the government's efficiency can be reconciled with the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms. They must, therefore, decide on the problem of how much power should be allocated to particular institutions (parliament, government, president, etc.) in order to operate efficiently, without threatening civic rights and freedoms. The aim of the constitution is to limit the government so that the civic rights and freedoms won't be endangered. This concept is called constitutionalism.

Since a constitution documents a state's operation, it is important that it be trusted and respected by the people and the regulations it contains be considered permanent. Where a political system is stable, constitutions do not need major changes for long periods of time. For example, the Constitution of the United States came into being in 1787 (the first in the world), and is still valid. Over the years, however, several subsequent "amendments" proved necessary (although they still constitute only two percent of the total contents of the Constitution).

AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE RIGHTS IN CONSTITUTIONS

> ***...that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness...***
>
> *—The Declaration of Independence, 1776*

Summary of the Lesson

Reverberations continue in Central and Eastern Europe's transformation from its communist past. One of the most challenging has been the struggle to create new constitutions, used, in part, to establish the **rule of law.** This lesson will give students an opportunity to explore the issues involved in deciding which rights belong in a constitution. The concept of **affirmative and negative** rights occupies a primary place as students role play commissions charged with writing sections of a new constitution.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- differentiate between affirmative and negative rights,
- explain aspects of constitutionalism and its role in the protection of individual rights, especially checks and balances and a free and independent judiciary,
- understand the remnants of communism and their effect on present-day constitution building.

Background Material

See background material in handout **Creating a New Constitution**.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree

Without much discussion ask students, "Do you believe a constitution should guarantee every family a home?" Ask the students to stand and place themselves on a "human" continuum in the front of the room based on the continuum above. The closer a student stands to the middle the more ambivalent he/she is.

Next, have the students move the line, folding it in half so that students are facing someone with a different view. (The mid-point of the line could be anywhere along the continuum.) Students should then be asked to compare views, argue viewpoints, clarify stands. Do this by giving the left side one minute to state their opinion while the right side simply listens. Then switch roles and have the left side simply listen. Finally, give each side 30 seconds to rebut. (Having to argue their position will help students clarify the issues of each perspective.)

Explain to students that there is a significant debate, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, about what rights ought to be included in a constitution. These rights are often divided into two categories:

Affirmative Rights*: The inclusion of social, economic and cultural rights in a constitution written as government guarantees of various societal indicators, e.g. guaranteeing every citizen a job or a vacation.*

Negative Rights*: Rights that limit the government and prevent it from affecting certain behaviors of its citizens, e.g. the right of free speech means the government cannot make laws to limit speech.*

Now distribute copies of the student handout **Excerpt from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.** (Chapter 7 of the 1977 Constitution of the former U.S.S.R.). In small groups analyze the rights and sort them into categories of affirmative and negative. Discuss this process.

Next, explain that people under communist governments, people in Central and Eastern Europe became accustomed to these affirmative rights being included in constitutions, even though these rights were rarely or minimally provided (e.g. poorly constructed housing, long waiting lists for medical care).

Developing the Lesson

Arrange students in small groups and pass out student handout **Group A, Group B, and Group C—Subcommission** assignments. Be sure each subcommittee task has been assigned to at least one group. Each group should elect a chairperson. The chairperson should then organize the task and conduct the discussion according to student handout **Instructions for the Subcommission Chairperson**. The chairperson should lead discussion of the "expert" opinions and the motion as proposed. Her or his main job is to help the group modify the proposal.

When each group has finished modifying and altering the motion so that consensus or a majority opinion is represented, have the groups share their motions with the class. Lead a discussion of the points made in each motion.

Now return to the list of rights gleaned from the 1977 Soviet Union Constitution. A discussion should follow in which the following points are made:

1. Constitution building in Central and Eastern Europe is happening in an environment where the population is accustomed to statements of rights such as those found in the 1977 constitution.
2. Polls continue to show a reluctance on the part of populations to "give up" these rights, especially affirmative rights.
3. The question of whether or not the government can guarantee these rights becomes paramount.

Next distribute the student handout **Thinking about Rights in Central and Eastern Europe**. Students should read and discuss the comments of A.E. Dick Howard, a constitutional scholar, on the status of affirmative and negative rights.

Concluding the Lesson

Complete the student handout **Affirmative Rights at What Cost?** Have students identify various consequences that result from including affirmative rights in a constitutional framework. Re-emphasize the cost of affirmative rights both in real money and in the public's ability to trust the constitution. Remind students that views expressed will probably reflect the American perspective. Why might European students think differently?

Extending the Lesson

Have students formally sort various rights mentioned in constitutions and other documents. Discuss their categorization and the implications of the rights they identify.

To gain a broader understanding of the environment in which modern day constitution building is occurring, find copies of various other documents such as the Council of Europe's Social Charter, the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, etc., containing statements of rights. Discuss and informally sort these into affirmative and negative rights. Discuss their implications.

The issue of affirmative rights in newly developed constitutions is one of the most interesting trends in newly developed democracies. Investigate new constitutions in other parts of the world to compare and contrast how other countries are addressing this issue.

Guidelines to Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Excerpt from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R."

1. The ability to define the notion of success plays heavily in the determination of consistency with the articles in the constitution. Everyone, for example, had the ability to apply for a place to live. Acquiring such a place might mean years of waiting and there was no guarantee as to the quality of the housing. Students might want to research aspects of life in the Soviet Union to expand their answers to this question.
2. Most experts agree, the government's ability to meet the basic needs of its citizens determines stability. Students might predict that the Soviet Union would still exist if the regime had been able to meet the basic needs of its citizens. Some might discuss the evolution that had begun under Gorbachev (*perestroika*) and other attempts to deal with inefficiencies of state controlled economic systems. Some political scientists argue the system was determined to fail because of the inability of the government to sustain a centralized economy over long periods of time.
3. Articles 64, 65, 69 of the constitution give some information as to how the framers of the constitution were attempting to deal with issues of national and ethnic minorities. Statements such as "It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to respect the national dignity of other citizens..." are wide open for interpretation. Students might comment on just what it means to "respect the national dignity..." or how actions might be altered to meet the requirements of such statements.
4. Rights in a communist system are said to be "earned." Unlike rights in constitutions such as the United States that are considered "inalienable." The constitution of the U.S.S.R. contains many duties. The primary expression of this is Article 59, "Citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their duties and obligations..." Articles 60-63 also refer to the requirements necessary to receive the rights in the constitution.

From the student handout "Affirmative Rights at What Cost?"

Completing the table requires student to hypothesize. In general, constitutional scholars debate the effect of including affirmative (positive) rights, arguing that fulfilling them detracts from individual freedoms. Student responses should identify the amount of information necessary for the government to fulfill positive rights, the loss of an ability to choose when affirmative rights are guaranteed and the restrictions on things such as free speech that these guarantees carry.

Background Material

Creating a New Constitution

One of the most pressing issues in a country's transition from one form of government to another is the creation of a new constitution. The inclusion of various rights has typically become one point of contention. Affirmative (sometimes called "second generation" or positive) rights were always a part of constitutions under communist governments. Affirmative rights are also finding their place in the new constitutions of emerging democracies such as South Africa. Other "extra-national" documents from organizations like the European Union and the United Nations also influence the creation of these new documents. Whether or not affirmative rights belong in constitutional documents is frequently debated among constitutional scholars. Regardless of whether or not a country chooses to include such rights, it is important for citizens to recognize that there is a cost to including them. The resources necessary to fulfill their intent can be quite high, and according to many American constitutional scholars, if the rights mentioned are not fulfilled, the entire document looses legitimacy. In addition, constitutions are considered more legitimate if they are subject to judicial review and provisions are provided for enforcing the intent of the constitution. Consequently, concrete, affirmative rights which are explicitly guaranteed in a constitution makes enforcing these rights more problematic.

Not all affirmative rights are equal. For example, it is extremely difficult to provide everyone with adequate housing, but comparatively easy to provide everyone with an education. The absence of affirmative rights in the United States' Constitution leads some people to conclude that the United States is not committed to social rights. However, in the U.S. federal system, each state has its own constitution, and these state constitutions invariably contain affirmative rights—and have done so for over a century. In fact, state constitutions which include affirmative rights have tended to last longer that those without such rights. The stability of the United States' Constitution rests, in part, on these issues being addressed at the state level.

Some European scholars disagree with this characterization of affirmative and negative rights. From their perspective, the problem of social rights looks different. Central and East European demands for the inclusion of affirmative rights is not unusual. These rights are included in constitutions in the Scandinavian countries, France and Austria. The strong European (continental) tradition, in which the government and state are seen not as the protector of personal freedom (Anglo-Saxon tradition) but rather as a giver of different privileges and rights, makes the inclusion of positive rights seem quite natural and appropriate. Europe has a strong social democratic tradition and many European constitutions include affirmative rights.

Many European scholars argued that the validity of a constitution is not judged by the possibility of its fulfilling every right mentioned in it. Instead of believing that a constitution serves as the basis for citizen demands, these scholars argue that constitutions should be seen as models, or goals which the government tries to achieve. Constitutions, according to this perspective, also function to provide citizens with guidelines for establishing an active civil society (associations outside the government who are active in promoting and protecting society).

Student Handout

Excerpt from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Chapter 7: THE BASIC RIGHTS, FREEDOMS, AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS OF THE U.S.S.R.

[from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., 1977].

Article 39. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. enjoy in full the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and by Soviet laws. The socialist system ensures enlargement of the rights and freedoms of citizens and continuous improvement of their living standards as social, economic, and cultural development programmes are fulfilled. Enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of society or the state, or infringe the rights of other citizens.

Article 40. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work (that is, to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum), including the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society.

This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and professional training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement.

Article 41. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure. This right is ensured by the establishment of a working week not exceeding 41 hours, for workers and other employees, a shorter working day in a number of trades and industries, and shorter hours for night work; by the provision of paid annual holidays, weekly days of rest, extension of the network of cultural, educational, and health-building institutions, and the development on a mass scale of sport, physical culture, and camping and tourism; by the provision of neighborhood recreational facilities, and of other opportunities for rational use of free time.

The length of collective farmers' working and leisure time is established by their collective farms.

Article 42. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to health protection. This right is ensured by free, qualified medical care provided by state health institutions; by extension of the network of therapeutic and health-building institutions; by the development and improvement of safety and hygiene in industry; by carrying out broad prophylactic [birth control] measures; by measures to improve the environment; by special care for the health of the rising generation, including prohibition of child labor, excluding the work done by children as part of the school curriculum; and by developing research to prevent and reduce the incidence of disease and ensure citizens a long and active life.

Article 43. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner. The right is guaranteed by social insurance of workers and other employees and collective farmers; by allowances for temporary disability; by the provision by the state or by collective farms of retirement pensions, disability pensions, and pensions for loss of the breadwinner; by providing employment for the partially disabled; by care for the elderly and the disabled; and by other forms of social security.

Article 44. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to housing. This right is ensured by the development and upkeep of state and socially-owned housing; by assistance for co-operative and individual house building; by fair distribution, under public control, of the housing that becomes available through fulfilment of the programme of building well-appointed dwellings, and by low rents and low charges for utility services. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. shall take good care of the housing allocated to them.

Article 45. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by free provision of all forms of education, by the institution of universal, compulsory secondary education, and broad development of vocational, specialized secondary, and higher education, in which instruction is oriented toward practical activity and production; by the development of extramural, correspondence and evening courses, by the provision of state scholarships and grants and privileges for students; by the free issue of school textbooks; by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by the provision of facilities for self-education.

Article 46. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to enjoy cultural benefits. This right is ensured by broad access to the cultural treasures of their own land and of the world that are preserved in state and other public collections; by the development and fair distribution of cultural and educational institutions throughout the country; by developing television and radio broadcasting and the publishing of books, newspapers and periodicals, and by extending the free library service; and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries.

Article 47. Citizens of the U.S.S.R., in accordance with the aims of building communism, are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work. This freedom is ensured by broadening scientific research, encouraging invention and innovation, and developing literature and the arts. The state provides the necessary material conditions for this and support for voluntary societies and unions of workers in the arts, organizes introduction of inventions and innovations in production and other spheres of activity.

The rights of authors, inventors and innovators are protected by the state.

Article 48. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs and in the discussion and adoption of laws and measures of All-Union and local significance.

This right is ensured by the opportunity to vote and to be elected to Soviets of People's Deputies and other elective state bodies, to take part in nationwide discussions and referendums, in people's control, in the work of state bodies, public organizations, and local community groups, and in meetings at places of work or residence.

Article 49. Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. has the right to submit proposals to state bodies and public organizations for improving their activity, and to criticize shortcomings in their work.

Officials are obliged, within established time-limits, to examine citizens' proposals and requests, to reply to them, and to take appropriate action.

Persecution for criticism is prohibited. Persons guilty of such persecution shall be called to account.

Article 50. In accordance with the interests of the people and in order to strengthen and develop the socialist system, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations.

Exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by putting public buildings, streets and squares at the disposal of the working people and their organizations, by broad dissemination of information, and by the opportunity to use the press, television, and radio.

Article 51. In accordance with the aims of building communism, citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to associate in public organizations that promote their political activity and initiative and satisfaction of their various interests.

Public organizations are guaranteed conditions for successfully performing the functions defined in their rules.

Article 52. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited. In the U.S.S.R., the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church.

Article 53. The family enjoys the protection of the state.

Marriage is based on the free consent of the woman and the man; the spouses are completely equal in their family relations.

The state helps the family by providing and developing a broad system of child care institutions, by organizing and improving communal services and public catering, by paying grants on the birth of a child, by providing children's allowances and benefits for large families, and other forms of family allowances and assistance.

Article 54. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No one may be arrested except by a court decision or on the warrant of a procurator.

Article 55. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed inviolability of the home. No one may, without lawful grounds, enter a home against the will of those residing in it.

Article 56. The privacy of citizens, and of their correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraphic communications is protected by law.

Article 57. Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, public organizations, and officials. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to protection by the courts against encroachments on their honor and reputation, life and health, and personal freedom and property.

Article 58. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to lodge a complaint against the actions of officials, state bodies and public bodies. Complaints shall be examined according to the procedure and within the time-limit established by law.

Actions by officials that contravene the law or exceed their powers, and infringe the rights of citizens, may be appealed against in a court in the manner prescribed by law. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to compensation for damage resulting from unlawful actions by state organizations and public organizations, or by officials in the performance of their duties.

Article 59. Citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their duties and obligations.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to observe the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet laws, comply with the standards of socialist conduct, and uphold the honor and dignity of Soviet citizenship.

Article 60. It is the duty of, and matter of honor for, every able-bodied citizen of the U.S.S.R. to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labor discipline. Evasion of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist society.

Article 61. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to preserve and protect socialist property. It is the duty of a citizen of the U.S.S.R. to combat misappropriation and squandering of state and socially-owned property and to make thrifty use of the people's wealth.

Persons encroaching in any way on socialist property shall be punished according to the law.

Article 62. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, and to enhance its power and prestige. Defense of the Socialist Motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen in the U.S.S.R. Betrayal of the Motherland is the gravest of crimes against the people.

Article 63. Military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. is an honorable duty of Soviet citizens.

Article 64. It is the duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. to respect the national dignity of other citizens, and to strengthen friendship of the nations and nationalities of the multinational Soviet state.

Article 65. A citizen of the U.S.S.R. is obliged to respect the rights and lawful interests of other persons, to be uncompromising toward anti-social behavior, and to help maintain public order.

Article 66. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to concern themselves with the upbringing of children, to train them for socially useful work, and to raise them as worthy members of socialist society. Children are obliged to care for their parents and help them.

Article 67. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are obliged to protect nature and conserve its riches.

Article 68. Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is a duty and obligation of citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Article 69. It is the internationalist duty of citizens of the U.S.S.R. to promote friendship and co-operation with peoples of other lands and help maintain and strengthen world peace.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. How consistent were the articles in this constitution with what you know about life for the average Soviet citizen?
2. If these rights had been guaranteed in practice, how do you think the U.S.S.R. would have changed, politically? How might it be today?
3. National and ethnic identity are considerations in this document. How are these issues addressed? How might the addition of these articles have an impact on life in society?
4. Give examples of the duties citizens of the Soviet Union were expected to meet to qualify for their rights.

Student Handout

Thinking about Rights in Central and Eastern Europe

by A.E. Dick Howard

Excerpts from Chapter 12, "Toward Constitutional Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe," by A. E. Dick Howard, in *Building Civic Education for Democracy in Poland*, edited by Richard C. Remy and Jacek Strzemieczny, 1996, pp. 180–82.
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Bills of rights being drafted in Central and Eastern Europe reflect many of the patterns of modern constitutionalism. Every draft contains, in one form or another, assurances of free speech, freedom of conscience, and the right to form political parties. Similarly, one will inevitably find some version of the anti-discrimination principle—bans on discrimination on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, religion, or other specified grounds. As to criminal justice, every bill of rights contains procedural protections for those accused of crime. The symmetry of the new bills of rights reflects in good part the influence of international norms as found in such documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights.

The transition from authoritarian to democratic government in Central and Eastern Europe requires thinking about the nature of rights. What kinds of rights ought to be given constitutional status, what should the scope of those rights be, and how can they be made effective? Of special interest is the way in which constitution-makers approach two kinds of rights: negative rights and affirmative rights.

Negative Rights

The more traditional human rights, such as freedom of expression, declare limits on government power—what government may *not* do. In this respect, the new bills of rights often give with one hand and take back with the other. Free speech, for example, enjoys only qualified protection. The typical bill of rights in the region declares a person's right to speak freely, but goes on to carve out significant exceptions. It is common for advocacy of "fascism" or "communism" to be excepted from the constitution's protection, or for bans on speech to be allowed where speech conflicts with "public morality" or with the "constitutional order." Such exceptions can swallow up the rule, especially when, as always seems the case, the bill of rights does not require some finding of "clear and present danger" or a like standard before a restriction on speech can be justified.

Romania's [1991] Constitution…declared the "freedom to express thoughts, opinions, or beliefs" to be "inviolable." But the Constitution goes on to add that the law may prohibit "defamation of the country and the nation; any instigation to a war of aggression; to national, racial, class, or religious hatred; any incitement to discrimination, territorial separatism, or public violence; as well as any obscene conduct contrary to morality." One wonders whether an ethnic Hungarian, inclined to complain about conditions in Transylvania [a part of Romania with a large ethnic Hungarian population], could rely on his "inviolable" rights to speak freely when the Constitution itself declares such sweeping and malleable exceptions.

Negative rights, such as freedom of expression, are essential to liberal democracy. They enlarge the sphere of individual autonomy and bolster the open society. No rights are more critical to the success of constitutional democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. Sweeping exceptions to such rights threaten the very idea of democracy. Self-government presupposes a citizen's right to criticize public officials and their actions. Vague exceptions to the free speech principle give excessive discretion to government officials to decide what expression is permissible and what is not. An elastic approach to freedom of expression is especially dangerous to national, ethnic, and other minorities, to the political opposition, in short, to just the people who most need the constitution's protection.

Affirmative Rights

The twentieth century has brought entitlement (such as social security) and positive government. A corollary of more activist government is constitutional provisions that declare such affirmative rights. This approach to rights is especially obvious in countries in Central and Eastern Europe which, although they have put one-party government behind them, have powerful traditions of social democracy. A new constitution's preamble may announce a commitment to the market economy, but the enumeration of social and economic rights bespeaks a different cast of mind.

Thus the new bills of rights spell out claims upon government, such as the right to an education, the right to a job, and the benefits of care in one's old age. The Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, adopted in January 1991 for the now defunct Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, is typical. It declares that workers "are entitled to fair remuneration for work and to satisfactory working conditions." Other sections decree free medical care, material security in one's old age, maternity benefits, and assistance to assure the needy of "basic living conditions."

The use of a bill of rights as an affirmative tool presents special problems. The traditional rights, such as expression or assembly, tell government what it *cannot* do and may be enforced through injunctions and other familiar judicial remedies. Affirmative rights tell government what it *must* do. Here enforcement is more problematical. Affirmative rights commonly entail legislative implementation or decisions about allocation of resources—tasks for which courts are often ill-suited. Anyone familiar with cases in which American judges have become administrators of school systems, prisons, and other public institutions will understand the skewing effect that decreeing affirmative rights has on public budgets.

One need not necessarily conclude that there is no place in a constitution for affirmative rights. Insofar as social or economic rights reflect an aspiration to a more just society, it is appropriate that they be viewed as having constitutional implications. But there is the danger that if some of a constitution's provisions, such as social rights, cannot be judicially enforced, then citizens may take the entire document less seriously. As long as a constitution was viewed as a political document, the problem of enforceability was less obvious. But with the creation of constitutional courts in Central and Eastern Europe, the issue of justiciability becomes more pressing.

A constitution ought not to read like a political party's platform. Consider the unfortunate example of Brazil's 1988 Constitution. All 559 members of Brazil's Congress, working without a master plan, participated in the drafting of the Constitution. The resulting document is unrivaled among constitutions for conferring favors upon special-interest groups. There are, for example, 37 sections dealing just with the rights of workers.

One possible approach, something of a middle ground, is to set forth social and political rights as statements of principle. Thus, they would be directives to the legislature, carrying aspirational value. Although not self-executing, such norms would also be useful to courts in interpreting legislation and administrative actions.

Student Handout

Instructions for the Subcommission Chairperson of the Constitutional Commissions

1. Appoint a subcommission secretary, who will write down the motions raised by the discussion participants and record voting results. Also appoint a spokesperson, who will present the commission position to the other participants.

2. Supervise the debate efficiently: see to it that the speakers stay on topic and ensure equal time, and make sure the speaker ends his/her statement with a proposal to vote, modify or reject the discussed entry.

3. Carry out voting on the adoption or rejection of the proposed versions of entries.

   Suggestions

   - Use precise wording when presenting the motion on which the group is voting. (i.e. "Who is for adoption of the motion stated…") (Note: It must be clear that in case there is no majority vote for the motion, it is voted down.)
   - If there are several proposals, vote on the one that is the most different from the others!

4. All voting should be open and visible.

The following will be the "proposed" motions for each subcommission.

I. All the citizens have a right to a dwelling.

II. A citizen cannot evade fulfillment of civic duties because of his/her political or religious convictions.

III. The State makes economic policy favoring full employment.

Student Handout

Group A: Subcommission for Housing

The Constitution should include...

The argument about what should be written in a constitution is as old as constitutions themselves. In modern times it is regarded as indispensable that a constitution, in addition to the decisions concerning the issues of the political system, would include a catalog of civic rights. A question arises, however: What rights? And also, with what consequences? The proposals of constitutional entries given below are to bring closer to you some doubts that must be decided upon by the architects of the constitution. (All the examples are taken from the drafts of the constitution of the Republic of Poland, as submitted to the National Assembly.)

Your task is to discuss and then accept, reject, or modify statement I.

I. All the citizens have a right to a dwelling.

Other commissions will work with the following two statements:

II. A citizen cannot evade fulfillment of civic duties because of his/her political or religious convictions.

III. The State makes economic policy favoring full employment.

The course of the Subcommission work:

1. Your target task is to discuss Motion I and to reach consensus on its acceptance, rejection, or modification.
2. The Chairperson will open the debate and suggest getting acquainted with the opinions of two experts (fictional of course). Each student will read the expert opinions of Professor Normata and of Doctor de Klara.

What would each of the experts say about including Motion I in the constitution? In the space provided at the end of this handout, write out the possible consequences of adopting such a law. Read those answers and discuss them.

3. The Chairperson will begin the formal discussion in the subcommission. The responsibility of each speaker is to proclaim oneself in favor of adopting, rejecting or modifying the motion in line with the experts' advice or according to one's own view. (In that case the speaker must present a concrete new proposal).
4. Vote on the last version of the motion until group consensus or a majority is reached.
5. The Spokesperson presents the Subcommission position, together with the group's reasoning, to the whole class (the Constitutional Commission in full). Then all students take part in open voting on proposals I, II, and III.

An extract from the expert opinion of Professor Norman Normata:

> *...It should be remembered that the constitution should contain only those civic rights the State is able to guarantee. Within so called standard constitutions—and I would like the adopted constitution to be one of those—a citizen has the right to vindicate his constitutional rights before the court of justice. In other words, the constitution must contain clear statements that bear apparent legal consequences. For example, a statement that 'the State provides free education for all aged between 6 and 16 years' means that the parents of the children living in an area where all schools have been closed will win a case for compensation from the State for the breaking of the constitution by the State.*
>
> *...However, an attempt to convert the constitution into a set of wishes for which nobody is responsible, should be avoided. Particularly in a country with a short tradition of constitutionalism, this could have a disastrous impact on the Supreme Law's prestige.*

An extract from the expert opinion of Doctor Decjusz de Klara:

> *A contemporary state not only provides defense against external and internal threats, but also—if not first of all—introduces some ideological values into life. According to this principle, constitutions are not only about political system issues, but include major ideological principles and declarations on which the government wants policy to be based. Their absence in the Supreme Law would degrade the position of the law in the eyes of the people.*
>
> *...All important civic rights and liberties, including social rights, deserve constitutional and judiciary protection. The judiciary protection of those rights can be narrowed in such a way, so as to exclude the rights, whose realization consumes the State's financial means. Yet, that is a better solution than to avoid declaring that the State wants to actively defend social and civic rights of the citizens.*

Professor Normata's opinion:

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then ____

____

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Doctor de Klara's opinion:

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then ____

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Student Handout

Group B: Subcommission for Civic and Political System Affairs

The Constitution should contain...

The argument about what should be written in a constitution is as old as constitutions themselves. In modern times it is regarded as indispensable that a constitution, in addition to the decisions concerning the issues of the political system, would include a catalog of civic rights. A question arises, however: What rights? And also, with what consequences? The proposals of constitutional entries given below are to bring closer to you some doubts that must be decided upon by the architects of the constitution. All the examples are taken from the drafts of the constitution of the Republic of Poland, as submitted to the National Assembly.

Your task is to discuss, and then accept, reject or modify statement II.

II. A citizen cannot evade fulfillment of civic duties, because of his/her ideological or religious convictions.

Other groups will deal with the following two statements:

I. All the citizens have the right to a dwelling.

III. The State makes economic policy favoring full employment.

The course of the Subcommission work:

1. Your target task is to discuss Motion II, and to reach consensus on its acceptance, rejection, or modification.
2. The Chairperson opens the debate and proposes getting acquainted with the opinions of two experts (fictional of course). Each student will read the expert opinion of Professor Lucyna Lojalka, and of a nongovernment organization "Group Libero" (lawyers).

What would each of the experts say about including entry II in the constitution? In the space provided at the end of this handout, write out the possible consequences of adopting such a law. Read your answers and discuss them.

3. The Chairperson will begin the formal discussion in the subcommission. The responsibility of each speaker is to proclaim oneself in favor of adopting, rejecting or modifying the motion in line with the experts' advice or according to one's own view. (In that case the speaker must present a concrete new proposal).
4. Vote on the last version of the motion until group consensus or a majority is reached.
5. The Spokesperson presents the Subcommission position, together with the group's reasoning, to the whole class (the Constitutional Commission in full). The students then take part in open voting on proposals I, II, and III.

An extract from Professor Lucyna Lojalka's expert opinion:

> *A constitution contains specific contracts between the citizens and their government. The Citizens respect the government's decrees, providing the constitutional* ***rules of the game*** *are followed.*
>
> *...The law that limits the government should also limit the governed. The State, and in particular the democratic state, is a common good, as opposed to an unlimited "cash cow." It is based upon loyal activities of its citizens; honestly paying taxes, supporting the country's defense, etc.*
>
> *...In Poland, who has just abandoned the communist system, under which a citizen had no impact on the authorities' decisions whatsoever, there is a threat of choking with freedom. Therefore, there must be a clear statement in the constitution that together with liberty, the Poles have been burdened with responsibility for efficient functioning of their State.*

An extract from the Libero Group expert opinion:

> *...The major task of the constitution will be to guarantee the liberty of an individual. The constitution cannot guarantee economic growth, friendliness of civil servants to the citizens, or carrying out profitable national policy by the government. It may however, secure the rights of the government towards its citizens, with impassable prohibitions. Such entries in a constitution are needed, first of all, in the countries with a long lasting tradition of breaking the liberties and dignity of their citizens.*
>
> *...The foundation of a modern democratic state is free individuals. The state is only a structure to first of all secure the liberty of individuals, and not to limit it.*

Professor Lucyna Lojalka's opinion:

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then ________________________

The Libero Group's opinion:

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then ________________________

Student Handout

Group C: Subcommission for Employment

The Constitution should contain...

The argument about what should be written in a constitution is as old as constitutions themselves. In modern times it is regarded as indispensable that a constitution, in addition to the decisions concerning the issues of the political system, would include a catalog of civic rights. A question arises, however: What rights? And also, with what consequences? The proposals of constitutional entries given below, are to bring closer to you some doubts, that must be decided upon by the architects of the constitution. All the examples are taken from the drafts of the constitution of the Republic of Poland, as submitted to the National Assembly.

Your task is to discuss and then adopt, reject, or modify statement III.

III. The State makes economic policy favoring full employment.

Other groups will deal with the following two statements:

I. All the citizens have the right to a dwelling.

II. A citizen cannot evade a fulfillment of civic duties because of his/her ideological or religious convictions.

The course of the Subcommission work:

1. Your target task is to discuss Motion III, and reach consensus on its acceptance, rejection, or modification.
2. The Chairperson will open the debate and propose getting acquainted with the opinions of two experts (fictional of course). Each student will read an expert opinion from the Center of Free Market Promotion and also an opinion from the lawyer, Mr. Solidarius Social.

What would each of the experts say about including Motion III in the constitution? In the space provided at the end of this handout, write out the possible consequences of adopting such a law. Read your answers and discuss them.

3. The Chairperson will begin the formal discussion in the subcommission. The responsibility of each speaker is to proclaim oneself in favor of adopting, rejecting or modifying the motion in line with the experts' advice or according to one's own view. (In that case the speaker must present a concrete new proposal).
4. Vote on the last version of the motion until group consensus or a majority is reached.
5. The Spokesperson presents the Subcommission position, together with the group's reasoning, to the whole class (the Constitutional Commission in full). The students then take part in open voting on proposals I, II, and III.

An extract from the expert opinion of the Center for Free Market Promotion:

> *An economic position of an individual depends on his/her own conduct, skills, hard work, and sometimes luck. The constitution should clearly emphasize that 'one works out one's destiny.'*
>
> *...The Republic would not be able to lift the burden resulting from fair implementation of the* ***social security state*** *principle. It would be better to promise less, but then honestly fulfill the obligations.*
>
> *...The lack of regulations that guarantee social rights in the constitution does not make it impossible (nor even more difficult) to adopt acts that provide social security by the parliament.*

A fragment of the expert opinion by Mr. Solidarius Social, a lawyer:

> *The majority think that the State should realize the ideals of equality and justice. By that they also mean the making of the social justice policy: removing the spheres of poverty, equalizing educational opportunities, caring about the situation of the poorer classes, including social and medical insurance.*
>
> *Those ideals are deeply rooted within society who would recognize the lack of them in the Supreme Law as a step backwards, in comparison with the legislation of the Republic. Numerous polls of public opinion indicate that the majority of the citizens await some help from the State, at least during the transition from socialism to capitalism...*
>
> *Recognition that the country is a 'state that is making prosocial policy' will stimulate the creation of relevant acts concerning the protection of living standards of the citizens.*

The opinion of the Center for Free Market Promotion:

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then____

The opinion of Solidarius Social (a lawyer):

If such an entry is included in the constitution, then____

Student Handout

Affirmative Rights at What Cost?

	Affirmative Rights Affected	**Negative Rights Affected**
The government collects data from individuals as to where they live and the type of housing they inhabit.		
The government raises the tax rate to collect enough money to pay for its activity: education, health care, prevention of unemployment		
The government passes laws increasing penalties for individuals who use derogatory comments against minorities.		
The government begins to order citizens to take jobs in particular fields to lower the unemployment rate.		
Despite the clause in the constitution, the national housing shortage continues to worsen.		

AFFIRMATIVE RIGHTS IN RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES: THE EXAMPLE OF EDUCATION

> ***...It should be remembered that the constitution should contain only those civic rights the State is able to guarantee.... For example, a statement that the State provides free education for all aged between 6 and 16 years means that the parents of the children living in an area where all schools have been closed will win a case for compensation from the State for the breaking of the Constitution by the State.***
>
> *—Professor Norman Normata, Poland (Fictitious Polish Educator)*

Summary of the Lesson

Students are asked to clarify their beliefs concerning certain constitutional rights (such as the right to a free education or the right to adequate food) by marking their level of support on a continuum. Upon defining **affirmative rights**, students are asked to consider the benefits and costs of including affirmative rights in a constitution. In groups, students compare a section of **The Constitution of the Russian Federation** and the United States' policies concerning education. An inquiry is made as to why there are often more human rights listed in charters of organizations (such as the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** and the **United Nations Charter of Children's Rights**) than in countries' constitutions.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- clarify personal beliefs about the inclusion of certain rights in a constitution,
- understand the concept of affirmative rights in a constitution,
- analyze and evaluate data and other information from primary sources,
- synthesize the aforementioned points and articulate them in a class discussion,
- compare and contrast the placement of human rights in a constitution vs. organizational charters (such as the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights).

Background Material for the Teacher

For a full discussion of affirmative and negative rights, see the lesson plan in this section entitled **Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions.** Generally, the following definitions apply:

Affirmative Rights: The inclusion of social, economic and cultural rights in a constitution written as government guarantees of various societal indicators, e.g. guaranteeing every citizen a job or a vacation.

Negative Rights: Rights which limit the government and prevent it from affecting certain behaviors of its citizens, e.g. the right of free speech means the government cannot make laws to limit speech.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

strongly disagree____**strongly agree**

Place a class continuum on newsprint or the blackboard as above.

Ask students to copy this continuum on notepaper and place a mark on the appropriate spot to indicate their opinion on the following issue: *It is the right of every citizen to receive a free education.*

Ask all students to then copy their Xs onto the class continuum, or have all students create a "human continuum" by standing at their appropriate places.

Developing the Lesson

It is likely that most students will strongly agree with the issue as stated. Briefly discuss class opinions, explaining that this issue may not be as simple as it initially appears.

Place the students in groups of 4-5. Distribute the student handout **Constitutional Rights** and complete the activity as directed.

Explain that the type of rights discussed in this exercise are called affirmative (or positive) rights. Provide students with the definitions listed on the previous page.

Note that the decision about whether or not to include affirmative rights in a constitution is a difficult one. Because the cost of inclusion is potentially high, rights are often excluded or handled in a different manner—as seen in the human rights documents referred to later in the lesson. Another problem is found in the dilemma of how to enforce these rights. (*Note*: An interesting side note to this discussion is that in the U.S. federal system, affirmative rights more frequently appear at the constitutional level of individual *states*, where it could be argued that the inclusion of these rights has historically bolstered the strength of states' constitutions, i.e. in contrast to those without such affirmative rights.)

After discussing the group's decisions, ask students *How does the U.S. (or how do other countries) approach this issue?* The following information may aid the discussion:

- In 1852, Massachusetts passed the first law requiring children to attend school.
- After the Civil War ended in 1865, many states established public elementary and high schools.
- By the early 1900s, the ideal of high school education for everyone was broadly accepted in the U.S.

Distribute student handout **Constitution of the Russian Federation** (p. 21-7) and have students answer the following questions:

1. What does the Constitution of the Russian Federation say about the right to an education? Does this surprise you? Why or why not?
2. Do we have the right to a free education in the U.S.? Do you think this right is in the U.S. Constitution?
3. Who pays for and has control over the United States' public school systems?

Note the following about the Russian educational system:

- While "secondary education" in the U.S. usually refers to middle school or junior high and high school, in Russia it is organized into three levels:

  "Primary school" = grades 1-4,

  "Incomplete secondary school" = grades 5-9,

  "Complete secondary school" = grades 10-11.
- Only graduates of the third level can attend a university. Article 43 of the Russian Constitution guarantees free education only at the first two levels. Free complete secondary education was lost in the preparation of the Russian Constitution, but President Yeltsin issued a special decree in 1994, correcting this mistake.
- Although every Russian citizen is guaranteed an education, all do not necessarily receive *equal* educations. The reputations and standards of schools vary widely and students must apply for acceptance into schools of their choice. They may or may not attend these particular schools.

Distribute student handout **Government Expenditures** and analyze the various levels of government involvement in American education. As a class, develop generalizations and compare this involvement with that mentioned in the Russian constitution. (Note that unlike the United States, federal budgets provide for the main expenditures for Russian education.)

Concluding the Lesson

Direct students to answer the following question: If economic concerns were not a part of the discussion, which young peoples' rights would you include in a Universal Human Rights Declaration? Ask students to read the handout **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**. Explain that several countries have ratified this charter, including the United States. Have students compare these three documents on the topic of public education: The Constitution of the Russian Federation, The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and The Constitution of the United States.

Ask why the United Nations is willing to put the right to free education in their document, but constitutions of many nations exclude this right. Point out the economic concerns that come with each affirmative right included in the constitution.

Extending the Lesson

Give students copies of the state and local laws establishing responsibility for education. These could be state constitutions, the Northwest Ordinance, or other documents. Have students analyze and critique the level of involvement and responsibility for education by various levels of government. The results could be shared in the form of a presentation or essay.

Students might create a rubric which could be used to analyze the types of rights included in each of these documents.

Using the U.N. Charter of Children's Rights, have students research possible violations of this charter in current history. Use newspapers, magazines or television to obtain stories that violate these rights.

Have students research available resources in the community to aid victims of these violations (i.e. a school nurse, guidance counselor, social agency or possibly even legal means of support).

Have students expand this analysis of educational rights to include other rights of young people. Students may further research the same documents used in this lesson, or find new ones.

Government Expenditures for Education in 1990: Grades K-12

	Students (in thousands)	Expenditures (in millions)		
		Federal	State	Local
Alabama	722	308	1,532	442
Alaska	112	67	412	202
Arizona	615	125	1,202	1,340
Arkansas	434	140	859	445
California	4,890	1,880	15,617	5,868
Colorado	573	133	977	1,363
Connecticut	476	134	1,637	1,884
Delaware	99	45	379	144
DC	84	56	-	497
Florida	1,817	572	5,120	3,868
Georgia	1,146	322	3,011	1,612
Hawaii	175	63	728	1
Idaho	215	49	409	225
Illinois	1,800	704	3,484	5,000
Indiana	955	182	2,381	1,456
Iowa	467	110	1,068	916
Kansas	432	104	870	1,035
Kentucky	623	209	1,588	480
Louisiana	791	303	1,464	1,237
Maine	214	76	601	453
Maryland	717	207	1,618	2,354
Massachusetts	829	270	1,802	2,962
Michigan	1,572	370	2,849	4,629
Minnesota	742	173	2,071	1,767
Mississippi	496	245	880	450
Missouri	816	197	1,340	1,991
Montana	151	59	306	294
Nebraska	271	51	259	752
Nevada	188	36	334	472
New Hampshire	178	28	82	858
New Jersey	1,096	331	3,628	4,779
New Mexico	308	139	889	135
New York	2,571	920	7,900	10,080
North Carolina	1,084	318	3,254	1,346
North Dakota	118	31	219	191
Ohio	1,765	415	3,650	3,679
Oklahoma	575	179	1,211	660
Oregon	464	147	621	1,551
Pennsylvania	1,654	310	3,447	4,895
Rhode Island	136	36	363	429
South Carolina	620	211	1,327	1,003
South Dakota	129	43	127	295
Tennessee	818	260	1,336	1,173
Texas	3,315	1,105	6,095	6,992
Utah	441	80	721	471
Vermont	94	31	213	340
Virginia	1,005	236	1,718	3,010
Washington	812	235	2,979	844
West Virginia	318	109	850	364
Wisconsin	782	166	1,648	2,403
Wyoming	96	23	275	227

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991*

Student Handout

Constitutional Rights

You are a member of a constitutional committee that has the power to include certain rights in your country's constitution. The young people in your country have often expressed a desire for the following rights to be guaranteed under the constitution:

1. the right to an education,
2. the right to a vacation,
3. the right to adequate food,
4. the right to proper health care.

Place the number of each of the four rights on the continuum below, based upon where you believe it belongs. Discuss your choices with your group with the understanding that if you place a right in the constitution, it is a **guaranteed** right. Constitutional rights may have costs to them. For example, the cost of education is schools, the cost of providing proper health care is Medicare and hospitals, etc.

Strongly Disagree____**Strongly Agree**

Brainstorm the costs and benefits of placing each right in the constitution in the chart below.

RIGHTS	BENEFITS	COSTS
1. Education		
2. Vacation		
3. Food		
4. Health Care		

Student Handout

Constitution of the Russian Federation

December 1993

Article 43.

1. Everyone shall have the right to education.

2. The accessibility and gratuity of pre-school, general secondary and vocational secondary education in public and municipal educational institutions and enterprises shall be guaranteed.

3. Everyone shall have the right to receive, free of charge and on a competitive basis, higher education in a state or municipal educational institution or enterprise.

4. Basic general education shall be mandatory. Parents or persons substituting for them shall make provisions for their children to receive basic general education.

5. The Russian Federation shall institute federal state educational standards and support various forms of education and self-education.

Student Handout

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1995

Article 26.

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental states. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

CONSTRUCTING FEDERALISM:
THE CASE OF RUSSIA

> ***Russia has always displayed a unique set of characteristics. Extending over 11 time zones, Russia contains the largest land mass of any contemporary state. St. Petersburg is closer to New York than it is to Vladivostok, which is in turn closer to Seattle than it is to Moscow. With its large number of republics and nationality groups the specter of governance is daunting.***
>
> —*Henry A. Kissinger*

Summary of the Lesson

Russia has experienced many radical changes since the late 1980s. The breakup of the U.S.S.R., along with the loss of a vast Communist empire, drastically changed this major world power. Economic and political changes are moving slowly and shakily toward more democratic forms of government and a free market economy. One of the more serious problems is the treatment of outlying **republics,** such as Chechnya, which are populated by minority ethnic groups. **Federalism** serves as a framework in creating this "new" Russia. However, within this new republic, debates about the **separation of powers**, **levels of government** and **decentralization** continue. What is Russian federalism? How have geography and nationalism affected Russian federalism? Students will read a variety of perspectives on Russian federalism and be asked to compare and contrast the Russian version of federalism with that of James Madison, as outlined in ***The Federalist Papers***.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- understand the difficulties in governing a large geographic area,
- explain the nature and structure of Russian federalism,
- define key concepts relating to federalism,
- compare and contrast Russian federalism with James Madison's definition, as presented in *The Federalist Papers*.

Background Material

Read the background material **Characteristics of Federalism.** Prior to the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December of 1991, U.S.S.R. was comprised of a national government (located in Moscow) and separate governments in each of the Soviet Republics. In theory, the Soviet Union was a federation. However, in actuality the republics exercised almost no power and all sovereignty lay in the hands of the centralized Soviet government in Moscow. Since 1991, the government of Russia has attempted to create a new system of government.

The Russian Constitutional Court, however, has resisted attempts at decentralization. It has ruled that laws which grant autonomy to the component parts of the Russian Republic are not consistent with national goals. Some areas of the Russian Republic, like Chechnya, have refused to change their laws to conform to the Court's decisions. However, the ruling may deter other republics from passing new secessionist laws.

On December 12, 1993, a new Russian Constitution was adopted. Article 5(1) of Chapter 1 states the following regarding the structure of the Russian government:

a. The Russian Federation shall consist of republics, territories, regions, federal cities, an autonomous region and autonomous areas, which shall be equal subjects of the Russian Federation.

b. The republic shall have its own constitution and legislation. A territory, region, federal city, autonomous region and autonomous area shall have its own charter and legislation.

c. All the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be equal among themselves in relations with the Federal bodies of state power.

The new Russian Constitution also included further details about the organization of the federation and the duties delegated to the various levels. (See the Russian Constitution, Chapter II [Russian Federation], Articles 65-79 in the appendices).

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Pass out the student handout **The Rebellion in Russia**. Written at the start of the secession attempts in Chechnya, the reading provides a brief explanation of why events in this small republic have broader impact than just whether or not Chechnya becomes independent.

Write these issues on the board:

1. Chechnya is trying to secede from the Russian federation.
2. Chechnya is important to the Russian economy.
3. Such a move could damage Russian democracy.
4. Secession could encourage ethnic revolts in other parts of Russia and the world.
5. Events in Chechnya will set a precedent for how other republics (and the world) perceive the authority of the federal government in Moscow.

Have students read and discuss the issues. (Students may want to investigate how the situation in Chechnya has progressed.)

Compare the following two situations: the American Civil War and the situation in Chechnya. After generating a list of similarities and differences, be sure to point out the following:

1. The goal of the Confederacy was to dissolve an existing federal structure.
2. The primary issue in Chechnya is the Chechans' perception that they have no self-determination about joining the "new" Russian Federation

Read to students the following quote: *"If secession was legitimate, the union would be a rope of sand and our many States may resolve themselves into as many petty, jarring, and hostile republics. By such a dread catastrophe the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed.... Our example would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unsuited for self-government."*

Ask students who they believe said these words and under what condition were they uttered? Let them develop a theory and then tell them that these were the words of President James Buchanan in his final message to Congress on December 3, 1860—just before the outbreak of the American Civil War.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **Russian Federalism** and have students read as a class, in small groups or individually. After the reading, divide students into small groups to answer and discuss the questions at the end of the reading. After groups have responded to the questions, bring the class together to discuss the groups' responses.

Russian federalism seems impaired, in the view of this author, by the treaties negotiated in a reactive manner. Based on the readings, generate a list of features of the Russian system. Be sure to include the following: the Russian system is still evolving; authority is still centralized; ethnic republics enjoy higher status, greater autonomy and more generous benefits (more so than the predominantly Russian *oblasts* and *krais*); bilateral treaty negotiations may, in fact, be destroying "constitutional norms needed to regulate Russian federalism in the future."

Pass out the student handout **Madison on Federalism and Republicanism** and the table **How the Constitution Divides Powers**. Students should read the materials and create a list summarizing the main points in order to develop a foundation for comparing and contrasting this definition with what is happening in Russia.

Concluding the Lesson

Using the board or a wall chart, construct a Venn diagram (two large circles which overlap). Write the elements of Madison's vision of federalism in one circle. In the other circle, write the elements of Russian federalism identified earlier in the lesson. In the overlapping section, write in those elements that appear in both lists.

Discuss possibilities for the future of the Russian government, especially in relation to the republics and other forms of government below the national level? (Refer to the handout **Russian Federalism.**) What issues from the American experience may indicate problems for the future of the Russian Federation?

Extending the Lesson

Recent developments in Chechnya could be investigated to evaluate current relations between the federal government in Moscow and the various republics.

Pass out the student handout **Republicanism and Federalism in *The Federalist 14***. Discuss the questions as a group to investigate the way arguments for federalism were laid out during the debate over its institution in the United States.

Students might also be interested in investigating the events of 1789 in the state of Rhode Island. In many ways, this situation is much like events in Chechnya. The newly formed U.S. government sent troops to compel citizens from Rhode Island to join the new American Federation.

Students might write an essay comparing and contrasting American and Russian federalism. Identify elements that are the same, different and similar in these two governmental structures. The following questions may assist in this process:

1. Since 1991, how has the Russian government moved toward a true federal system of government? Using the criteria for defining a federation from the first part of the reading, defend or refute the following statement. "The Russians now have a true federal system."
2. In what ways is the Russian Federation like the American federal system? In what ways does it differ?

Groups might also choose two countries that use a federal system and compare/contrast these systems to federalism in the United States in an oral or written presentation.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Russian Federalism"

1. According to the article, political competition seems to be pushing each republic, region and territory to achieve the same power as the others, if not more. Power struggles between republics populated by ethnic Russians and those populated by other ethnic groups also seem to be disrupting constitutionally-based "rule of law."
2. Federalism requires ongoing negotiations between various levels of government. The use of bilateral treaties to circumvent/expand on constitutional provisions might destroy the authority of the constitution or make it useless.
3. President Yeltsin has been involved in a protracted power struggle to determine the relationship between the center (Moscow) and the periphery (the republics, territories and regions.)
    - A. 1993—constitutional assembly drafts notion of "federation treaty, including a republican sovereignty…"
    - B. August 1993—proposal to create a "Federation Council with representatives of the eighty-nine provincial governments that would serve as the upper house of the parliament."
    - C. December 1993—a national referendum ratifies a new constitution. Constitution refers to republics and regions as equals.
    - D. 1994—two regions, Chechnya and Tartarstan, "refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new constitution."
    - E. February 1994—Yeltsin signed a "bilateral treaty with Tartarstan" which set off a wave of similar treaties….

Background Material

Characteristics of Federalism

From *Lessons on the Constitution* by John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy, (1986) p. 119.
Published by the Social Science Consortium, Inc. and Project '87.
Reprinted by permission of the American Political Science Association.

The founders borrowed ideas from both the confederation and unitary forms[1] of government in creating a federation or "federal republic," as they called it. It was truly a new idea. No one at the Philadelphia convention could predict how a federal system would operate. At that time, few delegates even used the word "federalism" to describe the plan they were designing. The founders realized, however, that they had to divide the powers of government between a national government and the states in a new way.

Since 1787 many nations have adopted federal systems of government. Canada, Australia, India, Brazil, Nigeria, Germany, and Mexico have federal forms of government. These systems have adopted varying arrangements outlining the relationships between the states, or lesser governments, and the central governments.

However, all true federal systems share four characteristics. These characteristics reflect ideas drawn from both the unitary and confederation forms of government.

First, all federal systems give both the national government and states some powers to govern the people directly.

Second, federal systems recognize that the states have certain rights and powers beyond the control of the national government.

Third, federal systems guarantee the legal equality and existence of each state. Each state has a right to equal treatment regardless of its size or population. But a state may not always have equal political power if differences in population affect proportional representation.

Fourth, federal systems rely on judicial bodies to interpret the meaning of their constitution and to settle disputes arising between the two levels of government (national and state) and between states.

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[1] Editor's Note: The term "unitary government" describes a system whereby all formal political power rests with a central authority. The central government directly governs the people. Today, France and Japan have unitary governments.

Student Handout

Rebellion in Russia

An excerpt from *Time* Magazine, December 26, 1994, pp. 116–18. Contributors: Sally Donnelly, John Alan Kohan, John McAllister, Daniel Forster. © 1994 Time Inc. Reprinted by permission.

The obscure land called Chechnya is about the size of Connecticut, a mere pinprick even on a large world map. Its 1.3 million people make up less than 1% of the population of the Russian Federation from which it is trying to secede. But the way this mountain enclave seeks to pursue its goals in the northern Caucasus involves stakes that are hardly routine. Obviously, there are the lives of many thousands of Chechens and Russian soldiers that could be snuffed out in the promised guerrilla struggle: at week's end at least 16 and possibly 70 Russians—counts differed wildly—and hundreds of Chechens had already fallen in heavy fighting. Even more ominous, a drawn-out campaign could deal a devastating blow to Russia's endangered democracy.

The survival of Russia as a single country could also be in peril. A successful bid for independence in Chechnya could encourage secessionist movements in scores of other unhappy ethnic and economic enclaves. On a broader canvas still, the worldwide trend of small ethnic groups to break away from larger sovereignties and form their own mini-nation could get either a stiff setback or a strong boost from Chechnya's fate.

Yeltsin has some compelling motives for ordering the attack. Chechnya is important to the distressed Russian economy: a vital railroad line and oil pipelines run through it. Russians also regard the Chechens as the core of the Russian Mafia, and their region as a center of arms and drug smuggling that has to be suppressed.

More important, there is something to the insistence by Yeltsin that he had to bring Chechnya back under Moscow's authority to preserve Russia's "integrity." The Russian federation teems with groups that have some kind of ethnic, territorial or economic gripe against Moscow. Even now, Moscow's writ[1] hardly runs in some areas. But a drawn-out war in Chechnya could incite rather than discourage more outright secessions.

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[1] Editor's Note: Writ here implies Moscow's ability to issue orders in the name of the federal government.

Student Handout

Russian Federalism

From "The Political Economy of Russian Federalism" by Steven L. Solnick in *Problems of Post-Communism*, Nov.–Dec. 1996. Reprinted by permission of M. E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, New York

When Russia became independent in 1991, many Russian and Western observers predicted that the fragmentation that had doomed the U.S.S.R. would not stop at the borders of the Russian Federation. By the end of 1991 most of Russia's own autonomous republics had declared themselves sovereign,[1] and since each of these entities was the designated homeland of a different non-Russian ethnic group, the threat of ethnic conflict was real. In Tatarstan, for instance, radical nationalists calling for independence from Russia were drawing large crowds. In Chechnya a secessionist movement succeeded in disarming and expelling Russian troops sent to quell the revolt.

Five years later many observers see the Russian Federation advancing toward a restoration of Soviet-style unitary centrism. Despite the military debacles [disaster] that have trapped federal troops in Chechnya, separatism has not spread to the other ethnic republics. On the contrary, presidents of many of these republics have consolidated power at home and thrown in their lot with the "Party of Power" in Moscow. Meanwhile, governors of most of the predominantly ethnic Russian *oblasts* [regions] and *krais* [territories] still serve at the pleasure of President Boris Yeltsin.

Is the Russian federal experiment doomed either to revert to centralized rule or to dissolve into anarchy? Or are national and subnational governments beginning to reach a consensus on a stable, lasting division of power and responsibilities? Is the Russian Federation a federation in name only?

Focusing on the functional division between national and subnational government units provides the best method of defining and measuring federalism in Russia. The development of federalism [is seen] as a bargaining game… [with] three key paradoxes. First, authority remains devolved from the center to the provinces despite the weakness of political institutions traditionally credited with preserving subnational autonomy, such as strong political parties or an independent judiciary. Second, despite the limited extent of ethnic mobilization across the federation, the asymmetry between ethnic republics and predominantly Russian *oblasts* and *krais*—with ethnic republics enjoying higher status, greater autonomy, and generous benefits—has proved remarkably resilient. Third, although Moscow's reliance on bilateral negotiations may have finally begun to erode this asymmetry in the short term, the resulting ad hoc deals may destroy constitutional norms needed to regulate Russian federalism in the future.

Soviet and Russian State Structure, 1990-1995

The Soviet Union was a multiethnic federation in which major ethnic groups were associated with particular national homelands. The present Russian constitution retains this distinction. (See box.)

At the top of the federal hierarchy during the Soviet period were the fifteen Union republics, which were themselves composed of some 20 autonomous republics and 120 administrative-territorial oblasts or krais. Each autonomous republic was the designated homeland of the titular nationality (or occasionally a cluster of ethnic groups).

…In June 1990 the Russian Federation's newly elected legislature declared Russia to be "sovereign." The most important implication of this declaration was that Russia's laws now took precedence over Soviet laws and that Russia would now control the disposition of its natural resources. This action was quickly mimicked by the sixteen autonomous republics within the borders of the Russian Federation, eager to seize the opportunity to gain greater control over their own affairs. By October 1990 eleven of these sixteen republics had passed their own sovereignty declarations.

Russian president Boris Yeltsin tried to enlist the autonomous republics in his struggle against Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev by offering to sign a federation treaty that would serve as the basis for a new, post-Soviet Russian constitution. Yeltsin told the leaders of the autonomous republics to "take as much autonomy as you can swallow." This treaty acknowledged the republics as "sovereign republics within the Russian Federation," with property rights over land and natural resources on their territory. In December 1991, however, the remaining *oblasts* of the federation objected and one analyst from *Moscow*

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[1] Editor's Note: Sovereign in this sense is taken to mean independent from the control of other governments.

News observed, "Twenty-three million Russian subjects will live in a federation, and another 124 million will live in a unitary state."

Hoping to stave off a revolt from the *oblasts* but still eager to reach consensus on at least a provisional state structure, Yeltsin signed separate treaties in March 1992 with the autonomous republics (and four autonomous *oblasts* elevated to republic status—Adygea, Gorno-Altai, Karachai-Cherkessia, and Khakassia), the non-ethnic *oblasts* and *krais*, and the federal cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The twenty-one republics were recognized by the federation treaty as sovereign states and were promised expanded rights over their natural resources, external trade, and internal budgets. Two republics, Tatarstan and Chechnya, insisted on a fuller statement of their independence from Moscow and refused to sign the treaties. The *oblasts* and *krais* received few enhanced rights beyond their designation as "subjects of the federation"—the same term used to describe the republics.

Federation subjects soon found themselves in the middle of the ongoing struggle between Yeltsin and the Russian parliament. In the April 25, 1993, national referendum on Yeltsin's performance, his showing was significantly stronger in Russia's *oblasts* and *krais* than in the republics. Fewer than ten of the twenty ethnic republics participating in the poll (no balloting was held in Chechnya) stated that they trusted the president. Following Yeltsin's overall success in the referendum, attempts to devise a new constitutional foundation alternated between courting the intransigent republics and moving to strip them of their privileges.

In July 1993 a specially convened Constitutional Assembly was initially reluctant to preserve the republics' sovereign status in the draft of the new Russian constitution. The remaining federation subjects demanded equal rights. The draft ultimately approved by the Assembly embodied the essential clauses of the federation treaty, including republican sovereignty. Nevertheless, this draft received the support of representatives from just eight of the twenty-one republics, and it ultimately failed to generate much political support from any provincial leaders.

Yeltsin made one final attempt in August 1993 to win the support of provincial leaders for a draft constitution that could break his increasingly bitter power struggle with the communist-dominated Russian parliament, a holdover from the Soviet era. Yeltsin met with regional and republican representatives in Petrozavodsk and proposed the creation of a new Federation Council that would be staffed, ex officio, by representatives of the eighty-nine provincial governments and would serve as the upper house of the new Russian parliament. Regional leaders

Constituent Parts of the Russian Federation

The Russian Federation today consists of twenty-one republics, six *krais*, forty-nine *oblasts*, one autonomous *oblast*, ten autonomous *okrugs*, and two federal cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg). According to the constitution adopted in December 1993, all components are equal in relation to the center. They are roughly equivalent to states in the United States.

Republics. When the Soviet Union was formed in the 1920s, republics were delineated to recognize strong ethnic groups. Republics typically have their own legislatures and most have their own presidents. The federal constitution grants republics the right to formulate their own constitutions and basic laws.

***Oblasts* (Regions).** *Oblasts* do not have titular [bearing the title of] ethnic minorities. *Oblasts* are locally governed by legislative and executive bodies. Until recently executive leaders (heads of administration or governors) were appointed by the president.

***Krais* (Territories).** Originally *krais* were an arbitrary hybrid between republics and *oblasts*, delineated by containing one or more ethnically defined subgroups. This subunit could be an autonomous *oblast*, autonomous *okrug*, or both.

Autonomous *Oblasts* and *Okrugs*. These administrative units were designed in the Soviet period to give small ethnic groups a political identity. Autonomous *oblasts* and *okrugs* are found in sparsely populated regions, such as Siberia and the Russian Far East.

***Raions*.** Republics, *oblasts*, *krais*, and *okrugs* are subdivided into *raions*, similar to the way U.S. states are split into counties.

distrusted Yeltsin, however, and republic leaders particularly objected to the proposal's equal treatment of all federation subjects, which would have left them badly outnumbered by the predominantly Russian oblasts.

After the federation Council scheme was finally rejected by regional and republican leaders in mid-September Yeltsin launched his decisive attack on the parliament. His victory on October 3-4 was achieved with little help from provincial leaders. Many of them declared his move unconstitutional, and a majority even attempted to seize power at the expense of both the president and parliament by establishing a short-lived Council of the Subjects of the Federation.

In the wake of the October events, republics began to lose many privileges accumulated in earlier agreements, and the role of the center vis-á-vis the provinces was strengthened. The new constitution, ratified in a national referendum on December 12, treated republics and regions essentially as equals and dropped earlier references to republican sovereignty. Predictably, the new constitution was not well received in the republics: Voters in nine of the twenty-one opposed it outright, while voters in another six either boycotted the referendum or failed to attract the required 50 percent of registered voters. Ratification was based solely on the federation-wide vote, however, and as 1994 began only two regions—Chechnya and Tatarstan—refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new constitution.

On February 15, 1994, Yeltsin signed a bilateral treaty with Tatarstan defining the respective roles of federal and republican authorities. Although the treaty actually granted Tatarstan few real rights beyond those granted to republics in the new constitution, the move satisfied Kazan's long-standing demand to be treated as an equal by Moscow. Having just concluded a protracted exercise in constitution-drafting, Yeltsin thus reopened the door for other subjects of the federation to demand special treatment. Despite repeated avowals that no more bilateral treaties would be signed, by the end of 1995 Moscow had signed similar documents with six other republics: Kabardino-Balkaria, Bashkortostan, North Ossetia, Sakha/Yakutia, Buriatia, and Udmurtia. In 1996, Yeltsin began to offer similar bilateral treaties to the oblasts and krais, at a pace that accelerated through the June presidential election campaign....

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. What political motives appear to be driving the writing of treaties between the federal government in Moscow and the various republics, regions and territories?
2. Solnick, the author, raises a concern about treaties. "They ....may destroy constitutional norms needed to regulate Russian federalism in the future." What could Solnick mean?
3. Construct a chronology of the events that have taken place as the Russian federation evolves.

Student Handout

Madison on Federalism and Republicanism

From *James Madison and the Federalist Papers* by John J. Patrick: National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., in association with the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies Education/ Social Science Education, Indiana University and the National Center for America's Founding Documents, Boston University, 1990. Reprinted by permission of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

A **republic** is a type of government that functions through elected representatives of the people. In a republican government, the people are sovereign because their representatives serve at their pleasure for the common good. In contrast to a republic, a **pure** or **direct democracy** is a form of government in which the people govern directly instead of through representatives elected by them. In today's world, people tend to use interchangeably the words **republic** and **representative democracy**.

In the world of the 1780s, the **republican form** of government was rare; monarchies and aristocracies prevailed. These non-republican forms of government function without representation of or participation by the common people. In an absolute monarchy, one person (king or queen) rules; and in an aristocracy, a small elite group of aristocrats or nobles exercise power in government. Power usually is based on heredity in a monarchy or aristocracy.

Americans in the 1780s were committed to **republicanism**, beliefs and practices that support a republic instead of a monarchy, aristocracy, or other non-republican forms of government. They tended to agree that the rights and liberty of individuals could only be secured through a **republican** form of government. Americans in the 1780s also tended to agree on the need for a **federal form** of government, one that divided powers between a central or national government and several state governments within the nation. Furthermore, most Americans of the 1780s seemed adamantly opposed to a **consolidated or unitary government**, one in which all power is exercised by a central or national government.

If a large majority of Americans in the 1780s agreed on their need for a government that was both **republican and federal**, they certainly were divided about the kind of federal republic they should have. The anti-Federalists favored a **confederal system**, like the government under the Articles of Confederation, in which sovereign states would have the most significant powers. James Madison in *The Federalist* had a different scheme for dividing powers between a central or national (federal) government and several state governments, one that enhanced the powers of a national government within a Federal Union of states…

Madison's Model for a Federal Republic

In Madison's model, the national (federal) government has certain powers that are granted only to it in the Constitution. The state governments also have powers that the national government is not supposed to exercise. See the table [**How the Constitution Divides Powers**] for examples of how the Constitution—in line with Madison's model for the federal form of government—divides powers between the national and state governments. The table also shows that some powers are shared by both the national and state governments. Notice in the table that some powers are denied strictly to the federal government, some are denied to the state governments, and some are denied to both levels of government.

In the Madisonian federal system, the powers of the national government are limited by the Constitution. However, within its field or range of powers, the national (federal) government is supreme. The states can neither ignore nor contradict the Constitution and federal laws made under it. Thus, within certain limits set in the Constitution, the national government has supreme power over the states and the people within the federal system. In this federal system, two levels of government (national and state) exercise power separately and directly on the people at the same time. The people of each state must obey laws of their state government and their national government.

In the Madisonian model, the republican government of the United States would exercise power directly on all the states and people of a very large national domain, extending in 1787 from the Atlantic Coast in the east to the Mississippi River in the west and from the Canadian border in the north to the Florida border in the south. This scheme for a federal republic was bold and innovative, nothing less than the daring invention of a political system.

Before Madison, political thinkers were unanimous in believing that a republic could exist only in a rather small territory, where the people could be in direct contact with representatives who would readily know and respond to their interests and needs. And before Madison, a federal republic was conceived only as a loose union of sovereign small republics (this was the idea that Anti-Federalists defended against Madison's model of a federal republic).

Madison gave new meaning to the term, **federal republic**, a definition that has persisted until today. In *The Federalist*, Madison argued that it was both possible and desirable to have federalism and republicanism in a large territory, such as the United States. (See *The Federalist* 14.) And he argued that his "new federalism" occupied the middle ground between the extreme **confederalism** of his Anti-Federalist foes and the extreme nationalism of a unitary or consolidated form of government.

TABLE 1

Examples of How the Constitution Divides Powers

(From *James Madison and the Federalist Papers*, by John J. Patrick)

	TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	TO STATE GOVERNMENTS	TO BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT
POWERS GRANTED	To coin money To conduct foreign relations To regulate commerce with foreign nations & among states To provide an army and a navy To declare war To establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court To establish post offices To make laws necessary and proper to carry out the foregoing powers	To establish local governments To regulate commerce within a state To conduct elections To ratify amendments to the federal Constitution To take measures for public health, safety, & morals To exert powers the Constitution does not delegate to the national government or prohibit the states from using	To tax To borrow money To establish courts To make and enforce laws To charter banks and corporations To spend money for the general welfare To take private property for public purposes, with just compensation
POWERS DENIED	To tax articles exported from one state to another To violate the Bill of Rights To change state boundaries	To tax imports or exports To coin money To enter into treaties To impair obligations of contracts To abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens	To grant titles of nobility To permit slavery To deny citizens the right to vote because of race, color, or previous servitude To deny citizens the right to vote because of sex

Student Handout

Republicanism and Federalism in The Federalist Papers #14

From *James Madison and the Federalist Papers* by John J. Patrick: National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., in association with the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies Education/ Social Science Education, Indiana University and the National Center for America's Founding Documents, Boston University, 1990. Reprinted by permission of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Author's Note: In *The Federalist 14* James Madison discussed his ideas on federalism and republicanism. He defended these ideas against Anti-Federalist critics, who argued that it was not possible to have a federal republic in a large nation such as the United States of America. Examine the following excerpt from No. 14 of *The Federalist* and respond to the items that follow this document.

The Federalist No. 14 (Madison)

November 30, 1787

To the People of the State of New York:

WE HAVE seen the necessity of the Union as our bulwark against foreign danger, as the conservator of peace among ourselves, as the guardian of our commerce and other common interests, as the only substitute for those military establishments which have subverted the liberties of the old world, and as the proper antidote for the diseases of faction [majoritarian tyranny and social instability], which have proved fatal to other popular governments, and of which alarming symptoms have been betrayed by our own. All that remains within this branch of our inquiries is to take notice of an objection that may be drawn from the great extent of country which the Union embraces. A few observations on this subject will be the more proper as it is perceived that the adversaries of the new Constitution are availing themselves of a prevailing prejudice with regard to the practicable sphere [size of the territory] of republican administration, in order to supply by imaginary difficulties the want of those solid objections which they endeavor in vain to find.

The error which limits republican government to a narrow district [small territory] has been unfolded and refuted in [*the Federalist* 10].... [I]t seems to owe its rise and prevalence chiefly to the confounding of a republic [government by elected representatives of the people] with a democracy [a pure democracy, governed directly by majority rule of the people], and applying to the former [republic] reasonings drawn from the nature of the latter [pure or direct democracy]. The true distinction between these forms was also adverted to on a former occasion [*The Federalist 10*]. It is that in a [pure] democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person in a republic they assemble and administer it by their representatives and agents. A [pure or direct] democracy, consequently, must be confined to a small spot [with few people]. A republic may be extended over a large region....

As the natural limit of a [pure] democracy is that distance from the central point which will just permit the most remote citizens to assemble as often a they public functions demand, and will include no greater number than can join in those functions, so the natural limit of a republic is that distance from the center which will barely allow the representatives of the people to meet as often as may be necessary for the administration of public affairs. Can it be said that the limits of the United states exceed this distance? [Madison argues that the territory of the United States is not too large to permit effective republican government]....

Favorable as this view of the subject may be, some observations remain which will place it [a federal republic in a large territory] in a light still more satisfactory.

In the first place it is to be remembered that the general government is not to be charged with the whole power of making and administering laws. Its jurisdiction is limited to certain enumerated objects, which concern all the members of the republic, but which are not to be attained by the separate provisions of any. The subordinate governments [of the states], which can extend their care to all those other objects which can be separately provided for, will retain their due authority and activity [as the general or national government will not overwhelm and destroy the authority and powers of the state government]....

A second observation to be made is that the immediate object of the federal Constitution is to secure the union of the thirteen...States, which we know to be practicable; and to add to them such other States as may arise in [territories on and beyond the western frontier of the United States], which we cannot doubt to be equally practicable....

Let it be remarked, in the third place, that the [communication] throughout the Union will be facilitated by new improvements. Roads will everywhere be shortened and kept in better order; accommodations for travelers will be multiplied and meliorated; an interior navigation on our eastern side will be opened throughout, or nearly throughout, the whole extent of the thirteen States. The communication between the Western and Atlantic districts, and between different parts of each, will be rendered more and more easy by those numerous canals with which the beneficence of nature has intersected our country....

A fourth and still more important consideration is that as almost every State will on one side or other be a frontier, and will thus find, in regard to its safety, an inducement to make some sacrifices for the sake of the general protection; so the States which lie at the greatest distance form the heart of the Union, and which, of course, may partake least of the ordinary circulation of its benefits, will be at the same time immediately contiguous to foreign nations, and will consequently stand on particular occasions, in greatest need of its strength and resources [to provide protection against the threat of foreign powers]....

I submit to you, my fellow-citizens, these considerations, in full confidence that the good sense which has so often marked your decisions will allow them their due weight and effect; and that you will never [be influenced by those who argue against a firm and close Federal Union of the states and people of America]. Harken not to the unnatural voice which tells you that the people of America, knit together as they are by so many cords of affection, can no longer live together as members of the same family; can no longer continue the mutual guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow-citizens of one great, respectable, and flourishing [republican] empire. Harken not to the voice which petulantly tells you that the form of government recommended for your adoption is a novelty in the political world; that it has never yet had a place in the theories of the wildest projectors; that it rashly attempts what it is impossible to accomplish. No, my countrymen, shut your ears against this unhallowed language. Shut your hearts against the poison which it conveys; the kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens, the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights, consecrate their Union and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies. And if novelties are to be shunned, believe me, the most alarming of all novelties, the most wild of all projects, the most rash of all attempts, is that of rending us in pieces [weakening or destroying the Union of the American states] in order to preserve our liberties and promote our happiness. But why is the experiment of an extended republic to be rejected merely because it may comprise what is new? Is it not the glory of the people of America that, whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of the numerous innovations [such as the idea of an federal republic in a large territory] displayed on the American theater in favor of private rights and public happiness...

Publius

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Why does Madison prefer a large federal republic to a loose confederation of small republics? (According to Madison, how does his model of a federal republic provide greater safety, security, and liberty for individual and their communities?)
2. Explain each of the following points made by Madison:
   a. The state governments would retain significant authority and power within the federal union.
   b. Protection of all parts of the country against foreign powers would be increased.
3. How does Madison respond to critics who fault his model for being new or innovative? Do you agree with him?

CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF POWERS: THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE UNITED STATES

The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive, and judiciary, in the same hands...may be justly pronounced the very definition of tyranny.

—*James Madison,* Federalist No. 47

A majority can never replace the man....
Just as a hundred tools do not make one wise man,
an heroic decision is not likely to come from a hundred cowards.

—*Adolf Hitler,* Mein Kampf, Vol. 1.

I thought a 100 days was fairly reasonable—and I wasn't asking the Congress to deliver a hot pizza in 30 minutes.

—President George Bush, regarding his request that Congress pass a crime bill within 100 days; the time passed without one.

Summary of the Lesson

Working with primary source documentation, students work in groups to explore the concept of **separation of powers** (also referred to as a system of checks and balances) as outlined in both the United States and Russian Federation **Constitutions.** The opportunity for comparison is increased as students identify similarities and differences in how these two constitutions enumerate the responsibilities of the U.S. branches of government (i.e., **executive, judicial, legislative**) and the Russian versions of these branches (i.e., **state duma, federal assembly**).

Objectives for Students

Students will be expected to

- use primary sources to obtain factual information for comparison,
- understand the concept of separation of powers as outlined by the constitutions of two nations,
- compare the constitutional concept of separation of powers in two countries, especially as it relates to: law legislation, domestic policy, foreign policy, and elections.

Background Material for the Teacher

Most U.S. government textbooks used in high schools provide adequate background material for the teacher and students to review the concepts of separation of powers and even judicial review. The concept of using power to offset power is a fundamental concept in American government. Madison, Locke, and Montesquieu all argued against the concentration of power—those who make laws should not be empowered to enforce them. Although most state constitutions in America in the years after the Revolutionary War seemed to have heeded this principle, it might be worthwhile to point out to students or have them research the early state constitution of Pennsylvania which had an all-powerful legislative branch and no independent executive or judicial branch. Minority groups, including the Quakers (who had won few friends for their stand as conscientious objectors in the Revolutionary War), were persecuted and the right of trial by jury was eliminated.

Although it would have been easy to simply divide powers according to the branch of government—all power of the legislative functions goes to the legislative branch, for instance, a division of power in which institutions must cooperate served the interests of all branches. Teachers may want to review some examples of separation of powers and judicial review with students prior to beginning the lesson. For instance, how do all branches share the creation, passage, or interpretation of creating legislation? How are decisions such as authorizing taxes/spending, declaring war, or removing an elected official for wrong-doing affected by separation of powers?

Democracies place constitutional limits on the powers of government but not all are done through an elaborate system of separation of powers. The rule of law, however, checking the power of government, is one of the principles which sets democracies apart from authoritarian regimes (review the quote from Hitler and the quote from Madison). Models differ. Separation of power and especially judicial review is procedurally organized in a variety of ways in liberal constitutional democracies.

Finally, the background material **Weimar Russia?** by Galina Starovoitova provides some understanding of constitutional procedures in the Russian Federation. Students might also read this piece. (For further development of the issues related to federalism, see **Lesson 22: "Constructing Federalism: The Case of Russia."**

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

In a discussion during the framing of the United States constitution two American statesmen, Gouvenor Morris and Benjamin Franklin, both of Pennsylvania, were reported to have said:

> *G. Morris: "The President must not be impeachable."*
>
> *B. Franklin: "Well, he'd either be impeachable or he'd be assassinated."*
>
> *G. Morris: "My opinion has changed."*

Ask students why Morris's opinion changed. Why is it important to give another branch of government, in this case the Congress, the power and moral authority to pursue the possibility of impeaching a president—without the fear of a military takeover or a popular uprising? Is this true in all countries—but most especially in the Russian Federation?

Developing the Lesson

Students will work within one of eight groups or teams to research the limitations on power in constitutions of the United States and the Russian Federation. These expert groups will explore four areas: **laws** (their creation, implementation and interpretation); **domestic policy** (especially taxes and tariffs); **foreign policy** (including decisions about security and the armed forces); **elections**.

Law

- Team 1: A *United States team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government in the creation, implementation and interpretation of laws in the United States Constitution.
- Team 2: A *Russian Federation team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government in the creation, implementation and interpretation of laws in the Russian Federation Constitution.

Domestic Policy

- Team 3: A *United States team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government in the creation, implementation, and direction of domestic policy (including the powers related to taxes and tariffs, rights of states or republics, interstate trade, citizenship, etc.) in the United States Constitution.
- Team 4: A *Russian Federation team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government in the creation, implementation, and direction of domestic policy (including the powers related to taxes, tariffs, rights of states or republics, interstate trade, citizenship, etc.) in the Russian Federation Constitution.

Foreign Policy

- Team 5: A *United States team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government as it relates to foreign policy, national security, and the armed forces in the United States Constitution.
- Team 6: A *Russian Federation* team will explore the role played by the various branches of government as it relates to foreign policy national security, and the armed forces in the Russian Federation Constitution.

Elections

- Team 7: A *United States team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government as it relates to elections, immunity, impeachment in the United States Constitution.
- Team 8: A *Russian Federation team* will explore the role played by the various branches of government as it relates to elections, immunity, impeachment in the Russian Federation Constitution.

Each team must be able to present their information as it relates to these questions: (student handout entitled **A Guide to Comparison** can help give directions to the students)

1. How is the principle of separation of powers among the branches reflected in the topic they researched?
2. To what extent did this principle guarantee that tyranny or arbitrary rule by one of the branches was avoided (in the area they researched)?

Concluding the Lesson

Student teams should be paired in a jigsaw method so that those researching the U.S. Constitution are meeting with those researching the Russian Constitution in the same area (i.e. one person from Team 1 and one from Team 2 paired to compare information on laws). Each pair should construct a short presentation that shares the information and constitutional citations identified, explains similarities and differences, and indicates areas in which students need more information.

Teachers should be cautioned that this lesson concentrates on a constitutional comparison and is not designed to compare the functioning/governmental interpretation of these articles and sections of constitutions. Ultimately, the question of the relationship between formal institutions, as identified in documents such as a constitution, and informal practices in politics must be considered.

Extending the Lesson

After hearing students' presentations, students should write an essay comparing the two systems of government as they relate to the principle of separation of powers. What do they have in common and how are they different? Students should use the four criteria as a basis for the essay.

The teacher may want to allow time for a pre-writing activity. Students from the U.S. and Russian teams might again form small groups or work in pairs, this time across topics, to review the essay and brainstorm before they begin to write. The essay might also be shared in this small group for peer editing and review before final draft.

As mentioned earlier, teachers may want to investigate the interrelationship between constitutions and actual political practice. Laws, and especially political practices are in many cases far removed from the blueprint a constitution originally offered. A constitution can be beautifully constructed, providing for optimal separation of powers, when, in fact, power is centralized in one body or another.

Students might review and report on *Marbury v. Madison (1803)* in which Chief Justice John Marshall declared that the Court had the power of judicial review. On what basis in the United States Constitution could such an argument be made? Research might also be conducted on what portions have been changed by amendments and whether or not the amendments changed the principle of separation of powers.

Students might investigate and report on differences among voting age limitations in each country (and historically how they came to be), differences in succession, elections, duties of legislators, the role of judicial review.

Students may read the background material **Weimar Russia?** What issues does the author raise about the possible future of Russia which could be affected by the principles laid out in the Russian Constitution's separation of powers? If the Russian people have to "…learn how to wait" (in the words of V. Havel at the end of the article), will the separation of powers provide the branches sufficient decentralization or will the separation of powers leave loopholes for one branch to emerge? Or will the system simply prove too cumbersome and lengthy to allow reasonable "waiting"?

It is also good to point out that contemporary observers of government are critical of separation of powers because they say it results in intolerable delay and deadlock. Use the quotes at the beginning of the lesson to have students write their opinions about whether the concept of separation of powers is still relevant.

Student Handout

A Guide to a Comparison of Separation of Powers in the Russian Federation's Constitution and the United States Constitution

Do the constitutions of the United States and the Russian Federation provide for a separation of powers? The guide below might help direct you to where you can begin your search.

	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	UNITED STATES
Team working on laws—creation, implementation, and interpretation	Articles 15, 71, 76, 85, 104, 105, 107, 108, 125, 127	Articles 1, 3, 5, 6
Team working on creation and direction of domestic policy (taxes, tariffs, etc.)	Articles 7, 8, 9, 66, 71, 72, 74, 83, 85, 102, 104, 106, 114, 116, 117	Article 1
Team working on foreign policy—decisions, armed forces, security	Articles 11, 15, 71, 72, 86, 87, 102, 106, 108, 114, 116	Articles 1, 2
Team working on elections, impeachment, immunity	Articles 83, 91, 93, 98, 102, 103, 109, 110, 111, 121, 122, 129	Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, Amendments 12, 20, 23, 25

Background Material

Weimar Russia?

by Galina Starovoitova

From "Weimar Russia?" by Galina Starovoitova in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4.3 (July 1993): pp. 106–08. Copyright © 1993 Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Division, Baltimore, Maryland. Reprinted by permission of the Johns Hopkins University Press.

Galina Starovoitova is a member of the Russian parliament. When this article was written, she was active in the human rights committee and the constitutional commission. An expert on nationality issues, she has been outspoken in defending the rights of minority peoples. Her essay is drawn in part from her remarks at the Fourth World Conference of the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C., on 27 April 1993.

Russia is more than a thousand years old, but today it is also a newly independent state. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, we in Russia have been trying to implement simultaneously three peaceful transitions—from a command to a market economy; from Leninism to the institutions of democracy; and from imperial power to membership in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

During the abortive coup of August 1991, the Russian people fought for values of democracy, as unarmed men and women faced down tanks in front of the "White House" of our Russian parliament. Since then, Russia has opted for Western-style democracy, with its stress on individual liberty, political pluralism, separation of powers, an independent press, and safeguards for human rights. In the April 1993 referendum the Russian people once again demonstrated their commitment to democracy and a market economy. Despite all the difficulties of the initial period of shock therapy, they gave a clear vote of confidence to President Boris Yeltsin and the continuation of his economic reforms.

Yet in seeking to follow the Western political and economic model, Russia must overcome some especially difficult challenges. First, of course there are the lingering effects of more than 70 years of totalitarianism (not 40 as in Eastern Europe): as a result of these years, persistent patterns of totalitarian thinking have been deeply impressed upon the minds of three generations of Russians. But Russia must also confront both the legacy of its former imperial role within the Soviet empire and the great ethnic and cultural diversity that exists within the borders of today's Russian Federation.

The Soviet empire had some peculiarities that distinguished it from its Western counterparts. First of all, the colonies of this empire were situated not overseas but in neighboring territories, which resulted in a great intermingling of ethnic groups. A second peculiarity is that the metropole had a lower standard of living that some of its colonies.

The breakdown of the Soviet Union has left 25 million Russians living outside Russia; unfortunately, in the unaccustomed position of being an ethnic minority, having previously lived as representatives of the dominate nation in the empire. This has spawned much uneasiness among them, and our Russian nationalists have made attempts to play this card as part of their political game. They wield an idea well-known from German history—that of the great people which is tragically divided. This poses a great test for our newborn democracy in Russia.

Soon after the failed coup of August 1991, Russia voluntarily recognized the independence of the other former Soviet republics, and refused the role of "big brother." Yet our neighbors still remain very suspicious about the intentions of the Russian state. Unfortunately, those who harbor suspicious have some reasons for doing so.

In the aftermath of the Soviet Union's disintegration, there is concern about whether it will be possible to preserve the wholeness and integrity of Russia itself. Russia is one of two states in the world whose territory spans Europe and Asia (Turkey is the other). Though scattered over the vast expanse that stretches from the Baltic to the Pacific, the Russian people are culturally oriented toward Europe and the West. It must be kept in mind, however, that there are 126 different peoples living within the borders of the Russian Federation—almost as many as there were in the old Soviet Union. A number of these peoples—for example the Bour'yats, the Tuvans—have traditionally professed Islam or Buddhism, and are oriented toward the great cultures of Asia.

The integrity of any state rests upon two critical pillars: the economic interdependence among its regions and the existence of a common spiritual, cultural, or ideological bond. In today's Russia, transport and communications, along with high freight prices, pushes the outlying regions to seek economic contracts aboard rather than with remote parts of Russia.

After the fall of communism, the cultural and religious diversity of the peoples in Russia was no longer held down by a superimposed ideological unity. An ideological and political vacuum resulted, and so far it has not been filled with the programs or ideas of any major political party. After the long monopoly of the Communist Party, citizens are suspicious of party membership, of party discipline, and indeed of the very notion of a political party. Therefore, most parties in Russia are very small. Moreover, none of the existing parties or parliamentary factions makes a point of balancing or harmonizing the interests of the diverse ethnic groups in our population.

Thus the interests of the non-Russian peoples living within Russia go unrepresented, encouraging them to isolate themselves inside the borders of the former autonomous republics, some of which are now claiming to be sovereign entities in their own right. In contemporary Russian political discourse, however, the meaning of "sovereign" differs greatly from the meaning of "independent," and it is even considered proper to discuss different "degrees of sovereignty" within the framework of Russian Federation. Only the former republics of the U.S.S.R. are recognized as independent. Yet in the minds of many Russians, the "independence" of even Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan is something far-fetched and not to be taken seriously. In the view of those who disapprove of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and hope for its restoration, certain parts of Georgia, Estonia, and Moldova that are peopled by ethnic minorities (who are often mistreated and, by habit, still appeal to Moscow for help) should be under Russia's protection. This kind of mindset has led to the creation and deployment of Russian paramilitary groups in places like the Trans-Dniester region of Moldova or the Abkhazi region of Georgia. The actions and declarations of such armed Russians nationalists stimulate suspicion on the part of the newly created states toward Russia and its officially proclaimed political line of respecting their independence.

It is likely that secession may be tried by some of those republics within the Russian Federation where most people have Buddhist or Islamic ties. Secessionists tendencies are already evident in Tatarstan and Chechnya, and may develop in the recently created Ingush Republic as well as in Buddhist Tuva. Claims for greater economic and political sovereignty will probably come from other republics, as well as from the large historic economic regions of Russian "proper."

In my opinion, there may be some cases where the weight of historical, ethnic, demographic, and geopolitical circumstances indicates that the secession of smaller republics—accomplished via the free vote of a qualified majority and accompanied by other procedural safeguards—would be less problematic for Russia than any attempt to keep such lands by force. There is no question, however, that the danger of extreme-nationalist revolution is real, as the state of things in Russia comes more and more to resemble the plight that Germany's Weimar Republic faced in the 1920s. The widespread persistence of imperial thinking, the humiliation of a proud people, discrimination against its members living in bordering states, and the continual broadcasting of the concept of a "divided nation" all helped to pave the way for fascism. In the case of "Weimar Russia," we may add to this list economic deterioration, indifference and misunderstanding on the part of the West, and the sinister union that extreme right-wingers have formed with ex-communist hard-liners.

Russians have been unwilling to heed the sad lesson of German history because of our unexamined conviction that our country, having defeated a fascist regime in war, has thereby automatically become immune to fascism. This conviction, alas, is not necessarily true. The spiritual vacuum resulting from the collapse of communism is being rapidly filled by a Russian nationalism that is spreading throughout various strata of society—from the lowest levels up to the military offices and intelligentsia. The national idea itself has traditionally been associated more closely with the territorial greatness of Russia than with its historical traditions.

It remains an open question whether the liberal reforms that have occurred in Russia are irreversible. The results of April 1993 referendum were unexpectedly encouraging, especially given the hardships that the Russian people have borne during the period of shock therapy. Voters showed the wisdom and patience that are so essential in this time of change. As Václav Havel [Prime Minister of Czech Republic] has said, "We have learned how to destroy, we have learned how to build, and now we must learn how to wait."

The majority of Russians seem prepared to wait to enjoy the fruits of their peaceful revolution. But for how long? The answer to this question will be of momentous importance not only for Russia, but for the world.

"I DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR...": COMPARING PRESIDENTIAL POWER IN FOUR COUNTRIES

> ***The presidency is an office that encourages its occupant to think that he has more power than he actually does.***
>
> *—Donald Horowitz, summarizing remarks by Juan L. Linz*

> ***Who is the most sincere politician in the world? Answer: Milos Jakes (former party chief in Czechoslovakia), because he looks like an idiot, speaks like an idiot, and is an idiot.***
>
> *—popular joke in former Czechoslovakia regarding an "unelected" official*

Summary of the Lesson

The comparative **roles of the office of president** in the Russian Federation, the Czech Republic, Poland, and the United States serve as the core area for study in this lesson. Students will become acquainted with the basic **constitutional principles** which establish and/or limit presidential power in these nations. After comparing the **oaths of office** from each country, students analyze constitutions from each of the four countries to draw conclusions about the role of the executive office.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- use primary sources to obtain factual information for comparison,
- understand that the functions and duties of the presidency are outlined by constitutions,
- compare presidential requirements, the election process, and duties of the president in four countries, including three "emerging democracies."

Background Material for the Teacher

This lesson centers on the lack of congruence between the oath a president takes upon entering office and the powers that individual has in office. These oaths have many similarities, however, the actual powers of the president differs in each case. Presidential and parliamentary systems often share certain titles (i.e. the office of president), yet attach very different definitions and expectations for the position. American students, raised in an era of strong presidents, may find it difficult to understand that the president of other countries may be only a ceremonial figure.

This lesson should help students understand the three typical arrangements of governmental organization in a democracy: presidential, parliamentary, and mixed. Examples of each can be found around the world. In many cases, presidential power ebbs and flows with the individuals in the position. In some cases, a lack of constitutionally-defined powers has not stopped individuals from using the presidential office as an opportunity to influence public opinion (the "bully pulpit"). The executive office is often able to operate unilaterally, a strategy not often found in legislative bodies where members must rely on negotiations and coalitions to pass legislation. This is often particularly true in parliamentary governments. Refer to **Lesson 26: "Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System"** for more information about the functioning of parliaments.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Using the oaths of office taken by the presidents of the Russian Federation, the Czech Republic, the United States, and Poland (student handout **What Does a President Promise?**) as either an overhead transparency or handout, students might try to guess which of the four countries each oath comes from. The answers are as follows:

1) Poland, 2) the Czech Republic, 3) the United States, 4) the Russian Federation.

Discuss the differences and similarities of each oath and the inferences that might be made about the office of presidency based on the oaths once the answers have been revealed:

1. If the oaths seem similar, does that also mean that the duties and the functions of the offices will also be the same? For instance, does the president of the United States have the power to declare war?
2. Is this the same, do students think, in other countries?
3. Is there some expectation implied if an oath is seen as a "duty" as opposed to a "supreme obligation?"
4. Are there inferences or expectations of differences that students might anticipate when they see the word "homeland?"

Developing the Lesson

Divide the class into at least four groups. Explain to students that they will be using copies of constitutions from each of the four countries (The United States, Russia, Poland, and The Czech Republic) to determine how the role of the president is defined and to gain specific information regarding the responsibilities of the office. *(If time is limited, students may use the student handout* **Aids in Constitutional Comparison**, *which provides specific references to relevant sections of each constitution.)* Give students time to work with each document and tell them to concentrate on finding specific information with regard to the powers and role of the president. Students should record their findings on the student handout, **Constitutions and the Office of President.**

A representative from each group should write the answers on the board or large newsprint. Students can record the comparisons by completing the student handout **Organization of Power in the Office of President.**

Discuss or list the similarities and differences among the countries. (See student handout **Comparisons.**)

Remind students that they are working with only a part of each constitution and it might be easy to make wrong assumptions. For instance, can the president be a man or a woman? The sections about the office of the president may not mention this issue, leading students to conclude that both men and women are eligible for the presidency. However, such factors might be determined in another section about who has the right to vote, who is considered a citizen, etc.

Constitutions might also be amended in other places in the document (for instance, the method of electing the president and vice president of the United States is superseded by the 12th Amendment and the Vacancy section under Qualifications of the President has been affected by the 25th Amendment). Students who are working on the United States Constitution should spend time looking at these two amendments and making sure they realize, that unlike "emerging democracies" which often elect a president by direct vote, the United States electoral process for the presidency is still indirect.

Concluding the Lesson

Distribute copies of the student handout **It's Not So Good In....** This handout provides three fantasy situations that illustrate that all systems have weaknesses. Have students read the handout as a group or individually.

Ask students to identify the threats to the stability of each of the systems presented. (The president who can accept ill-considered resolutions, the parliament who has difficulties creating a coalition government, and the president and the parliament who cannot reach agreements.) What changes could avert these threats?

When students were in their first groups, they researched the constitutional powers of each country's president. Have students return to these original groups to create a short skit or role play. Understanding the connections between the oaths of office and the constitutional aspects of the office of president can be difficult. Role plays and skits encourage students to explore those connections.

Referring to the constitutional references and the oath of office, each skit should start from the oath of office ceremony and then flash to a situation that shows the powers and limitations of the president.

Extending the Lesson

Students might research the answers to questions generated during their analyses of the constitutions. For instance, why does the president of Poland have the ability to nominate the president of the National Bank of Poland? What role does a prime minister play in the organization of these countries?

Students could reflect on whether or not having a constitution or a president implies that the country is a democracy. Is it possible to have a president but not be a democracy? What other factors do students think might be necessary for a country to be considered a democracy? (See **Lesson 18: "What Democracy Is...and Is Not."**) How might the powers of a president be misrepresented or used to prevent the country from becoming a democracy? Are there sufficient checks and balances in place to prevent this from happening? Have students research this issue in the Czech Republic, Poland, the Russian Federation, and the United States.

Finally, students might be encouraged to bring in articles about the office of president from other Central and Eastern European nations. How do other emerging democratic nations organize the office of president?

Student Handout

Aids in Constitutional Comparison

In doing group work on the duties and function of the president's role, the following sections of the respective constitutions may be of assistance. Other sections of constitutions may also give information needed to gain an understanding of the role and duties of the president.

The Constitution of the Russian Federation:

term of office—Article 81
eligibility—Article 81
election—Article 81
salary—no mention
impeachment—Article 93
duties- Articles 83, 84, 86, 87, 88

The Constitution of the Czech Republic:

eligibility—Article 57
term of office—Article 55
election—Article 58
salary—no mention
impeachment—Article 65,
    also see Article 60
duties—Article 54, 62, 63
parliament—Articles 63, 64

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland:

eligibility—Article 29
term of office—Article 29
election—Article 29
salary—no mention
impeachment—Article 50
duties—Articles 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36,
    37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48
parliament—Articles 38, 46, 47

The Constitution of the United States:

Article II
Amendment XII
Amendment XX
Amendment XXII
Amendment XXV

Student Handout

What Does a President Promise?

Which oath of office do you think is taken by the president of the Russian Federation, the United States, the Czech Republic or Poland?

1. "Assuming, by the will of the Nation, the office of the President of the Republic of ____________, I do solemnly swear to be faithful to the provisions of the Constitution; I pledge that I will steadfastly guard the dignity of the Nation, the independence and security of the State, and also that the good of the homeland and the prosperity of its citizens shall forever remain my supreme obligation." ("...So help me, God" may be added)

2. "I pledge allegiance to the ____________ Republic. I pledge to uphold its Constitution and laws. I pledge on my honor to discharge my office in the interest of the people and in accordance with my best conviction and conscience."

3. "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of ____________, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of ____________."

4. "I vow, in the performance of my powers as the president of ____________ to respect and protect the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, to observe and protect the constitution of ____________, to protect the sovereignty and independence, security and integrity of the state and to serve the people faithfully."

Student Handout

Constitutions and the Office of President

COUNTRY ____

Using the constitution of the country you have been assigned, answer the following questions: (Select one person from your group to place your answers on the board or a chart for classroom comparison.)

Who can be president?

What is the president's term of office?

How is the president elected?

Is there a salary and how is it determined?

Is it possible to impeach the president? On what grounds and by whom?

Is there mention of a prime minister or parliament who might share the president's power?

What are the duties of the president? Look specifically for:

1. selection of staff
2. working with other branches of the government or other government organizations
3. conducting foreign policy
4. ensuring national security

Organization of Power in the Office of the President

Questions	President of Russian Federation	President of Republic of Poland	President of Czech Republic	President of United States
Who can be president?				
What is the president's term of office?				
How is the president elected?				
Is there a salary and how is it determined?				

Questions	President of Russian Federation	President of Republic of Poland	President of Czech Republic	President of United States
Is it possible to impeach the president? On what grounds and by whom?				
What are the duties of the president? Especially in regards to: 1. selection of staff; 2. working with other government organizations or other branches of government; 3. direction (conduct) of foreign policy; 4. ensuring national security.				
Is there mention of a parliament or prime minister?				

Comparison

SIMILARITIES OF ROLES	DIFFERENCES OF ROLES

COMPARATIVE LESSONS FOR DEMOCRACY
Published by the Center for Civic Education in cooperation with The Ohio State University

Student Handout

It's Not So Good In...

IT'S NOT SO GOOD IN PRESIDENTIA

The presidential elections were won by the leader of the Reform Party, Mr. X. During the election campaign period he promised the voters war on crime, economic prosperity, more aid to the unemployed, low credit to businessmen, and tax cuts. Everyone was satisfied with this and voted for him. After half a year it turned out that the president was not able to fulfill his promises. Money was lacking to wage war on crime and to increase aid, so it happened that taxes were raised on several accounts. That caused dissatisfaction among the businessmen, who closed their enterprises and went abroad. An economic crisis ensued. Nevertheless, the president stubbornly continued to increase taxes and began to spend more money. That caused the value of the money to fall (known as inflation). Additionally, the president instigated war with a neighboring state. The voters were all extremely dissatisfied. The Reform Party expelled him from its ranks, but it was not possible to recall the president since he was elected to four years and there were no terms for impeachment. In addition, he is not subject to the authority of either the parliament or his party.

IT'S NOT SO GOOD IN PARLIAMENTIA

In the parliamentary elections twenty parties participated, ten of them received the same number of seats in Parliament—each had ten. None of the parties had a majority, but to confirm the government, parliamentary majority support had to be obtained. So at least five parties needed to collaborate (create a coalition). However, the platforms of the parties were so different that conflict ensued on each question. Over a six month period, three administrations were replaced since, in deciding policy on custom duties, the farmer and liberal views were at odds. In deciding on defense policy the nationalists and social democrats could not reconcile their differences. The amount of pensions was a source of conflict for the conservatives and the socialists. In each instance, a new coalition had to be formed. As a result, legislative activity came to a standstill. The deputies were preoccupied trying to set up a stable government, but without success. Chaos ruled the state, crime and illegal importing increased, laws were confused and incomprehensible. The voters were all dissatisfied. However, no one could dismiss parliament since both the president and the administration were appointed and dismissed by parliament itself; each session of parliament lasted three years. In turn, the party majority did not want to risk new elections, since they could not be sure of getting as many votes, and they did not want to lose their places.

IT'S NOT SO GOOD IN MIXTENIA

Both the president and the parliament were elected by all the voters for five years in a direct election. They were not subject to or responsible for one another. The responsibilities of the president included the formation and leadership of the administration. The duties of parliament included the ratification of administration and legislation. The president was elected the leader of the Democrats, who wanted economic reforms, including the privatization of state enterprises. But the majority in Parliament was won by the Socialist party, who considered privatization and reforms harmful to the people's interests. The president set up an administration, but Parliament rejected it. The president made a decree about privatization, but Parliament made a law that disallowed it. Then the president worked out a new constitution which was intended to increase his powers; Parliament rejected it. The president initiated a referendum of good faith in an attempt to re-establish the people's support for him; Parliament considered it unlawful. The president declared Parliament dissolved; the majority of Parliament's deputies began an opposition campaign, inviting the people to revolt. The threat of civil war ensued in the state. Everyone was dissatisfied, but no one could see a way out unless one of the powers withdrew or made concessions to the opposition. The constitution made no provisions for an all-out dispute between the powers of the state.

POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT: THE CASE OF LATVIA

There is a danger from all men. The only maxim of a free government ought to be to trust no man living with power to endanger the public liberty.

—John Adams (1772)

Summary of the Lesson

By studying the **constitutional powers** and limitations of the Latvian presidency, and analyzing one of four problematic executive power scenarios in small groups, students will gain insight into the **executive branch** of government within this **parliamentary system**. They will then compile respective press releases on behalf of the Latvian president, based upon their understanding of relevant articles in the Latvian Constitution (*Satversme*). This lesson's comparative focus enables students to gain further comprehension of the powers and limitations of the U.S. presidency as well. Through this analytical process, students will better understand the system of **checks and balances** evident in both constitutions.

Objectives

Students should be expected to

- understand the powers and limitations of the Latvian president as outlined in the Latvian Constitution (*Satversme*),
- apply understanding of relevant sections of the Latvian Constitution to one of four scenarios,
- participate in small group discussion, problem-solving, writing, presentation and defense of a press release,
- compare and contrast the powers of the Latvian president with those of the U.S. president.

Background Material for the Teacher

See background material **Powers of the President of the United States** in this lesson.

For additional information on the separation of powers, see **Lesson 23: "Constitutional Separation of Powers: The Russian Federation and the U.S."** For more opportunities to compare the role of the president across different contexts, see **Lesson 24: "'I Do Solemnly Swear': Presidential Powers in Four Countries."**

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Describe the following situation to students:

> *Country A is considered an important ally of the United States for both economic and political reasons. As a democratic state, Country A is constantly threatened by hostile, authoritarian regimes on its borders. News reports from the region have just alleged that Country A is under attack from Country B, a military dictatorship on its eastern border. The president of the United States calls a press conference and announces that American troops are already en route to Country A to help defend this ally against its aggressor. In an emotional appeal to the country, the president explains that "as commander-in-chief, I assume full responsibility for the lives of these American soldiers in this time of war."*

Ask students if the American president has the power to make this decision. What limits the president's power in this situation?

Explain that the U.S. Constitution gives the president the power to make foreign policy but that only Congress has the power to declare war. Congress can also raise and support armies, maintain a navy, and make rules governing land and naval forces.

Also, according to the War Powers Act of 1973, (passed over President Nixon's veto) the president is forbidden from committing troops for more than 60 days without congressional notification within 48 hours. Almost every president has challenged the constitutionality of this law. So, although the president is the commander-in-chief, s/he does not have the power to declare war.

Ask students what advantages and disadvantages exist in forcing the executive and legislative branches to be dependent on one another in this situation.

Explain that this separation of powers is often considered one of the most important principles for defining a democracy. Latvia is an example of a country which is in the process of establishing a democratic form of government.

Developing the Lesson

Divide the class into four (or eight—depending on class size) groups. Tell students that each group will be analyzing a separate case study (and that these are different scenarios than the one given earlier).

Have students read the student handout **Powers of the President of Latvia**, reprinted from the *Satversme*, the Latvian Constitution. (Note: the complete *Satversme* is in the appendix of this collection of lessons, as is the U.S. Constitution.) Suggest that they first read through the handout to get a general sense of the material, then examine it more closely in their groups, after they have been assigned a specific task.

Distribute one case to each of the four groups (or, if there are eight groups, the same case will be given to two groups). Explain to students that they are to

1. read the case and discuss the questions with their group members,
2. consult the information adapted from the *Satversme* and identify which parts of the Latvian Constitution are applicable to their case,
3. prepare a press statement from the president's office explaining the situation and either why s/he is justified in pursuing the actions identified in the case and cite the appropriate measures from the Constitution **OR** why the president cannot pursue the course identified in the case and the provisions in the Constitution which prohibit this action.

(Note: Each group should elect one student to record the group's decision(s), as well as someone who will read the press release to the rest of the class. All other group members should be prepared to answer questions that may arise about the decision(s).

Allow 30-40 minutes to accomplish the task.

Concluding the Lesson

Have each group's designated representative read his or her respective press release in front of the rest of the class. Students should act as reporters and challenge the statement according to their knowledge, interpretation and understanding of the relevant articles of the Latvian Constitution. Again, group members should be prepared to respond to such questions.

After every group has presented, ask students to identify other ways in which the powers of the president are limited by the Latvian Constitution.

Then, discuss the ways in which the powers of the American president are limited. (See background material **Powers of the President of the United States**. *Note: This piece does not include an exhaustive listing of all constitutional references to executive power. Rather, these selections could be considered sufficiently relevant for the purposes of this comparative discussion.*) Lead students in a discussion about why the writers of both the American and Latvian Constitutions felt it was important to create a balance of powers. What are the disadvantages of distributing power across different branches of government?

Extending the Lesson

Have students write essays in which they identify the pros and cons of a separation of power. These essays could be used as the basis for a class debate in which students assume one position or the other.

Also, students might be asked to create cases of their own, using either the Latvian or the U.S. Constitutions.

Using the information provided in the handouts which summarize the powers of the presidency in the United States and Latvia, have students develop a chart which compares and contrasts these two executive offices. These charts could be used to develop essays.

Have students engage in a simulation by adding several other countries to the above scenario. Assign roles to each student and designate a forum for discussion, such as a U.N. conference on the issue of executive power.

Have students research specific instances (in the U.S. or elsewhere) when executive power has been challenged. What were the issues involved? What were the results?

Background Material

Powers of the President of the United States

The following is a limited selection of sections from the Constitution of the United States which refer to the powers of the U.S. Presidency:

Article II [The Executive Branch]
Section 1. [President and Vice President]

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America....
8. Before he enters on the execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath of Affirmation: *"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."*

Section 2. [Powers of the President]

1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.
2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law. But the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.
3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. [Duties of the President]

He shall from time to time give to Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. [Impeachment]

The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Student Handout

Powers of the President of Latvia

The following is a limited selection of articles from the Latvian Constitution (Satversme) which refer to the powers of the of the Latvian president. Note that the *Saeima* is the Latvian parliament and that the president is referred to here as "President of State." Although the references in this translation refer to a male president, there are no stipulations limiting the rights of women to serve as president.

Section 3. [The President of State]

40. On assuming office at the first sitting of the Saeima after his election, the President of State shall take the following solemn oath: *"I swear that all of my efforts shall be devoted to the good of the people of Latvia. I will do everything in my power to promote the well-being of the State of Latvia and its population. I will hold sacred and observe the Constitution and the state laws of Latvia. I will be just to all persons and I will fulfill my duties to the best of my ability."*

41. The President of State shall represent the State in an international capacity; he shall accredit Latvian representatives abroad, and receive accredited representatives of foreign states. He shall carry out the decisions of the Saeima concerning the ratification of international treaties.

42. The President of State shall be the chief of the armed forces of the State. In a time of war, he shall appoint a Commander-in-Chief.

43. The President of State shall declare war on the basis of a decision of the Saeima.

44. The President of the State shall have the right to take steps indispensable to the military defense of the country, if another State has declared war on Latvia, or if an enemy is attacking Latvian frontiers. At the same time, the President of State shall immediately convene the Saeima, which shall decide upon the declaration of war and the commencement of hostilities.

45. The President of State shall have the right to pardon criminals undergoing penal sentences. This right of pardon shall not apply to cases where the Law provides a different mode of pardon. This right of pardon shall not apply to cases where the Law provides a different mode of pardon. Amnesty shall be granted by the Saeima.

47. The President of State shall have the right of legislative initiative.

48. The President of State shall have the right to propose the dissolution of the Saeima. This shall be followed by a referendum. If in the referendum more than one-half of the votes are cast in favour of dissolution, the Saeima shall be considered as dissolved and new elections shall be proclaimed. These elections shall take place within two months after the dissolution of the Saeima.

49. Upon dissolution of the Saeima, its members shall retain their powers until the newly-elected Saeima has assembled. The former Saeima may only assemble on being convened by the President of the State. The agenda for such sittings shall be determined by the President of State.

50. If in the referendum the dissolution of the Saeima is opposed by more than one-half of the votes cast, the President of State shall be regarded as dismissed and the Saeima shall elect a new President of State for the remaining period of office of the President who has been dismissed.

51. On the motion of not less than one-half of the members of the Saeima, the Saeima, at the sitting to which the public is not admitted, may decide by a majority vote of not less than two-thirds of their number, to dismiss the President of State. After this decision, the Saeima shall immediately elect a new President of State.

52. Should the President of State resign from his office, die or be dismissed before the end of his office, the duties shall be carried out by the Chairman of the Saeima, pending the election of a new President of State. Likewise, the Chairman of the Saeima shall take the office of the President of State, should the latter be absent from the territory of Latvia or in any other way be prevented from fulfilling his duties.

53. The President of State shall not bear political possibility for his actions. All decrees of the President of State shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister, or by the Minister concerned, who shall thereby assume full responsibility for the decrees, except in cases foreseen in Articles forty-eight and fifty-six.

54. The President of State may be held criminally accountable if the Saeima sanctions thus with a

majority vote of not less than two-thirds of its members.

Section 5. [Legislation]

65. Draft laws may be presented to the Saeima by the President of State, the Cabinet, the Committees of the Saeima, no less than five members of the Saeima or, in cases and in a manner provided for in this Constitution, by one-tenth of the electors.

69. The President of State shall promulgate [proclaim] laws passed by the Saeima not before the seventh and not later than the twenty-first day after their adoption. If no other term is fixed, the laws shall take effect fourteen days after their promulgation.

70. The President of State shall promulgate laws according to the following formula: "The Saeima (i.e. the People) has adopted and the President of State promulgates the following law: (text of law)."

71. Within seven days after the adoption of a law by the Saeima, the President of State shall be entitled to ask, by means of explanatory letter addressed to the Chairman of the Saeima, for the review of that law. If the Saeima does not amend the law, the President of State shall not have the right to raise any further objections.

72. The President of State shall have the right to suspend the promulgation [proclamation] of a law for a period of two months. He shall suspend the promulgation at the request of not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima...[continues in more detail].

75. Should the Saeima determine the urgency of a law with a majority of not less than two-thirds, the President of State may not demand a second review of the law; it may not be submitted to a referendum and shall be promulgated within three days after the President has received the adopted law.

78. Not less than one-tenth of the electors shall have the right to submit to the President of State a fully elaborated draft for the amendment of the draft law, which shall be submitted to the Saeima by the President. If the Saeima does not adopt this draft law without substantial amendments, it shall be submitted to a referendum.

Student Handout

Case #1

Scenario

A crisis has arisen in the state as the result of economic difficulties. In all major cities, workers are on strike and transportation is paralyzed. Some political groups are planning an armed plot against the president. There is discussion that voters may move to dismiss the government. Demonstrations are widespread and there is some violence. Several people have been seriously injured. The Cabinet cannot control the situation in the country. The president decides that it is necessary to proclaim a "State of Emergency," calls in the army, proclaims that the country is under martial law and makes other necessary steps to provide stability.

Your task

You are the advisory group for the president. You have to decide how the president should act, according to the *Satversme* Answer the following questions:

1. Does the president have the right to act as s/he decided?
2. What should the president do, according to the *Satversme*?

Write down your decisions and indicate the articles of the *Satversme* that identify the legal guidelines for action in this case.

Student Handout

Case #2

Scenario

Latvia imports a lot of grain from various foreign countries. The grain is cheap because trade tariffs are low, according to agreements with the European Union. There is growing discontentment among Latvian farmers; many of them face bankruptcy because they cannot compete with the lower prices from countries with more advanced agricultural technology. Each day there are more and more demonstrations against the government. The president decides s/he wants to raise trade tariffs, making the imported grain more expensive and the Latvian grain more competitive.

Your task

You are the advisory group for the president. You have to decide how the president should act, according to the *Satversme*. Answer the following questions:

1. Does the president have the right to act as s/he decided?
2. What should the president do, according to the *Satversme*?

Write down your decisions and indicate the articles of the *Satversme* that identify the legal guidelines for action in this case.

Student Handout

Case #3

Scenario

During the last three months the president did not sign any law made by the *Saeima* (the parliament). The president also did not return the laws for the *Saeima* to revise them. The president's representatives have explained the passivity of the president by saying that he is preparing a very important visit to the U.S. and thinks that the recent laws are less important than the upcoming visit. The members of the *Saeima* are publicly attacking the president, claiming he is irresponsible and more worried about foreign policy than domestic issues.

Your task

You are the advisory group for the president. You have to decide how the president should act, according to the *Satversme*. Answer the following questions:

1. Does the president have the right to act as s/he decided?
2. What should the president do, according to the *Satversme*?

Write down your decisions and indicate the articles of the *Satversme* that identify the legal guidelines for action in this case.

Student Handout

Case #4

Scenario

The president of Latvia decides that the Latvian military force is too weak. To strengthen the national defense, the president starts reorganizing the army's forces. Using presidential power, the president appoints a new commander-in-chief, orders him to mobilize 2000 more recruits and make new positions in the army's organization. The president also appoints some other high commanders and commands the army forces be in a higher state of readiness for action. The president is being criticized for interfering too much with the military and appearing to threaten Latvia's neighbors.

Your task

You are the advisory group for the president. You have to decide how the president should act, according to the *Satversme* Answer the following questions:

1. Does the president have the right to act as s/he decided?
2. What should the president do, according to the *Satversme*?

Write down your decisions and indicate the articles of the *Satversme* that identify the legal guidelines for action in this case.

COALITION BUILDING IN A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

> ***The community is a fictitious body, composed of the individual persons who are considered as (a) constitution…as it were, its members. The interest of the community, then, is what? The sum of the interests of the several members who compose it.***
>
> —*Jeremy Bentham,* An Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation, *1780*

> ***In the space of little more than a year, the one-party monopolies of Eastern Europe crumbled, and instead of dissolving into fratricidal chaos (aside from Yugoslavia) as some pessimists had feared, these societies quickly gave rise to a welter of new political formations…. Many of these were embryonic parties with little power and few prospects…. Clearly for a parliamentary system to function effectively, the parliament must be set up so as to provide a basis for strong coalitions. In short, a strong parliamentary system requires a strong parliament.***
>
> —*Sabrina Petra Ramet,* Social Currents in Eastern Europe, *1995.*

Summary of the Lesson

In a simulation, students try to form a **coalition** which mirrors the issues and **platforms** of political parties in a composite Central and Eastern European country. Students will develop **compromise** strategies to achieve 51% (or more) in the **parliament** and succeed in forming a **coalition government**. Students will also learn about how prime ministers are elected, providing a basis for future comparisons between the roles of president and prime minister.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- understand coalition building and why it is necessary in a parliamentary system,
- develop an understanding of the basic concepts of how a parliament is formed,
- appreciate the need for compromise in a parliamentary system,
- discuss some of the issues which face Central and Eastern European countries in a multi-party system.

Background Material for the Teacher

Democratic forms of government need to carry out business based on, among other things, the acceptance that decision making is most often achieved by compromise. Nowhere is this more true than in a parliamentary system, where compromise results in coalition building, groups seeking to form partnerships with other groups to promote their own interests. Coalition building means that there are elements of a party program or platform which a political party is willing to put aside in order to achieve more important parts of their agendas. (See also background material **Parliamentary Government.**)

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Write on the board, or provide as an overhead, the following quotation:

> *"A compromise is a way of reconciling differences among different sides in which everybody has to give up something."*
> —Marcin Krol

Encourage students to recall some situation in which they had to compromise on an issue.

1. What did they want, what could they accomplish, and what did they have to give up?
2. How is compromise reached in a situation in which, once the compromise has been agreed upon, one side feels as if it has lost and, therefore, starts to fight again, only more cleverly?

Developing the Lesson

Ask students if anyone can explain what a parliament is or how a parliament with a prime minister works.

1. How is a prime minister chosen and what is his or her job?
2. Which countries have parliaments? (Use background material provided for preliminary presentation or discussion ideas.)
3. Does the parliamentary or presidential system seem most effective? (Based on what students already know.)

Let students know that they will participate in a simulation which demonstrates how a parliament works and why its success is dependent upon coalition building. Before dividing the class, students may need to generate a definition of coalition. Stress that a coalition involves partnership-building and compromise, not just taking sides to be in common opposition to someone else.

Divide the class into five different sections. Assign each group a party name as indicated by the chart (Family Values and Fatherland Party, Labor Party, Green Party, Peasant and Farmer's Union Party, Business Party). Groups should be arranged in five distinct sections, from left to right, according to the European tradition of positioning parties in parliament from liberal to conservative.

Arrange groups in the following order:
(Left) Green Party / Business Party / Labor Party / Peasant Party / Family Party (Right).
This will also provide students with an orientation for their party's political orientation, as well as those of the other parties. (See student handout **Programs of the Political Parties** for party issues.)

Give each group a sheet of poster paper and markers to design a party symbol/slogan. Groups should look over the issues that their party (and the others) support. Give students time to clarify their positions. The simulation does not necessarily represent a particular Central and Eastern European country but a composite of several. The issues, however, are current to some Central and Eastern European countries. Make each group understand its party's position on education, military-spending, free trade, environment, women's issues, immigrants, etc. The issue in bold print is the most important one. Their party promised voters they would support this issue during the election. Parties cannot compromise on this issue.

Parties need to know how well they did in the elections—in other words, how many seats did they win? The teacher might assign a percent of seats or the following five percentages could be put into a box and be drawn by a representative from each group: 21% 20% 19% 18% 17% (total 95%). The remaining 5% represents the smaller parties which achieved only a few seats each in parliament.

The purpose of the simulation is to demonstrate the difficulties in devising a common platform by groups with different goals. Yet, working together can virtually guarantee that those parties will be supported when major issues are raised. This is important to the voters who elected them to parliament and who wish to see certain issues become legislation. In addition, students must reconcile differences, be realistic, and generate support.

Each group must be given time to devise a coalition strategy. Which parties would be likely partners? What elements of the party platform can they sacrifice? Compromise? What can they offer? If they achieve a partnership (to achieve 51% partnerships will need to involve at least three parties), how will leadership be determined? Who, for instance, will share power in the cabinet? Who would be guaranteed approval (since the parliament would ensure the vote) as prime minister if her or his name is placed in nomination?

Instruct groups that they have a limited time to execute their strategies so they should plan before they negotiate. Groups should select representatives who will negotiate on the group's behalf, while other members stay in the group to discuss with representatives from the other groups who come to negotiate. It is important that all group members understand what can be discussed and how much of their plan to reveal. Each group can form its own tactics but no group or representatives can unilaterally decide changes in the party platform.

Remind students that there can be no compromise on the one issue which represents the main platform of each party (the one in bold print). All potential coalitions must also address each of the issues on the handout and be prepared to report their position. *Remember that a coalition must attain at least a 51% to be a majority coalition.* A higher percentage is better. Once a coalition is formed, the unified policy should be decided; all factions of the group must promise to vote according to the agreement. For instance, if the coalition decides they will agree "NO" on tariffs, then their voting must reflect this and each member of the coalition would vote against tariffs.

Once a majority coalition has emerged, the coalition should choose a leader to present an agreed-upon program to the rest of the class. (The handout **Coalition Report** might be useful to make sure that the coalitions address each point). If the remaining groups have formed a coalition (below that of 50%), they should choose their leader to make a presentation which promotes their program and points out the problems in the majority coalition's program. If there are two groups who have not joined the majority coalition, the party with the larger percentage of votes should make the presentation.

The majority and minority coalitions might each put forward a candidate for prime minister. In the election which follows between the two candidates, it can generally be assumed that the majority coalition's candidate will win. In some governments a president will nominate someone from the majority coalition as prime minister. The role of elected leader is designated as prime minister. His or her name might only be placed in nomination in a ceremonial sense, all parties understand she or her will be elected.

Concluding the Lesson

After each coalition has presented a platform, a vote should be taken on each issue. Students are reminded that they must vote as a party member who has agreed to be part of a coalition platform. If there are students who have not been part of a coalition (because their party did not join one), they would be free to vote along only their party's lines. Students should see that being part of a coalition gives them power and the assurance that at least some of their issues will be voted passed.

Extending the Lesson

Students could create lists of countries (other than those mentioned in the background material for teachers) who have some form of parliamentary government (based on outside research). Students might also choose a country with a parliamentary form of government and make a diagram which shows how power is shared or designated.

Students might write about the simulation, the purpose of the exercise, its effectiveness, and their role (as well as the roles of their teammates). Students might work individually (or do pre-writing activities and brainstorming in a group) on the questions found on student handout **Assessment on Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System.**

Based on the simulation and the assessment, students could write an essay about the advantages and disadvantages of a parliamentary system.

Finally, students might use the student handout **Voting Methods Around the World** to more clearly understand how an elected official (such as a United States senator or a Polish legislator) comes into office. They might try to set up a system whereby an officer in a club at school or a student government representative is elected through another method. For instance, how would such a system as Preference Voting work in a student council election if each voter could cast two or even three votes, not just one?

Guidelines for Student Responses

From student handout "Assessment on Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System."

1. There is much debate in the United States on the notion of compromise in the legislative process. Many experts argue that compromise is necessary for the government to work. Others believe compromise is a clear example of politicians saying one thing to get elected and doing another while in office.

2. Compromise between various parties seems more typical in parliamentary systems. However, it is not unusual for politicians to step across party boundaries in votes within presidential systems (i.e. a Democratic representative who votes with a majority of Republicans on a particular issue). Both forms of compromise have benefits and drawbacks. Students' answers should reflect their experiences in the simulation and any additional reading they might do.

3. Using graphic organizers or diagrams will assist students as they attempt to clarify the operations of these two systems. Remember, real life examples are not 'pure.' Students will have to build on prior knowledge of presidential systems in order to answer this question. Diagrams should reflect the more hierarchial system in presidential organizations and the horizontal linkages that are prevalent among parties in parliamentary systems.

Background Material

Parliamentary Government

by Doreen Uhas-Sauer

Democracies

Most students know that democracy is a system of government in which the people rule (*demos* meaning people and *kratia* meaning rule), and they will also know that direct democracy, in which people govern themselves by voting as individuals, can generally happen only in very small societies. Most students are much more familiar with representative democracy in which people elect representatives to vote and to conduct the business of government. Not all democracies function as representative democracies, just as not all democracies are republics (one in which voters hold sovereign power, as opposed to Great Britain with a constitutional monarch as head of state or the People's Republic of China which operates as an oligarchy).

President and Prime Minister

Students are generally not as familiar with a parliamentary form of government and the variations of parliamentary/presidential governments which can be found in most democracies around the world. In most presidential systems, like the United States, the president is both the head of government and the head of state. However, in many parliamentary systems, a prime minister is the head of government, and a monarch is the head of state—or a president, who has often been elected by the people. The prime minister is a member of parliament, functions under its control and is responsible to parliament. In some cases, a prime minister is appointed by the president, but the prime minister is still in charge of directing the government's administration and is responsible to the government. The leadership of a president can differ substantially from that of a prime minister since a president, as the head of one branch of government (executive), does not have to share executive power with the law-making branch (legislative). Presidents and legislatures must depend on each other for passing legislation and supporting presidential leadership. However, a prime minister shares executive power with a cabinet, the leadership of a coalition government. Once agreement is reached at this level, the prime minister is generally assured of support to pass legislation and to carry out policy decisions.

Examples of Democracies

Parliamentary government, in some form, is more common in democracies than presidential governments. For instance, the following countries have parliamentary or presidential forms:

- *Presidential systems*: Mexico, United States, Venezuela
- *Presidential/Parliamentary systems*: Finland, France
- *Parliamentary systems*: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden

The Russian Federation is now governed by a constitution written by the staff of the president and approved by Russian voters in 1993. The document provides for a popularly-elected president (no vice president), a government of ministers headed by a prime minister, and a two house legislature (the Federal Assembly which is made up of the Federation Council and the State Duma). The president has extensive powers and nominates a candidate for prime minister to the Federal Assembly where the State Duma is given the power to confirm the nomination. The prime minister is responsible for the day-to-day operation of the government.

Poland's prime minister is nominated by the president and confirmed by the lower house of legislature, the Sejm [pronounced SAME]. The prime minister acts as chair of the cabinet or council of ministers and the composition of the cabinet is specified by law to include deputy ministers and chairs of commissions or committees. Poland's president deals largely with issues of international importance and security issues. All acts of the president must be countersigned by the prime minister to be legal.

Likewise, Hungary has a prime minister nominated by the president and confirmed by the National Assembly (unicameral). The Czech Republic's prime minister, nominated by the president, is confirmed by the lower house of the legislature, the Chamber of Deputies; however, the Czech Republic has a bicameral [two body] house, the other being the Senate. In Latvia, the parliament elects the government and the president.

It should be emphasized that presidential nomination in these cases is merely formal. The

Hungarian president, for example, should (or even "must") nominate the announced leader of the party which garnered the relative majority in the parliamentary elections. So the Hungarian president has no real opportunity to choose and nominate somebody for the office of prime minister.

Conclusion

Central and Eastern European countries (including Latvia, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic) have an emerging form of government. These systems are not only evolving, but are tenuous and the power often shifts with agreement by the voting population. (Information about the governments of these countries changes quickly, making it essential to obtain up-to-date and accurate details.)

Generally, in a parliamentary system, voters elect only a legislature—the legislature then elects the executive branch from its own ranks. Even if a president is elected directly by the voters, the role of a prime minister (who emerges from the major party or a coalition of parties) runs the day-to-day operation of the government and is confirmed by some portion of the legislature.

The prime minister has the right to nominate the members of his/her cabinet and the president must confirm these nominations. There is only one way to vote against the prime minister's power, that is to introduce a *motion of no confidence*. It is a difficult and unusual process in most parliamentary governments.

Programs of the Political Parties

FAMILY VALUES AND FATHERLAND	LABOR	GREEN	PEASANT AND FARMERS' UNION	BUSINESS
preserve open land for sake of rural values	develop portions of state-held land for industry such as coal/timber	preserve open land	preserve openland, increase Agriculture	sell portions of open land for development
protect agricultural jobs	**develop industry over agriculture but protect farm interests**	preserve agricultural jobs	**preserve agricultural jobs**	pro-agriculture; small farms should exist with large agribusiness
do not grant citizenship to immigrants	do not grant citizenship to immigrants	grant citizenship to immigrants	do not grant citizenship to immigrants	grant citizenship to immigrants
continue mandatory retirement for women at age 60 (men at 65) in business/govt.	equalize retirement age for men/women	equalize retirement age for both	mandatory retirement for women at age 60	continue mandatory retirement for women and men at age 63
local control of schools but want state support for religious schools	against state-mandated control of schools; open curriculum	favor open curriculum/no state-mandated education	favor local control in schools and curriculum	favor state-managed education/curriculum
remove trade barriers with Western Europe	increase exports	**eliminate importing of products/raw materials harmful to environment/favor free trade**	increase exports & limit import	**favor wide-open of trade/few taxes**
increase budget for military spending	against increased spending for military	opposed to military increases over environmental clean up issues	maintain present military spending	increase military spending

Student Handout

Coalition Report

Where does your coalition stand on the following issues?

Preservation of natural habitats or the development of these lands for state or private interests?

Agricultural jobs and interests?

Citizenship for immigrants?

Mandatory retirement age for women at age 60?

Locally-controlled school curriculum or state-mandated curriculum?

Trade with Western Europe, imports, tariffs on certain items, other restrictions on imports?

Military spending?

Who is in your coalition? What percentage of the vote is represented in your coalition?

Student Handout

Assessment on Coalition Building in a Parliamentary System

1. In a democratic society, why do different political groups try to reconcile their differences?

2. What are the benefits of compromise in a democracy? To what extent does compromise work in a parliamentary system?

3. Explain how a parliamentary system works, creating diagrams of a presidential system and a parliamentary system to help. How do the two systems differ?

Voting Methods Around the World

Winner-take-all	Limited Voting (LV)	Cumulative Voting (CV)	Preference Voting (PV)	Mixed Member PR (MMP)	Party-list PR
The most votes wins (Can be a majority requirement)	Vote for fewer than number of candidates to be elected; highest vote-getters win	Give multiple votes to one candidate; highest vote-getters win	Rank candidates in order of preference; candidates win by reaching a threshold of top-ranked votes; surplus votes transferred to next-ranked	Some seats elected from single-member districts; some from party lists (usually half and half); seats awarded proportionally based on party-list vote with district seats counted toward a party's total	Ballots cast for a party's list of candidates; seats awarded based on percent of vote; some systems allow voting for candidates on the party list
United States, Great Britain, Canada, India, many former British colonies, Australia, France, South Africa (pre-1993).	Japan (pre-1994), Used in many US localities, Adopted in some voting-rights settlements.	Peoria, IL; Chilton Co, AL; Alamogordo, NM; Sisseton, SD; Adopted in several other voting-rights settlements; IL legislature; (1870 - 1980) SC legislature; (during Reconstruction)	Ireland; Malta; Tasmania; Australian upper chamber; Cambridge, MA; has been used by 22 U.S. cities including NewYork; Cleveland; Sacramento.	Germany; New Zealand (post-1994).	Most West Europeans; Latin American; and former Soviet bloc countries; Israel; South Africa. (4/94)

How Effective Is Your Vote?

least effective ⟷ *most effective*

Source: *The Center for Voting and Democracy*

A QUESTION OF ALLEGIANCE

Cosmopolitan critics, men who are friends of every country save their own.

—Benjamin Disraeli, British Prime Minister, speech delivered on November 9, 1877

Summary of the Lesson

Students will develop definitions for such concepts as **patriotism, nationalism, chauvinism,** and **cosmopolitanism**. They will become acquainted with a model of contemporary **civil patriotism** and will use a questionnaire to measure the attitudes of fellow students regarding the meaning of patriotism.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- define patriotism, nationalism, chauvinism, and cosmopolitanism,
- explain disadvantages of each of these perspectives,
- construct a definition of contemporary civil patriotism,
- conduct a survey of their peers' attitudes about allegiance and analyze the results.

Background Material for the Teacher

Patriotism in the United States is often associated with symbols, such as the flag, national anthem, or Pledge of Allegiance. However, for patriotism to have meaning beyond symbolic gestures, one must critically examine how patriotism is defined. In many Central and Eastern European countries, patriotism has been almost synonymous with nationalism. The Bosnian War is one example of the extent to which feelings of nationalism can drive actions. Tomasz Merta, a Polish scholar, argues in his essay "Rings in the Water," for clearer distinctions between nationalism and patriotism. In an increasingly interconnected world, Merta's position reinforces the importance of creating a positive self-identification that does not promote feelings of superiority or isolationist tendencies.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

One or two days before the lesson, distribute copies of the student handout **Survey**. Be sure to first number the copies of the survey sequentially. You will need the survey numbers when compiling the results. Have each student survey at least 5 other students (outside their class) and tally the results according to the instructions. Begin this lesson by asking students about the results of their surveys.

Developing the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **Rings in the Water** to students. Then, divide the class into four *concept groups*. Using a jigsaw method, each group is expected to concentrate on one of four concepts. Each group, on the basis of this text, should define elements of the following concepts:

Nationalism—Group I;
Chauvinism—Group II;
Patriotism—Group III; and
Cosmopolitanism—Group IV.

Students will be responsible for teaching other students in their class about the concept.

After each group develops a definition (about 10-15 minutes), divide the class into new groups. Decide on the number of groups, but be sure that at least one representative from all the *concept groups* is present in each new group. After new groups have been formed, tell students to take turns presenting the definitions they developed in their first groups. Provide students with a specific amount of time in which to share their definitions. Ask one person in each group to assume responsibility for being the group's "timekeeper."

Have students return to their *concept groups* and compare the information gained during the second group. Each *concept group* should now have a working definition for all four concepts. Clarify any confused or inaccurate definitions.

Have the groups review the surveys that were collected. The survey consists of four parts, or categories, each containing three questions. Each part characterizes one of the defined concepts: Nationalism, Patriotism, Chauvinism, and Cosmopolitanism. Ask students, while in their category groups, to look at the surveys they collected and to hypothesize the questions that match each concept. After hypothesizing, inform students that the survey was designed so that items 1-3 indicated cosmopolitanism, items 4-6 indicated nationalism, items 7-9 indicated patriotism, items 10-12 indicated chauvinism.

Using the details provided in student handout **Analyzing Surveys** have each group create graphic representations of the survey results for their concept.

Have groups share and compare their results. Discuss what the results indicate about agreement with the various concepts of allegiance. Students should notice the lack of clear identification with one concept over others. This lack of a clear identification represents most individuals, and results in a shifting political orientation between involvement in international organizations/multilateral activities and isolationist policies.

Finally, be sure to discuss the notion of sampling. These surveys were not randomly distributed. Do the results represent a cross-section of society? Of the school? Of the neighborhood? Students should be careful not to generalize the results to groups not adequately represented in the surveys. How do students think the results would have differed if other groups had been polled?

Concluding the Lesson

Conclude with a discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of each of these concepts.

Pass out the student handout **Contemporary Patriotism**. Based on the reading, the conclusions reached as part of the survey and the student's beliefs, ask students to write an essay defining patriotism today.

Extending the Lesson

Students might create symbolic representations of each of the concepts—either through artwork, poetry or drama. Students' creations should demonstrate their clear understanding of the concepts.

Students could collect information from newspapers and/or magazines and analyze which perspective is represented in the story. Articles could also be rewritten from each of the different perspectives to demonstrate the ways in which information can be manipulated to reflect a particular ideology.

The survey could be given to other groups—teachers, parents, community members, students at other schools, classes of different age levels—to see if any differences of attitude emerge. Any differences or patterns across these groups could serve as the basis for discussion. Students might form hypotheses and conduct follow-up interviews to test their theories.

Students could be asked to identify and record ways in which these concepts are reflected in our daily lives. After collecting examples, students might discuss their feelings about the ways in which these concepts are presented in the media, sporting events, political speeches, etc. What impact do these presentations have on our society?

Student Handout

Survey

Do you agree with the following statements?

1. If I felt happy there, I could consider another country my home.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

2. I don't believe anyone should be willing to die for his or her country.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

3. A person's ethnicity and language should not be factors in determining citizenship in a country.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

4. I support my country, even if I disagree with some of its policies.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

5. Ethnic minorities should not have any special rights.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

6. What benefits my country is more important than anything else.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

7. My country needs to continue doing what is good but improve in areas where it is weak.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

8. If the army of another country invaded the United States, I would fight to defend it.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

9. I respect other cultures, but our culture and traditions are closest to me.

   a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

10. Immigrants, both legal and illegal, should be forced out of the United States—even if it requires violence.

    a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

11. Only people born in the United States should be allowed to hold political office.

    a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

12. The United States should protect its dominance in the world, even if it requires the use of armed forces.

    a) yes b) no c) it is difficult to say

Student Handout

Rings in the Water

by Tomasz Merta

From the first moment of life humans are not alone. A person always remains in some relation with other people. The first group to which a person belongs is the family. Later, he or she may develop other relations with school, the local community, town, or country. Group lives become an essential part of individual identification—I am defined not only by my profession and by what I think, but also by which language I speak, my nationality, in which town I live and in what family I have been raised.

Inevitably, the world breaks down into "us" and "them"; into what is familiar and close, and what is unfamiliar and distant. However, it is we who decide—although not always and not fully consciously—what shape our attitude to "our people" and aliens will take. In fact, national relations include three basically different attitudes: nationalist, patriotic and cosmopolitan.

Nationalism

Nationalism assumes the feeling of supremacy of my nation over all the others. It may involve the conviction that it has a special mission and extraordinary rights. For a nationalist, the national interest is the highest value when one considers other nations. In essence, a nationalist's philosophy is reduced to national selfishness. Love of what belongs to him or her is accompanied by hate (or at least distrust) concerning all that is alien. The nationalist is particularly sensitive to all attempts at restricting the sovereignty of the state, and, therefore, very suspicious about the activities of different international organizations and skeptical about all attempts at integration, at regional, European or world levels. Most often, the nationalist supports a tough policy with regard to ethnic minorities in his or her own country and staunchly defends the rights of emigrant compatriots.

Chauvinism

Chauvinism is an extreme form of nationalism. In a chauvinist, animosity against the others turns into hate, love of one's own people is not mitigated or limited, it becomes blind, and, thus, dangerous. What in a rationalist's view is an effect of reasoning (no matter what we think of the conclusions drawn), in a chauvinist takes an irrational shape. Hate towards aliens [foreigners] is often manifested in the form of obsession: the conviction of the existence of an international plot against the chauvinist's homeland, the belief that the country is governed by "aliens" hostile to the nation which they allegedly represent. Chauvinism is often accompanied by anti-Semitism.

Patriotism

Some people doubt that is possible to define a precise boundary between nationalism and patriotism. It seems, however, that if patriotism is defined as an attitude of love for one's country and tradition, simultaneously coupled with tolerance towards other national traditions and cultures, the difference between patriotism and chauvinism becomes obvious.

A patriot loves his or her country, but this love does not result from a feeling of supremacy over other nations. The patriot can be critical about her or his own people, and, at the same time, appreciate and understand others, for the patriot knows that what is alien is most often not bad, but simply different. The patriot is ready to defend his or her country and take care of its good name, however, has no aggressive intentions and expansive leanings. She or he does not object to the idea of integration and international cooperation, although the ideal is the Europe of homelands (i.e., countries that preserve their cultural individuality) rather than a uniform and unified Europe.

Cosmopolitanism

As the very name implies, a cosmopolitan feels a citizen of the world. Ostentatiously, the cosmopolitans cut off the umbilicus which connects them with their own country and nation. The cosmopolitan also rejects the distinction between her or his own people and others and would like to treat everyone absolutely equally. No doubt, a cosmopolitan's intentions should be considered noble—it is difficult to criticize someone whose philosophy is based on the idea of unity for all people.

It should be noted, however, that in practice cosmopolitanism can also set one free of any feeling obligated to one's own country and nation, without, at the same time, generating equally strong and specific linkages between the individual and the world community. Obligations result from feeling rooted, or belonging, and this is exactly what the cosmopolitan contests and rejects. The cosmopolitan is thus left with duties only to him or herself. Thereby, cosmopolitanism may turn out to be only a mask that hides cynicism ("My homeland is where I feel good") and selfishness—the latter, this time, not national but individual.

Conclusion

The nature of a person's ties with the surrounding communities is to some extent reflected by the image of rings in the water emerging round a stone thrown into it. The first ring (the family) is the smallest and most clearly drawn; the next rings (friends, the local community, the nation) are larger, but at the same time less clear. The last ring (humankind) is the largest, but is not as clearly visible. It remains an ideal for which one should strive, bearing in mind, however, that shortcuts (cosmopolitanism) only lead astray.

Student Handout

Analyzing Surveys

Directions

While working in groups students should begin to tally the results of the surveys for their category. For example, the nationalism group will tally the results to the nationalism questions. Groups should assign one member to collect results from the surveys other groups have collected. The collected results should include the survey number, the question number and an indication of which answer was chosen. Keep the collected results sorted by survey. In the nationalism group one piece of data might look like this:

Survey Number 43		NATIONALISM
	Question #4	a
	Question #5	c
	Question #6	c

For each survey assign a point value to each answer: 5 points for an A; 3 points for a C; 1 point for a B. Total the points in that category for that survey creating a "category score." For example:

Survey Number 43		NATIONALISM	
	Question #4	a	5 pts.
	Question #5	c	3 pts.
	Question #6	c	3 pts.
Category Score: **11 points**			

Finally, to analyze data across all the surveys, but still within the category, organize the category scores along a line plot. Plot the data and construct a graphic representation of the category results. A simple bar graph arranged across a continuum of possible scores (in this case from a low agreement score of 3 to a high agreement score of 15). Other graphic representations could also be created. The group's goal should be to instruct the other students about the results to their questions.

Student Handout

Contemporary Patriotism

An excerpt from *Ennobling of Democracy: The Challenge of the Postmodern Age* by Thomas Pangle.
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On the basis of the text by Thomas Pangle and your own reflections, answer the following question in writing: "What does it mean to be a patriot in the contemporary United States?"

Montesquieu glorified the English government system, but, at the same time, he warned against the colorless, loveless, individualist and materialist way of life, which was protected and even reinforced by this system. He cleared the track for future Europe which would lead not to anglicized [based on a British model of government] Europe, but to cultivation, based on attachment to the natural rights, of both sober and moderate national differentiation and vitalizing competition between the outstanding, and to some extent contradictory, historic geniuses of various European nations.

Clearly, we cannot simply return to the world to which Montesquieu tried to face up or to his own strict recommendations. However, his way of defining the problem and the promise of liberal, cosmopolitan "Europe des patries" ["Europe of native lands"] (to use a phrase by Charles de Gaulle) may set us on the right track. The struggle against Marxism and fascism taught us to appreciate human rights and liberal lawfulness. Human rights are the front, the foundation of human security, dignity and brotherhood, on which all decent European societies must be based in the future. But on this foundation a new task emerges: challenge to prepare and vitalize within the common European house a spiritual competition between individuals who mutually represent to one another critical national and religious traditions....

The astonishing kind of love of the homeland or patriotism which characterizes the emerging democratic movements in Eastern Europe—to a large degree, astonishing because it had somehow survived the brutal manipulations and degenerations of the Communist sham patriotism and chauvinism—in some respects may be instructive for Western liberals. The benchmark of human dignity is the respect, and for most people respect is most often a respect for their own heritage, their own tradition, their own past and examples of heroism.

Patriotism conceived in this way is a necessary bridge between an isolated or lost individual and the meaningful world of fervently thinking individuals who seek together, in agreement and debate, the truth about the most important questions concerning human greatness and fall.... Distinguishing between his love of his homeland and what is too often called "patriotism," in a 1988 interview, Václav Havel put it in the following way:

> *"I am a Czech. This was not my choice, but a decree of fate. All my life I have lived in this country. This is my language, this is my home. I live here like all the others.*
>
> *I do not feel a patriot, for I do not feel that being a Czech is something better than being a Frenchman, Englishman, European or anyone else. God, I do not know why, wanted me to be a Czech. This was not my choice. But I accept it and try to do something for my country because I live in it."*

THE DUTIES AND VIRTUES OF CITIZENS

Now to what higher object, to what greater character, can any mortal aspire than to be possessed of all this knowledge, well digested and ready at command, to assist the feeble and friendless, to discountenance the haughty and lawless, to procure redress of wrongs, the advancement of right, to assert and maintain liberty and virtue, to discourage and abolish tyranny and vice?

—John Adams

Summary of the Lesson

During this lesson, students will acquire an understanding of the terms **civic duties** and **civic virtues**. In addition, students will explore the meaning of **civil society**, both historically and in contemporary terms. There will be a discussion about the relationship between **citizen rights** and duties, and the development of civil society that such a relationship helps to create.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- identify the duties of citizens,
- distinguish between the meaning of civic duties and civic virtues,
- enumerate some basic civic virtues,
- evaluate the status of civil society using the knowledge they have gained from the lesson and the assigned text.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Ask students to write out two lists: one with all the civic rights, and one with all the civic duties or responsibilities of which they are aware. Write out the students' responses in two columns on the blackboard under the appropriate headings. It is assumed that the list of rights will be much longer than the list of duties and responsibilities. Draw their attention to this fact.

Developing the Lesson

Place students into small groups of three or four. Give each group a copy of one of the Central or Eastern European constitutions. (These constitutions can be found in the back of this resource book.) Be sure that at least one group has each of the five constitutions so that all the constitutions will be reviewed. Have students read through the constitutions and identify the various rights and duties that are in each. If there are any civic duties that are found in the constitution but not on the blackboard, add them to the list. Discuss the implied meaning of each civic duty with the students. Draw students' attention to the fact that some of the duties found in the constitutions are legacies of the communist period. Such items as guaranteed housing, vigilance against the enemies of the nation, etc., reflect different attitudes and values from those found in the constitution of the United States.

Ask the students to familiarize themselves with the student handout **The Civic Responsibilities of Soviet Citizens.** Conduct a discussion about the effects of expanding the duties of citizens to the State to such a degree. End the discussion with the following question: "To what extent and in what way should the government mandate civic duties in the constitution?"

Ask students to decide individually which of the duties mandated by constitutions should be removed, and what kind of duties should be added. Encourage them to share their answers in an informal discussion with the whole class. Write on the blackboard specific duties suggested by students and how many students were in favor of adding or deleting each duty to the constitution. Leave out repetitions.

The next part of the lesson will deal with civic virtues. (Some classes may want to start a second lesson or day on this topic.) In order to prepare students for this part of the lesson, consider the following demonstration: take a piece of styrofoam or similar material and rub it against the classroom window so that it creates an unpleasant sound (squeaky balloons or fingernails against the blackboard can produce the same effect). When the students start to complain, stop and ask if there are any legal means to make people stop inflicting such irritation upon others. Presumably, the students will answer that there are no such means. If students claim that there are legal means discuss their rationale.

Ask students, "What stops people from engaging in such anti-social behavior?" Students' answers ought to point out the distinction between what is legally mandated by civic duties and what is expected of citizens in every day life by the conventions and norms of society.

Draw students' attention to the same kind of relationship that exists between citizens and the government. Define the unwritten duties of citizens toward other citizens and to their country as *civic virtues*. Pass out the student handout **Civic Virtues** and discuss the key points.

Concluding the Lesson

Lead a discussion on the topic: "Is there a relationship between civic duties and the rights of citizens?" In conclusion, draw students' attention to the fact that making rights dependent upon fulfillment of duties has negative consequences, as does a complete separation of such rights and responsibilities. Have students discuss these issues in small groups and then report their findings to the entire class.

Extending the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **In Search of a Civil Society.** After reading the article, compare the language of civic virtues/civil society to that of civic rights, duties and responsibilities. Poll members of the school and parents by creating a survey that looks at the civic participation of various individuals and also collects data on their attitudes towards civic virtues. Prepare a presentation on the results of the survey, and be sure to include discussion of the issues presented in this lesson's readings and the students' conclusions about civic virtues, duties and responsibilities.

Distribute copies of Robert Putnam's essay, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social

Capital," found in the June 1995 issue of *Current* (no. 373). While the article is somewhat complicated, recreating graphics of Putnam's data and reading his conclusions may be of interest to some students.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "Civic Virtues"

1. Many of the author's viewpoints could be used to answer this question. Students should be encouraged to identify various perspectives such as the difference between a republican and Christian orientation to civic virtue.
2. Students will have to identify what they think are civic virtues in the United States. These might include notions of individuality, community spirit, pride in country, protection of minority opinions. As identified in the handout **The Civic Responsibility of Soviet Citizens**, virtues involve submitting to the 'will of the people,' working as a contribution to civic purpose, putting public interests before private goals.
3. American notions of the supremacy of the 'individual' might be highlighted by issues such as gun control and property rights. The republican view, as stated by the author, would encourage heightened concern for public welfare.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from "In Search of a Civil Society"

1. A variety of student responses will meet this goal. Some look at participation in civic groups, volunteerism, etc. to gauge individual contributions to the community, and decry the loss of these important aspects of civic life. Others, however, discuss employment patterns in the United States, the increase in two career families and the structure of the work week as limiting the time individuals have for participation in other aspects of civic life.
2. Again, this article should create some debate among students as to whether or not the past was so good, that civic life was better, and that current life needs to return to 'old values.' Students might identify ways they would like to see society change, values they see as damaging and actions that might lead to change.
3. Measuring the effectiveness of government involvement in social change is a hotly debated topic. Some scholars believe that leaving problems such as hunger and homelessness to civil society is impossible. Politicians and political commentators often identify individuals and groups who have stepped in to do this type of work and do it better than the government can. Students should be encouraged to take a stand on the division of roles between civil society and the government.
4. Some politicians and political commentators argue about the value of civility in the political process. Many in the United States argue for bipartisanship in seeking to solve the country's problems. Others argue that clearly delineated differences between parties help individuals identify their beliefs and choices. Students, again, should be encouraged to take a stand and defend their view.

Student Handout

The Civic Responsibilities of Soviet Citizens

An excerpt from *Talks about the Social and Political System of the USSR*, ed. I. Golyakov, K. Gorshenin and S. Murashev, trans. C. Skoniecki, State Textbook Publishing House, Warsaw, 1951, pp. 349–76.

...The first commandment of the Soviet citizen is to *faithfully observe the Stalinist Constitution,* which is the Law of the Soviet citizens.

He who does not obey, and violates Soviet law, opposes the will of the people, thus harming the interests of the Soviet nation and the Soviet people. Those guilty of violating Soviet law shall be punished by the courts according to the nature of the crime and the guilt of the criminal.

He who, even to the smallest degree, violates the laws, provisions, and decrees of the Soviet authorities is consciously or unconsciously aiding the enemies of the Soviet Fatherland.

Strict unconditional obedience to the law—this is the second commandment of the Soviet citizen.

...Unjustified absence from work, i.e. loafing and self-willed abandonment of the factory or institution during work hours by laborers and employees, shall be punished by the courts.

...*Strict and relentless observance of work discipline*—this is the third commandment of the Soviet citizen.

...The Soviet law demands from everyone the fulfillment of production duties and quotas.

...Social duty, as understood by the model Soviet citizen, calls for a whole-hearted involvement in social causes. It requires every citizen to put public issues before private ones, and to fight against all that brings harm to the socialist community and nation.

...One of the most important tasks currently facing the Soviet people and the younger generation is threefold: 1) the continual and diligent struggle against all relics of bourgeois[1] morality, 2) the struggle for the respect of socialist coexistence to penetrate all the layers of the socialist public at large so that it becomes a part of everyday life (i.e. a custom), and 3) the struggle to instill through education the high socialist virtues characteristic of all the leading members of society.

...Every citizen shall be concerned about *the protection, strengthening, and growth of socialist ownership* as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the Fatherland, and as a source of the cultured life of the working masses.

...According to the Soviet constitution, all those who commit crimes against public and socialist ownership are enemies of the people. Soviet statutes...call for the most severe punishment for theft of public property.

...According to the constitution, military service in the armed forces is the honorable duty of Soviet citizens. Indeed, can there be a greater honor than that of the duty of defending (with weapons in arms) the mighty Soviet Fatherland—first socialist fatherland of workers and peasants in the world—the workers and peasants who are the hope and strength of the working classes of the whole world in their fight for freedom?

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[1] Editor's Note: Bourgeois—a term used to name the "enemy" of the working classes in Marxist-Leninist philosophy; usually defined as the middle class (i.e., shop keepers, managers, white collar workers).

Student Handout

Civic Virtues

by Jaroslaw Tomasiewicz

The concept of civic virtues has its roots in the republican[1] tradition. The upholding of civic virtues was the most important condition for the survival of the republic and guaranteed its strength and power. Thus, basic public virtue was what is considered the essence of the republic, i.e. the ability to give priority to public welfare over the welfare of the individual. In Aristotelian philosophy, public and individual welfare were permanently connected, and public life was considered a necessary element in the realization of human potential, and thus the condition necessary for the happiness of the individual. In this sense, civic virtues were not only demanded, but also seen as something natural—although this does not mean that civic virtues were thought to come into being in a person by and of themselves. The awakening of such virtues was to be done through republican education and traditions, along with the proper family upbringing.

In ancient republics, civic virtues were closely connected with the qualities of a good soldier, i.e. with courage, rigor, loyalty, discipline, and group solidarity. The model citizen was to lead a simple and unrefined life, use his wealth in moderation, and not allow luxury and comfort to weaken his character and body.

Christianity directed human aspirations in a different way—not toward public glory, but toward individual salvation. Therefore, attempts to bring back republican ideals at times occurred in opposition to Christianity. This was the case with Niccolo Machiavelli. In his writing, civic virtue amounted to work and struggle in the name of *raison d'etat*[2] and was juxtaposed with Christian contemplation and humility.

The American founders attempted to restore the republican ideal and to reconcile it with Christian teachings—for some, the 'Christian Sparta'[3] was the ideal. Soon it became apparent that basic liberal values, such as individual freedoms or the right to own property, conflicted with ancient virtues. Redefinition of the word 'virtue' became necessary. Although civic virtues were still considered the foundation of the republic, more attention was paid to legal solutions which would divide and limit the power of government, thus the idea of civic virtue began to be seen in a different light.

Values such as integrity, trustworthiness, honesty, and responsibility became vitally significant. Although the old militaristic overtones disappeared, and patriotism changed its character, participation in public life was still considered a virtue. Today, participation in public life is achieved not only through public service, but most importantly through various public associations and organizations. It is these associations which transform the narrow interests of the individual into the work of citizen groups for the common good.

The concept of civic virtues is not easily definable through legal formulas. These virtues are rather a matter of democratic tradition and unwritten social norms acquired through family upbringing and education. The model citizen should not only know his rights and perform his duties, but also be responsible and exercise moderation and good judgment in everyday life. Perhaps it is not best to always take advantage of one's rights. Perhaps it is more important to sometimes limit one's freedoms in the name of the common good of the community—friends, the city, or even the nation.

Civic loyalty to the nation does not, and should not, mean acceptance of every act of the country and its government. Besides critically evaluating government actions, there is one more virtue which is very important—namely, courage—not only the courage one displays in defending one's homeland or fellow citizens, but also the courage to fight for justice and rights. Therefore, civic virtue can at times take the form of civil disobedience. One should keep in mind, though, that not all forms of civil disobedience are worthy of praise.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. In what ways have specific civic virtues changed over time?

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[1] Editor's Note: Republican is used here by the author not as a reference to the Republican Party, but in the political philosophical sense of representative government.

[2] Editor's Note: *Raison d'etat* is a French term that translates as 'reason or justification for the state.'

[3] Editor's Note: Sparta was the Ancient Greek city-state often referred to as a bastion of warrior citizens.

2. Based on this and other readings in this lesson, compare and contrast what you believe to be valued civic virtues of the former Soviet Union vs. the United States today.

3. Do you think individual rights should be placed ahead of the "public welfare"? Defend your choice and contrast it with the republican view expressed by the author of the article.

Student Handout

In Search of a Civil Society

by Kevin Merida and Barbara Vobejda

From "In Search of a Civil Society," *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, December 23, 1996—January 5, 1997. Copyright © 1996 The Washington Post. Reprinted with permission.

Amid widespread public disillusionment with government and its ability to solve the nation's most pervasive problems, a loosely formed social movement promoting a return to "civil society" has emerged in recent months, drawing a powerful and ideologically diverse group of political leaders.

Its backers are as conservative as former Education Secretary William J. Bennett and as liberal as retiring Democratic Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, and their reformulated vision of public good is giving rise to a variety of new think tanks, projects and foundations around the country.

In every case, these former policy makers and officials are stepping outside of government and turning to private efforts to tackle poverty, crime and declining civic participation.

Over the past few months, Bennett, a Republican, has teamed up with retiring Democratic Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia to head the National Commission on Civic Renewal, former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander has agreed to chair the newly created National Commission on Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, and retiring Democratic Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey has joined the Penn National Commission on Society, Culture and Community.

On Dec. 16, a Boston think tank known as the Institute for Civil Society announced that it will devote part of a $35 million anonymous gift—one of the largest contributions to a private organization this year—to a fledgling philanthropic project to be headed by Schroeder, who is retiring from Congress after 24 years.

"New solutions have not been possible in the Congress because we are always being pulled toward lowest-common-denominator thinking," Schroeder said in announcing the new project. "America is on the verge of a new era of problem-solving."

While the nation has a long tradition of private efforts aimed at solving public problems, the reinvigorated civil society movement is fundamentally different.

More hands-on than most think tanks, and more philosophical than most nonprofits, these efforts attempt to shake up the relationships among government, businesses and civic institutions. If they see a social problem that needs attention, they question whether public resources are being funneled in the right direction and, whenever possible, push traditional organizations to provide nontraditional solutions.

The Institute for Civil Society, for example, has funded a coalition of African American churches committed to reducing crime in the black communities of Boston. Another of its efforts distributes wheelchairs to the disabled, including those specially designed to handle dirt roads and rough terrain in third-world countries.

"We're committed to the bubble-up theory of building a civil society," says Pam Solo, president of the institute.

While these efforts are organized around a variety of themes, they share a general commitment to supporting local initiatives, looking for common ground among divergent philosophical camps and encouraging a heightened sense of civility and civic participation in a search for solutions.

The movement is being driven by a number of interrelated factors, of which declining public confidence in government is only one part. Momentum is also coming from a weakening of some community institutions and a feeling by many Americans that the quality of moral life has dropped off significantly over the past four decades.

The public repeatedly has signaled its unhappiness about the character of public discourse on the nation's ailments by declining to participate in the political process. The November elections, for instance, featured the lowest percentage voter turnout in a presidential year since 1924.

The citizenry's disenchantment, say those on the movement's front lines, is fueled by a nightly digest of violence on television newscasts and a supply of anecdotes that suggest a rise in social pathologies: Mothers who abandon their own children. Parishioners who rob churches. Drug dealers who take over apartment complexes.

"I think there is a sense we're off the tracks morally in the country," says Pete Wehner, director of policy at Empower America, a conservative Washington think tank. "There is a lot of violence and coarseness in society. And this is an attempt to explore what has gone wrong." Exactly how far wrong is still the subject of debate. Robert Putnam, professor of government at Harvard University, stirred the debate early last year with his provocative essay, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital."

In the essay, and in a follow-up work early this year, Putnam tried to quantify Americans' disengagement from civic life. He cited figures that suggest stagnant church attendance, falling union memberships, a reduction in the numbers of volunteers for the Boy Scouts and Red Cross, a decline in participation in parent-teacher organizations and, as the essay's title implies, a dwindling interest in bowling leagues.

Concerns about this trend, Putnam says, are what is driving the move toward new social solutions.

"The Bradleys and Nunns are not doing it because Bob Putnam wrote an essay, but because they are listening to their constituents and they realize it is a problem," Putnam says. "I think all of these efforts are really valuable. It has taken us 30 years or more to get into this predicament and we won't get out of it overnight."

Some have challenged Putnam's conclusions but not many have quarreled with the symptoms.

"We feel anxious and uncertain and worried about the future despite our greatness," says Alexander. "We can't blame it on the Russians anymore. We're the richest country—rich in wealth and poor in spirit."

Alexander's commission, which has a budget of more than $500,000 and is being financed by the Bradley Foundation, is undertaking a nine-month study of charitable giving and will offer a "road map to help Americans reconsider their roles in charity, philanthropy, volunteerism and community service."

Alexander, a Republican, had promoted the themes of individual responsibility and was expecting "less of government and more of ourselves" during his failed presidential campaign this year. Now, he says, he believes he may be more successful outside the political arena.

Don Eberly, who has written extensively on the subject of a civil society, says the problems of the political system remain unchanged, citing the influence of special interests and the need for politicians to raise large amounts of money. "Retiring politicians are reacting to that," he says. "This isn't the arena anymore where serious problems can be confronted."

The concept of a "civil society" is not new, but it is clearly reenergized. Its origins date from the 18th century, and over time, it has been used to describe free societies where government, commerce and civic institutions are balanced, citizens participate in their communities and the culture promotes civility.

In the 1830s, Alexis De Tocqueville observed much of this idea in America, writing that one of the keys to American democracy was the extent to which U.S. citizens were engaged in civic associations.

The philosophy was widely promoted in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union, when the Czech Republic and other countries began the transition from communism to democracies.

Here it was picked up over the past several decades by conservative writers and thinkers, who have argued that big government solutions have failed and a return to a civil society would rely on private responses, including an expansion of charities to take on more social services currently supplied by big government.

The concept has gained currency in a different form among Democrats, including Tipper Gore and Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Eberly, who heads the Civil Society Projects in Pennsylvania says he spent several hours in April with former presidential adviser Dick Morris discussing these ideas and that Morris went on to incorporate them into the campaign.

The Clinton campaign did include several initiatives—support for school uniforms and teen curfews, for example, formed around the notion that smaller, symbolic gestures are preferable to big government solutions.

Some hope the reintroduction of "civil society" will help soften partisan divisions. "Civil society is part of the effort to find new common ground," says William Galston, a former domestic policy adviser to President Clinton who is now running the National Commission on Civic Renewal. "The language of civil society may be a way for people to come together across the political spectrum."

Galston notes that Clinton's last two State of the Union addresses featured similar language and adds that the president has met with diverse scholars from Putnam to Harvard's Henry Louis Gates Jr. to discuss the subject. Meanwhile, those who are toiling in the political arena also are searching for ways to become more civil as they debate public policy. A proposal by Reps. David E. Skagg, a Democrat from Colorado, and Ray LaHood, a Republican from Illinois, for a bipartisan weekend retreat to reduce the rancor on Capitol Hill has been endorsed by leaders of both parties and is set for next spring.

On the policy front, Republicans, stung in the last Congress by Democratic charges that they lack compassion, say they hope to reverse that image next year.

Republican Senator Dan Coats of Indiana and House Budget Committee Chairman John R. Kasich of Ohio recently held a forum to promote a legislative package called "The Project for American Renewal." The centerpiece is a "compassion tax credit" that would allow individuals to claim up to a $500 tax credit for contributions to a charity that fights poverty.

The legislation, says Coats's policy director, Mike Gerson, takes Republicans beyond just shifting federal responsibility to the states and "focuses people's attention on where effective compassion is really taking place."

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. Identify ways in which individuals currently contribute to the well being of the community. Do citizens participate less than they used to?
2. Do you agree that the country seems to be morally off track? If so, how have we changed?
3. Why might civil society be able to deal with problems in different ways from the government?
4. Some view the notion of civil society as a way to bridge the divide between political philosophies. Is this divide a necessary part of democratic governance?

GRANTING CITIZENSHIP: TENSIONS BETWEEN NATION AND STATE IN LATVIA

My gold is my nation. Its honor is my honor.

—Rudolfs Blaumans, 19th Century Latvian poet and playwright

Summary of the Lesson

Students will explore the concept of **national identity** and its connection to **statehood** and **patriotism**. The lesson explores the tensions between human rights and national identity. The determination of **citizenship** in the democratic transition, especially in countries experiencing statehood for the first time in recent history, is complicated by notions of **ethnicity**, **language**, and **nation**. Latvia serves as a case study to explore these issues.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- name factors that help form national consciousness,
- expound upon the concepts "nation and people" and "nation state," and define their interrelationship,
- differentiate between the concepts "citizenship" and "nationality."

Background Material for the Teacher

See background material **Representative Democracy in Latvia: The Elections of 1995 and 1996.** After its declaration of independence on May 4, 1991, Latvia initiated democratic reforms and started to create a market economy. New parliamentary elections were held in June, 1993. Political parties were not formed, only electoral coalitions. Following the election, the *Saeima* (Latvian parliament) elected the president and the cabinet. The *Saeima* and cabinet began to work on the tasks inherited from the Supreme Council, the most important of which were the Citizenship Law and the continuing presence of the Russian army.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

To orient the students, examine a map of Latvia and its surrounding countries and landforms. Note the proximity of countries which might pose a threat to Latvia, or have done so in the past.

Place the following definitions for the words "nation" and "state" on the board or overhead. Discuss their implications.

- **Nation:** any sizeable group of people who are united by common bonds of race, language, custom, tradition, and, (sometimes) religion.
- **State:** precisely identifies a political community that occupies a definite territory and has an organized government with the power to make and enforce laws without approval from any higher authority.

Citizen's rights carry certain benefits, but only to those who qualify as citizens. Complete the student handout **Who Qualifies to be a Citizen of Your Country?** This student handout may be used as a group or individual exercise. Examine the qualifications of becoming a citizen in the United States. Many resources are available on the naturalization process in the U.S.

Developing the Lesson

Read and discuss the student handout **A Latvian View** to get one perspective of the situation in Latvia. A general history of Latvia to help explain some of the concerns about who should become a citizen in Latvia. (See background material for information on this topic.)

Discuss stereotypes. The second largest nationality in Latvia (after Latvian) is Russian (about 30%). Ask students what they know about Russians, what in their view is most characteristic of this nationality. (The same can be asked about other nationalities.) Explain that such generalized concepts are known as stereotypes.

Using the excerpts from the *Riga Times,* conduct a reader's theater. The student handout **Russians in Latvia,** gives views of Russians currently living in Latvia. Individual students should be asked to read the various parts. After the reader's theater, discuss these questions:

1. Should Russians depart or should they integrate into Latvian society? What does integration mean? (To lose a sense of self? To speak Latvian? To change outwardly?)
2. How do Russians feel in Latvia? (Do they distinguish themselves from Russians in Russia?)
3. Are all Russians or Latvians united in their views?
4. Do stereotypical views of nationalities conform to reality?
5. In general, what factors determine belonging to a particular nationality?

Distribute copies of the student handout **The Baltic Revolution**. This piece is adapted from a book by the same author. It presents a different perspective on the issues in the lesson. Compare the discussion and presentation of details to that found in the student handout **A Latvian View** and the background material **Representative Democracy in Latvia...** Lieven's first sentence identifies his point of departure. While Patrick and Catlaks identify the Soviet invasion and occupation as cause and rationale for the current situation, Lieven, begins, "It was the habit in the Baltic, under Soviet rule, to blame every misfortune on the fact of that rule...." Crucial differences point to the struggle of defining nationality and qualification for citizenship. What seems clear from one perspective (that national identity includes knowledge of the language and history) seems more ambiguous to other authors. These pieces are not designed to set up opposing views. Instead, they have been included to present a few of the multiple perspectives on such issues.

Distribute copies of the student handout **A Latvian Citizen** and have students answer the questions at the end of each case. Use the student handouts **A Latvian View** and **Russians in Latvia** as additional resources.

Concluding the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **Latvia's Distribution of the Population by Citizenship and Ethnicity, March 1995** and have students answer the questions which accompany the table. This table provides statistical data about the numerous ethnic groups among Latvia's population. Citizenship issues become more poignant when statistics reveal the complex ethnic issues facing Latvia. The results of the case studies (**A Latvian Citizen**) could also be reviewed based on information gathered from the table.

Extending the Lesson

To highlight the relative uniqueness of the United States' system of granting citizenship, have students construct an analysis of the similarities and differences between the U.S. and Latvian citizenship requirements. (Students will need to conduct independent research for this activity.)

Have students present a proposal to a fictitious "United Nations Commission on the Standardization of Laws of Citizenship" which suggests regulations that simultaneously protect the rights of individuals, nations, states, and minorities.

Have students write an essay and/or prepare a presentation which explores the relationship between the 14th amendment of the United States' Constitution and the current requirements for U.S. citizenship. "Citizenship by birth" and "citizenship by naturalization" may need to be explained with historical details (i.e. the *Dred Scott* decision, "law of the soil," and "law of blood.")

Guidelines for Student Responses

From "Who Qualifies to be a Citizen of Your Country?"

1. Students will construct their own criteria for determining qualifications for citizenship. They should be encouraged to include as many qualifiers as possible. Pushing students to defend choices, clarify their definitions of terminology and specify details of the various criteria will assist in the understanding of the Latvian situation.
2. A) Students will need to select the definition that most closely matches the criteria they established.

   B) See above.
3. Students should be expected to identify a rationale and defend it.

From "A Latvian Citizen?"

These cases involve various interpretations of the laws on citizenship. The background material **Representative Democracy in Latvia** and the student handout **A Latvian View** both give details on these cases. Generally, citizenship is determined by evaluating the following criteria:

- was a parent a citizen of Latvia (prior to the occupation by the Soviet Union),
- does the individual have a working knowledge of the Latvian language,
- how long the individual lived in Latvia,
- what knowledge does he/she have of Latvian history,
- is she/he ready to pledge allegiance to Latvia?

By looking at this criteria students should be prepared to debate the status of the various individuals as citizen. Discussions of what would be necessary for an individual to become a citizen would also be helpful.

From "Latvia's Distribution of the Population by Citizenship and Ethnicity"

1. Latvian and Russian
2. Latvian, Roma and Polish
3. Russian
4. Russian

Background Material

Representative Democracy in Latvia: The Elections of 1995 and 1996

by John J. Patrick

Excerpts from "Representative Democracy in Latvia: The Elections of 1995 and 1996," by John J. Patrick, in a feature article titled "Recent Elections in Former Soviet-Bloc Countries," by Ben A. Smith, November/December 1996 *Social Education*, Volume 60, Number 7, pp. 420–22.
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In 1991, after more than 51 years of foreign rule, the people of Latvia effectively restored their independent nation-state, which had been forcibly incorporated into Stalin's Soviet Union in June 1940. The democratic constitution of the Republic of Latvia of 1922 was re-established amid declarations that the state was a continuation of the earlier Republic and should not be considered either newly independent or a "Soviet-successor state."

Much had, however, changed in the meantime. As a result of Soviet policies, the population composition had altered so that, in 1991, Latvians were barely a majority in their centuries-old homeland. In 1935, by contrast, they had constituted more than 75 percent of the population. From June 1940 to June 1941, however, the Soviets executed or deported more than 35,000 persons. Immediately after World War II, in 1945-1946, Soviet military forces deported about 60,000 people. Further, between March 24 and March 30, 1949, about 50,000 Latvians were deported and resettled in various parts of the Soviet Union, including forced labor camps in Siberia.

Soviet authorities replaced the killed and deported Latvians with Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian settlers. Thus, Soviet policies profoundly changed the demographic and cultural composition of Latvia, a small country (64,610 square kilometers) with a population of about 2.5 million of whom only 1,422,395 (56.6 percent) are Latvians. Although more than 850,000 people live in Riga, the capital, less than 40 percent of the city's residents are Latvians in their primary language and ethnic identity. Nearly 40 percent of the population of Latvia consists of Slavic peoples (Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Poles). About 30 percent of that population is ethnic Russian. While Latvians represent 56.6 percent of the population, they constitute 79 percent of citizens. The remaining 21 percent are members of more than ten ethnic groups, including Russians (288,217), Belarusians (20,765), and Poles (8,390).

At present, the total number of registered aliens and stateless persons in Latvia is approximately 720,000, nearly 30 percent of the population. According to Latvian law, any ethnically non-Latvian person who is descended from people living in Latvia before 1940 is automatically a citizen of Latvia today. Non-Latvian residents of Latvia may become naturalized citizens if they satisfy certain requirements, such as learning the Latvian language and history and pledging allegiance to the Constitution and the Republic. The continued existence in Latvia of a proportionally large population of non-Latvians, who do not become citizens either by choice or exclusion, is a political problem that could threaten or impede the consolidation of Latvian democracy in the twenty-first century.

The political spectrum in Latvia is dominated by parties that are generally pragmatic. The system of election based on proportional representation means that a government can only be formed after compromises by parliamentary parties. Most parties also have cautious policies toward Russia, Latvia's much larger and more powerful neighbor to the east.

Constitutional Provisions for Representative Democracy

The Constitution of 1922 separates powers of government among executive, legislative, and judicial branches. But the *Saeima*, the legislature, is definitely supreme. The legislature, or Parliament, selects the State President, the chief executive, and members of the judiciary (who cannot be removed against their will until reaching a retirement age set by law). And, the Parliament's powers clearly outweigh those of the other branches of government. The primary check upon the power of Parliament is the citizens. In their roles as voters and petitioners, the citizens of Latvia can determine the composition and general direction of policy making in their Parliament. The regular triennial parliamentary election is thus a defining event of Latvian constitutional democracy. Citizens vote for lists of candidates presented by the competing political parties, and candidates are elected on the basis of proportional representation. An electoral list must receive at least 5 percent of all votes cast to gain representation in the Parliament. In this system, the deputies do not represent a specific territory, and their accountability is only to the members of their party. Citizens vote for a party list, not for a specific deputy.

Recent Elections

Since 1991, there have been two parliamentary elections (1993 and 1995) followed by two presidential elections (1993 and 1996). In each case, the election was free, fair, and competitive. Information was freely communicated through independent mass media. Several political parties competed for election to the Parliament; for example, 23 party lists competed in the 1993 election and 19 in the 1995 election. Further, large majorities of eligible voters participated in the two parliamentary elections of the 1990s, 89 percent in 1993 and 72 percent in 1995. Finally, a group of international observers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) certified that the election of 1995 was free and fair."

The OSCE election observers also noted in their report on the 1995 parliamentary election that "there is a large segment of the population of Latvia who are not citizens of any country" and thereby not eligible to vote. The OSCE delegation expressed "hopes that this situation can be satisfactorily resolved."

The 1993 election favored the centrist and right-of-center parties. Eight parties received enough votes to win representation in the Parliament. A five-party coalition, involving a majority of the 100 seats in Parliament, was organized to form a workable government.

The 1995 election, however, favored the left-of-center Democratic Party Saimnieks, which led the polls with 15 percent of the votes and 18 seats. Latvia's Way Party, the leader in the 1993 election, was second in 1995 with 14.6 percent of the votes and 17 seats.

The right-of-center parties tend to favor a free-market economy, private property rights, and less governmental regulation of the economy and society. A strong Latvian nationalist orientation with emphasis on traditional values is also promoted by some right-wing parties, such as the Union for Fatherland and Freedom.

By contrast, the left-of-center parties tend to support a socialist economic orientation, public welfare policies, and more governmental regulation of economic and civic life. The Latvian Socialist Party is the most left-wing faction, and promotes Soviet-era interests and values. In concert with the National Harmony Party, the Socialists would grant automatic citizenship to all residents of Latvia.

Four left-of-center parties won 33 percent of the votes and 37 seats in the 1995 parliamentary elections. Three right-wing parties won 25 percent of the votes and 30 seats. The slightly right-of-center Latvia's Way Party, with 17 seats, was reluctant to join the other right-wing parties to form a ruling majority. Thus, a difficult-to-achieve coalition of parties of the right and left had to be made in order to approve a Prime Minister and form a Cabinet.

There was a stalemate in Parliament for 75 days, as the competing factions were unable to form a ruling coalition. The parliamentary impasse finally was broken on December 15, 1995 when President Ulmanis nominated Andris Skele to be the Prime Minister. Skele, a prominent businessmen, was neither a political party member nor an elected member of Parliament, and was accepted as a compromise candidate by the rival factions of the Parliament. The 100-member Parliament approved Mr. Skele and the Cabinet he proposed by a vote of 70 to 24.

The selection of Andris Skele to be Prime Minister is an indicator of practical democratic politics—a compromise between parties of the left and right in order to form a workable government. And the inability of either left-leaning or right-leaning parties to clearly dominate the government is an indication of the ongoing democratic debate that will decide the economic and political direction of Latvia in the twenty-first century.

On June 18, 1996, the Parliament re-elected Guntis Ulmanis to a second three-year term as State President. A coalition of 53 members of Parliament voted for Ulmanis. His main rival, Ilga Kreituse, was supported mainly by the left-leaning Democratic Party Saimnieks and received 25 votes.

President Ulmanis provides a stabilizing link to Latvia's political past, the era before World War II and the subsequent Soviet occupation of Latvia. He is the grandnephew of Karlis Ulmanis, State President of Latvia from 1936-1940. Thus, President Guntis Ulmanis is both a practical politician and a living symbol of Latvian sovereignty.

Prospects for Consolidating Democracy

The recent parliamentary and presidential elections in Latvia indicate that representative democracy has been revived. Further, the prospects for democratic consolidation and continuation are auspicious. There is robust rivalry among several political parties, which compete freely and fairly for public support. There is sufficient, if not exemplary, political interest and participation among citizens. And there is an emerging civil society that offers opportunities for citizens to acquire the skills and dispositions of democratic behavior through voluntary participation in more than 1,600 non-governmental organizations, which "seek to defend human rights, promote economic initiative and development, prevent environmental degradation, and provide social assistance to some of Latvia's most vulnerable groups, such as children." Latvian civil society also includes more than 800 religious congregations, more than 50 independent radio and television stations, and several privately owned mass circulation newspapers.

Obstacles and challenges to democracy, however, stem from the totalitarian legacy of Soviet rule. Many Latvians have had little opportunity to develop resources necessary for effective democratic participation. Five years of freedom have not provided sufficient time to undo the damage of 50 years of totalitarian rule. And if Latvia cannot satisfactorily integrate or otherwise accommodate its Slavic minorities, then the constitutional democracy will be at risk.

On balance the prospects for democracy in Latvia appear to outweigh the obstacles. Latvians are well-educated, hard-working, and responsible people with deep love of their country and commitment to its future. Most Latvians seem to believe that a democratic future in association with civilizations of the West is their best hope for preservation of "fatherland and freedom" *(teuzemei un brivibai)*, the phrase inscribed at the base of the inspiring Freedom Monument at the center of Riga.

Student Handout

Who Qualifies to be a Citizen of Your Country?

1. If you were given the task of writing the qualifications needed to become a citizen, which of the qualifiers below would you include and why?

- language test
- basic history test of your country
- health record
- religious beliefs
- criminal record
- skin color
- relatives live in the same country as those wishing to become citizens
- special talents (e.g. world famous scientist)
- heroic act performed
- allegiance to the nation (e.g. willing to join the army)
- birth rights (e.g. born within the country's boundaries)
- other

2. a) Review the qualifications you chose for your country's citizenry. Also review the definitions of nation and state. Which of these terms would you apply to your citizenry as a whole?

b) What qualities of a citizen have you included to prove that you have described a "nation" or "state?"

3. Should there be limits on how many people can be citizens? Why or why not?

Student Handout

A Latvian View

by Guntars Catlaks

People are different, with different interests and values. Nevertheless, there are characteristics that unite larger or smaller human groups, making them close to each other, creating common interests and a sense of unity and solidarity. As a result, lasting historical, human associations can develop and endure, which are not held together merely by economic interests and mutual dependence.

In addition to ties of kinship, which are assumed to be the most ancient, religious feelings (especially in the Islamic world), feelings of national belonging also have such a role. In all cases, the goal and meaning is to create stable, viable, lasting social structures. Specifically, the endurance of social organization is one of the fundamental requirements for human progress. It makes possible the passing on of experiential heritage from one generation to another, mutual help in times of crises, and the mobilization of resources and strength for the accomplishment of extraordinary assignments, which would be impossible for the separate individual.

States became such social organization forms very long ago. The questions concerning the causes and conditions of the development of the most ancient states are, of course, very complicated; however, the social organization of states has been in tandem with national consciousness for over two hundred years. In the last hundred years the conclusion that nations have the right to self-determination in creating their independent states has become a general norm.

Latvia also belongs to Europe's "new" (after the First World War) states, whose independence is grounded in the concept of self-determination. In this way, the feelings of national belonging have become the foundation of state affiliation.

Additionally, we know that in Europe the development of a centralized, unified state and its long-term endurance has been encouraged by a sense of national togetherness. Apparently the disagreement as to which came first, the nation or the state, is sterile. The processes of development have taken place simultaneously and in interaction with one another. Close and lasting political and economic ties in one territory, common experience and interests, as well as the same language and culture inescapably create a sense of commonality among groups with different ethnic origins. There are both nationally homogenous and multinational states in the modern world. However, nowhere is this situation frozen.

We can simultaneously observe what appear to be opposite tendencies. In some states, minority nationalities are increasingly integrated into the life of the dominant nationality—integration that can end in complete *assimilation* (loss of one's language, culture, and consciousness of self—a complete melting into the dominant nationality). In other states, the opposite happens: *dissimilation* (progressive disassociation of a national group and increased awareness of itself), which can cause state formation from two or three alliances, or even division of (an existing) state. There is no lack of examples for the latter model in the world today (Canada's Quebec question; the problems of territorial unity in Russia, India, or China). After all, our modern Central and East European national states have also come about as the result of the disintegration and collapse of great empires (Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian). Of course, what kind of relationships later developed among the different nations of one state was a direct result of historical experiences: the role each of the nations had in the formation of the state, the conditions at which it arrived in this state (dominant nation—immigrants, subjugating nation—liberated nation). A characteristic example is the relationship of Bulgars and Turks in Bulgaria.

Another question is citizenship. Formally, the concept of citizenship is not connected with the concept of nation; understanding the difference is important. Citizenship means a person's connections to the state—one's duties and rights. It is not dependent on hair or skin color, religion, physique, blood type, language, or even national consciousness, but only upon law. There are 1,700,000 citizens in Latvia, of which 75% are Latvian. In accordance with the Latvian citizenship statutes, one is entitled to citizenship if one's parent was a citizen—independent of nationality, language competence, birth place, and so on. In turn, not all Latvians are citizens because their parents were not citizens. Taking into account the circumstances of the previously mentioned states in Central and Eastern Europe (the result of national independence struggles), the law accounts for the fact that the citizens of one state usually represent several nationalities. Latvia in this sense is a typical Central European state.

The history of the last 50 years in Latvia (Soviet occupation, renewal of independence) has created the current situation: a community of Latvian citizens, who include a majority of Latvians and a community of immigrants (primarily Russian) who came into the country during the occupation. Of course it is not normal if 30% of a state's inhabitants are not citizens.

The most important criteria for becoming a citizen is knowledge of the Latvian language and the number of years one has lived in Latvia. Members of other nations should know and respect the language and culture of that nation in whose state they find themselves for whatever reason, if they aspire or pretend to participate in the creation of that state's destiny. On the other hand, the state, as the representative of the primary or indigenous nation, must respect the rights of each citizen to his feelings of national self-consciousness, giving possibilities to preserve and develop his culture.

Student Handout

Russians in Latvia

Excerpt from "Russians in Latvia," in *Riga Times*, Number 3-4, interviews with Mikhail Emelianov, Luidmila Zadornova, Aleksandr Zadornov, Ksenija Zadornova, Liubova Dukteine, Aleksandr Dmitriv, Ignatii Andreevich.

Directions for Readers' Theater:

In this activity the thoughts, feelings, impressions and opinions of Russians living in Latvia are brought to life and contribute to our understanding of these complex perspectives. What follows is a series of interviews as they appeared in a Latvian newspaper. As you listen, try to identify the issues these Russians feel are important. impressions and opinions of Russians are in their own words is a valuable way of gaining understanding. Readers for the following parts are needed:

—First Interviewer
—Second Interviewer
—Third Interviewer
—Aleksandr Zadornov
—Aleksandr Dmitriv
—Mikail Emelianov
—Ludmila Zadornova
—Kesnija Zadornova
—Luibova Dukteine
—Ignatii Andreevich

The interview of Mikhail Emelianov

[First Interviewer] ***How is it going for an enterprising Russian in Latvia?***

M.: …The same as for an enterprising Latvian. You are probably thinking—do Russians have extra barriers? Of course not. There are many problems in business, but none of them is national…There is the language problem—all documents have to be written in Latvian…But the wife does help get through with the papers. She is Latvian.

My workers also have to speak Latvian. I am ashamed, if the customer asks in Latvian, but the clerk doesn't know how to answer. Or even doesn't want to—she, you see, she says she feels uncomfortable if something is said wrong. Now that (attitude) I refuse to understand; in this case I have strict requirements. You have to be able to speak with a customer in his language, that's all!

[First Interviewer] ***So, then, all is well with your own Latvian language?***

M.: …I wouldn't swear to that. I suppose I can manage conversation, but on a higher level I "don't pull together." To be honest, even on the middle, no. Latvians don't really make you learn. If (they) feel, that you have trouble expressing yourself in Latvian, they immediately start to speak in Russian and do it willingly.

[First Interviewer] ***Have you thought about citizenship? In your opinion what kind should the citizenship statutes be?***

M.: …To be honest, I'm not that interested in politics. If it would pertain to me personally, then no doubt the question would lie closer to heart. But I'm not a Latvian citizen. My father was born in Latvia in 1936. My acquaintances, also enterprisers who are not citizens, have not run into any problems. No one is, after all, persecuted because he is not a citizen…But Russians must want to learn the language and fit in comfortably so they can live without complexes.

[First Interviewer] ***About which place in Latvia could you say—that is to me the dearest?***

M.: I'm a Riga man. So of course, such a place for me is Old Riga (Vecriga).

[First Interviewer] ***What draws you to the culture scene in Latvia?***

M.: …Most striking, the grandest, is the Song Festival. In the morning I open the store—in come such handsome customers in folk costume—as usual at festivals. And do you know, I also feel that I participate in this festival. Well, it is also my festival.

Interview of Luidmila Zadornova, editor; Kesnija Zadornova, secretary; Aleksandr Zadornov, student

[Second Interviewer] ***Do you in your family ask yourself—to become a part or not to become a part of Latvian society?***

Luidmila: Maybe that has already happened with me. To an extent.

Aleksandr: There are two terms—integration (*ieklausanas, iesaistisanas*) and adaptation (*pielagosanas, piemerosanas*). To me the second is acceptable. Integration after all anticipates that you totally accept the rules of the game, feel the same as a Latvian, have the same views. And that is not all the best.

Ksenija: Of course one must become a part (*jaieklaujas*). After all one cannot live in a parallel world. It is not difficult to fit in, and the easiest—through culture. Through living persons and a living culture.

[Second Interviewer] ***What fascinates you in Latvian culture?***

L.: The closest for me are the applied arts.

K.: For me—painting....I very much like Pauluks and Bauskenieks. Bauskenieks is ironic and very benevolent. Pauluks, that is light and the good always defeats the dark and evil, as in a folk tale.

[Second Interviewer] ***Are you very proud that you have Pauluks?***

L.: Understand, we have some kind of internal break, an internal barrier that doesn't allow to say—we have Pauluks. A sense that we do not have a right to it.

K.: Definitely, it is not the case that I have assimilated. No, I am a Russian, but my senses are often Latvian. It could even be said—I am not yet a Latvian, but also no longer a Russian.

L.: ...We here in general are different than Russian Russians. St. Petersburg is my dear city, however, having driven there, I felt as a foreign body. Even Russian language is here different—more "distilled." More precise. As of a foreigner, who has learned it well. I believe Russians here are something like a new human association.

K.: There are people whose national views totally reflect in their outer appearance—bearing, eye expression... I wouldn't risk asking the time from them on the street.

L.: Ksenija is addressed in Latvian by people who don't know her, for her face and dressing style are truly Latvian...Typical Latvian girl.

L.: Latvia is my and my children's birthland. All of my childhood scents are connected with Latvia. There are people who don't want to enter into local existence for anything. Or maybe can't. Those kind should leave. It is difficult to live in a state, which you don't accept....

[Second Interviewer] ***What do you think, to whom should Latvian citizenship be granted?***

L.: Not everyone has an ethical right to Latvian citizenship. Even if born here. The law is the law—cool, impersonal, and all the same to all... But in my opinion, precisely feelings, attitude to Latvia has the decisive significance.

[Second Interviewer] ***You finished Russian (high) school, but in the University all your lectures are in Latvian.***

A.: ...Every day in college is for the better to my Latvian language. It is understandable, that teaching in college is in Latvian. How else? To learn in the Latvian language, in a Latvian environment—that is one of the forms of adaptation.

[Second Interviewer] ***Does your mentality differ from that of your Latvian classmates?***

A.: I don't know...We listen to the same music, read the same books.

[Second Interviewer] ***How do you, living here, feel about Russia?***

L.: As an aching spot in my heart. That's really it—with our roots we have grown here, but Russia reverberates within us. Look in the bookshelves—that, for all that, is Russia. The one, which once was the land of faith and culture. But not today's. What Russia is today, that I don't really know at all.

Interview of Luidova Dukteine, artist, and Aleksandr Dmitriv, retired army officer

[Third Interviewer] ***And you? How do you, living here, feel about Russia?***

Luidova: I have grown up in a Latvian landscape, in Latvian surroundings, have been educated here. My temperament and my mannerisms have graduated from this school. The nature, the mother of pearl tones on the cobblestones of Old Riga have given root to my sense of color. Although inside I remain Russian, the polishing of me is Latvian.

As a bolt of lightning contained in the words "Russians are occupants" I experienced at the age of 18. Those words were said by a friend. I had grown up as grass, unthinking about why and who I was in this land....I had to get used to this idea....I have always worked among Latvians—in the enterprise and training center "Art." And I caused quite a "furor" (confusion, surprise), announcing: "We, Russians, are occupants. Forgive us." ...Maybe that is why my relationships with Latvians developed very cordially.

Aleksandr: The past is heavy. It was so in 1940, well it happened. I myself saw the deported "things." People were herded to Siberia, to the North just because, for the sake of numbers....Stalin made everyone suffer. I also understand that here Russians are viewed as in its time, before centuries, Russians viewed the Mongols, the Tartars. Even more so, army people. But now over half a century has passed. Why look in the past? How should I help you live through? You will say, go away, and we will live through. I don't understand that—how can a benevolently disposed person harm Latvians? Now how can I hinder a nation to be reborn?

[Third Interviewer] ***A nation is helped to be reborn, for instance, by one who speaks its language.***

A.: Of course we have to learn and know the Latvian language. A language is a means of understanding, not getting even. Let us say, I work well, but speak Latvian badly. And in my place is put another person, who speaks well, but works badly. That happens.

[Third Interviewer] ***And how is it for yourself with working and speaking?***

A.: I know how to work; I try to speak. But my colleagues, hearing how it comes out for me, immediately start talking Russian—horror struck as what I am doing to the Latvian language....Those people who are living here now should be given a chance to realize themselves. But a round seal is stamped on their passport; they say after a few years you will leave anyway. But where is a retired officer to go? Anyone can be asked—where and for who, is he needed? ...In Russia we have no home; all our life we have been thrown here and there over the world.

[Third Interviewer] ***What particularly ties you to Latvia?***

A.: I have crisscrossed many forests. My heart aches that they are now being mindlessly cut down. I like Lake Engure, the Gauja River. Ligatne's surrounding is fantastic [referring to areas in Latvia]....If a person has found friends here, a home, has become part of society, helps develop, he integrates. If a person stands himself up against society, early or late, he will have to put on walking boots....Generally, I understand the misgivings of Latvians—here there are many Russians, next to them as ambiguous neighbor.

Interview of Ignatii Andreevich, pensioner

[First Interviewer] ***How did you come to be here?***

Ignatii: Latvia, I liberated from the Fascists. I live here from that time....We lived in barracks, later in a communal apartment on Suvorov Street. I worked on street repair, later in a factory. Until (my) pension. Before ten years ago I was given an apartment here in Purvciems. Was anything lacking in those days?

[First Interviewer] ***What is the problem now?***

I.: Do you know what pensions are like? I have worked all my life. That festering carcass of a Gorbachev let control slip out of his hands! He squandered such a nation! All the world was ours. Now Russia has to beg alms like a beggar woman....Independent nations have sprung up. You can't spit, because you might hit some woman. Well, what kind of a state is that— Latvia? There has never been such a one. There can be no state that scorns Russian people....I have always been and always will be a Russian citizen.

[First Interviewer] ***Did you, working together with Latvians, learn the Latvian language?***

I.: Latvians speak good Russian; there is no need.

Student Handout

The Baltic Revolution

Adapted from *The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence*
by Anatol Lieven; Yale University Press; New Haven, CT, 1993, pp. 306–15.
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Editor's Note: This piece is adapted from a longer book by Anatol Lieven, a Russian. In the piece, he constructs an argument based on the question: "What if the radical elements came into power? What would happen to the Russians in Latvia?" An interesting exercise, but important to remember that so far the radicals have not been elected. The issues raised, however, also address controversies in the United States about language, nationality, immigration, citizenship and equal treatment under the law. As you read, think about the perspectives presented on Latvian citizenship and their relation to this issue in the U.S.

It was the habit in the Baltic, under Soviet rule, to blame every misfortune on the fact of that rule. The mentality is not easily shaken off and the fear is that, when the Russian army has gone, the resentment will simply be transferred to the local "immigrant" populations. The characteristic is already manifest: some Balts have in any case long been accustomed to blaming local Russians for much of the crime, prostitution and disorder in their countries. Withdrawal of the army will of itself do little to improve ethnic relations. Already, most Balts falsely equate "Russian" with "Soviet," even though Latvians themselves… provided some of the most ferocious exponents of Communist terror.

"A return to the Latvia of 18 November 1918" (the date of the first declaration of independence)—the slogan of the Fourth Popular Front Congress and the Constitution Faction—was always a code for exclusion of Russian "immigrants," even though it also had a wider emotional resonance…

The approach of the Center-Right Estonian government which won power in the September 1992 election, has been based on these views. In [some] view[s] it is wrong to speak of the Russians in Estonia as a "minority": 'Legally, the word "minority" applies only to those Russians who were settled in Estonia before 1940. The rest are colonists.

The language of the Latvian Congress has been more extreme, partly because of the difference in national style, partly because of the even more acute demographic situation. [See the student handout **Latvia's Distribution of Population by Citizenship and Ethnicity…**] The Congress also refers to most of the Russians in Latvia as "colonists," and increasingly argues that under the clauses of the Geneva Convention governing occupied countries, they have no right to be in Latvia at all and should depart with the Russian troops. In August 1992, the Committee of the Latvian Congress issued a warning "to the colonists from the U.S.S.R. in Latvia" (in its own translation):

> *You are living illegally on the Latvian territory.... That's why the Congress of Latvian Republic Citizens as an authorized representative of the Latvian Republic offers you to leave Latvian territory. You will be forced to leave sooner or later. Delaying your departure, you provoke the activities of those forces which are ready to solve the question of the decolonization of Latvia by means of force, in which neither you nor we have any interests.*

The sentiment is widespread, even if some phrase it less harshly. In July 1992 the Latvian Supreme Council passed a law establishing stiff requirements for the issue of residence permits to those wishing to settle in the country. Some groups then announced that they understood this to apply also to those non-citizens already living in the republic—which would have meant the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of the population. The parliamentary majority rejected this interpretation, but the radicals continue to assert it, and if they came to power, would presumably make at least symbolic gestures to put it into effect…

…There is a central flaw in the Latvian and Estonian approach to the question of Russian citizenship. Strict procedures for acquiring citizenship are often justified in terms of the need for local Russians to 'prove' their loyalty and commitment. At the same time however these nations are increasingly expressing themselves and defining their national identities in ways that can only repel other nationalities. A realistic appeal to the loyalty of national minorities can only be made in terms of institutions and universal values—and it was indeed in these terms that appeals by the Baltic national movements both to local Russians and to the West were couched between 1988 and 1991. The present appeal to support purely ethnically based ideas of the state is, in contrast, illogical and bound to fail…

A good deal of mutual resentment has resulted from the coarse style of the post-Soviet press on both sides. The patronizing tone of much of the local Russian press has infuriated Latvians. A subsequent attempt by the dissident journalists to set up a new Russian democratic paper then also failed, amidst feuding between the Russian journalists and a general collapse of will. This characteristic Russian divisiveness is true of Russian politics in Latvia in general, and is an explanation for the deep political apathy among the Russian-speaking population during the eighteen months after August 1991.

The resolution on citizenship and naturalization in Latvia, which passed its first reading on 15 October 1991, but thereafter was stalled by radical nationalist opposition, was a good deal tougher. It proposed to grant automatic citizenship to pre-1940 nationals and their descendants, and the right was later confirmed. For the rest, the resolution demands a 16-year residence qualification (though *up to* the present, not *from* the present, as in Estonia), and a language test to "conversational" level. It also excludes a long series of specific categories, including people who have "turned against Latvia's independence using anti-constitutional methods," people who have spread "chauvinist, fascist, communist or other totalitarian ideas," people who were sent into Latvia after 17 June 1940 as "U.S.S.R. Communist Party and Komsomol personal," along with drug addicts, alcoholics and those without a legal source of income.

The U.S.-based human rights body, Helsinki Watch,—which always strongly supported the Baltic right to independence—wrote to the Latvian Supreme Council deploring the draft law:

> *The draft law effectively denies citizenship to people who, until August 21st 1991, were considered citizens in Latvia and enjoyed the full rights and privileges that citizenship confers…Many of the draft law's proposals violate the spirit of CSCE documents, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights. By joining the CSCE, Latvia committed itself to upholding the human rights standard set out in these documents…*
>
> *Particularly objectionable are [the specific exclusions]… Such political and medical categories are vague, subject to wide and arbitrary interpretation…*
>
> *Helsinki Watch maintains that the 16 year residence requirement is excessive and unnecessarily interrupts the lives of people who (in good faith) settled in Latvia without ever expecting to be rendered a foreigner in an independent country. The language requirement is an extra hardship. If a test is set, then, the law must provide for extra gratis language training…*

…Given time, the emergence of a generation of Baltic Russians educated in the local languages, and the fast progress of spontaneous language-learning among their elders, would in the natural course of things lead to a majority of local Russians gaining citizenship. The expressed hope of moderate Balts is that, in the meantime, the Russians would have learned also to think of themselves as Balts and not as an imperial nation. But will the moderates remain in power? Will it be them administering the language tests? Or, in the words of Janis Jurkans, "Are we going to go on raising the hurdles against getting citizenship higher and higher, using the excuse that international law says nothing on the subject, and secretly rejoicing that the Russians won't be able to make it?"

At present, with ethnic relations within the Baltic are relatively quiet, the chief danger lies in the probability of a future more nationalist government in Moscow and of a new and harsher Russian strategy. On the Baltic side, the danger also lies in the possibility of more radical nationalist governments taking power, and the risk that the language and citizenship laws may be used by them to exclude as many local Russians as possible.

In a reasoned exposition of the Latvian case on citizenship, Viesturs Karnups, the Latvian-Australian chief of the newly created and recruited Citizenship and Naturalization Department, told me that:

> *Latvians have nowhere else to go. There is no other Latvia. If this Latvia is not truly Latvia, then the Latvian culture, tradition and language will disappear from the face of the earth. So Latvians want to see a Latvian Latvia. They would wish a multicultural Latvia only in the sense of multicultural Australia, in which other cultures and languages are free to develop to a limited extent, but state support for them is seen as a privilege, not a right.*

However, he continued that, "The intention of this department is not to find excuses for excluding people, but to create opportunities for people to become citizens who fulfill the requirements, and who wish to integrate into Latvia." He also let slip the phrase, "my officials are known throughout the government for their enthusiasm and incorruptibility."

This in a way sums up the moral ambiguity of nationalism: its power to inspire, and its power to harm. No one doubts that Knarnups's officials, amidst a post-Soviet civil service riddled with laziness and corruption, are indeed hard-working and honest. But where does their motivation come from? Their patriotism. And what is their patriotism telling them to do? Most local Russians believe that it is telling them to exclude Russians whenever possible…

…The second long-term danger however remains that exclusion from political representation will leave the economic interests of Russian workers and Russian businessmen totally unprotected. Latvian law already explicitly excludes non-citizens from owning real estate or setting up joint-stock companies, though they can lease land and invest in Latvia. Businessmen are vulnerable to (often justified) populist attacks on "foreign money-launderers"; workers, of course, to the whole free-market transition. In other countries, including Poland and Russia, economic reform and de-industrialization have been retarded by an awareness that the human, but especially the political costs, are too high to bear. The Russians in the Baltic will have no such protection, and will not be wrong to see their resulting misery as in part the result of their political disenfranchisement.

In a post-Communist society in which patronage and influence over the state are critical, the Russians, in spite of all guarantees, could find themselves disadvantaged in a range of other fields as well, and most notably in education. The Baltic universities increasingly operate only in the Baltic languages, and quietly discriminate against Russian applicants. Economic and social discrimination, more than the loss of citizenship, is what most Baltic Russians fear: Soviet citizenship was never a very meaningful concept in any case, and relatively few sought it. All, however, are worried by the threat of economic pressure. And both the fear and the reality of such pressure will be increased by their lack of political representation….

Student Handout

A Latvian Citizen?

Case Studies

Identify which cases should qualify for Latvian Citizenship.

Case Study #1

Vlad and Alina live in the small town in Latvia near the Lithuania border. Vlad's parents came here from Lithuania. They were born in the independent Lithuania before the Second World War, but are Russians by nationality. Alina arrived in Latvia from Byelorussia after high school, then studied and graduated from the Nursery-School in Riga [the capital of Latvia]. Most of the people in the town are Latvians and the only local school is taught using the Latvian language. Vlad's and Alina's children know Latvian very well, although at home everybody speaks Russian. Can the members of this particular family become Latvian citizens?

Case Study #2

John came to Latvia from the U.S. as a regional representative of a large international corporation. After two years in Latvia, he married Tanja and settled in Riga [the capital of Latvia]. Tanja was born in Latvia but is not a citizen because her parents had arrived here only in the late 1960s after graduating from the university in Moscow. Now John and Tanja have a baby. Which members of this family are Latvian citizens and how would other family members become citizens?

Case Study #3

Sasha was born in Riga in 1980. His parents are Russian by nationality. His mother was born in Latvia in 1960, but his father arrived here from Russia in the middle of the 1970s. After graduating from the 9th grade Sasha decided to continue studies in the school with instruction in the Latvian language. His parents agreed to his decision. Sasha is involved in sports activities (skiing), has succeeded and is very proud to represent Latvia in international competitions. It seems essential for him to become a Latvian citizen. What does he have to do to become a citizen? Can his parents become Latvian citizens?

Case Study #4

Nil was born in the U.S. in a Latvian family who went there during the Second World War (after communist rule began in Latvia). He married an American citizen, Rachel. In 1990 Latvia got back its independence. They decided to move to Latvia in 1992. Now they have two children: Karlis, born in the U.S. and Ieva, born in Latvia. Which family members can become Latvian citizens? What would the others have to do to become citizens?

Student Handout

Latvia's Distribution of Population by Citizenship and Ethnicity, March 1995

After carefully studying the table, answer the questions on the following page.

Ethnicity	Citizens	% of Total Citizenry	Non-Citizens	% of All Non-Citizens	Total	% of Population	% Having Citizenship
Latvian	1,397,523	78.68%	24,464	3.30%	1,421,987	56.51%	98.28%
Russian	289,106	16.28%	476,790	64.41%	765,896	30.43%	37.75%
Belarusian	20,971	1.18%	88,151	11.91%	109,122	4.34%	19.22%
Ukrainian	4,151	0.23%	65,183	8.81%	69,334	2.76%	5.99%
Polish	39,522	2.22%	25,465	3.44 %	64,987	2.58%	60.82%
Lithuanian	7,253	0.41%	28,454	3.84%	35,707	1.42%	20.31%
Jewish	6,828	0.38%	8,456	1.14%	15,284	0.61%	44.67%
Roma (Gypsy)	6,794	0.38%	822	0.11%	7,616	0.30%	89.21%
German	987	0.06%	2,857	0.39%	3,844	0.15%	25.68%
Tartar	151	0.01%	3,402	0.46%	3,553	0.14%	4.25%
Estonian	1,337	0.08%	1,680	0.23%	3,017	0.12%	44.32%
Armenian	299	0.02%	2,240	0.30%	2,539	0.10%	11.78%
Moldovian	134	0.01%	1,813	0.24%	1,947	0.08%	6.88%
Azeri	62	0.01%	1,468	0.20%	1,630	0.06%	9.94%
Chuvash	25	0.00%	1,060	0.14%	1,085	0.04%	2.30%
Georgian	190	0.01%	812	0.11%	1,002	0.04%	18.96%
Liv	203	0.01%	4	0.00%	207	0.01%	98.07%
Other	650	0.04%	7,110	0.96%	7,760	0.31%	8.38%
Total	1,776,286	100.00%	740,231	100.00%	2,516,517	100.00%	70.59%

Source: Latvian Citizenship and Immigration Department

1. Which two ethnic groups make up 95% of Latvia's citizens?

2. Of all the ethnic populations in Latvia, which 3 ethnic groups have the highest percentage of citizenship?

3. Which ethnic group has the highest percentage of non-citizens?

4. Which ethnic group makes up about 30% of the Latvian population, yet only about one third of its people are Latvian citizens?

WHAT DOES EQUALITY MEAN?
FOUR PERSPECTIVES

In the state of nature…all men are created equal, but they cannot continue in this equality. Society makes them lose it, and they recover it only by the protection of laws.

—*Montesquieu,* Spirit of Laws

All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others.

—*George Orwell,* Animal Farm

Summary of the Lesson

One of the main elements of a contemporary **constitutional democracy** is equality vis-a-vis the law (**legal equality**), with some elements of **material equality** and the **equality of opportunity**. Another major piece is **democratic equality**, that is, equality of participation in government. By critically analyzing equality scenarios in four different imaginary lands, students will clarify the differences between these conceptualizations of equality and the problems and dangers they entail. This comprehension will also assist students in understanding the initial appeal of various forms government and the potential consequences of attempting to implement different interpretations of equality. Students will discuss their conclusions as a class.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- distinguish between legal equality, equality of opportunity, material equality and democratic equality,
- understand the necessity of legal equality as the foundation of constitutional democracy,
- critically analyze four equality scenarios in small groups,
- compare and contrast their findings in a large group setting.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Begin with an informal brainstorming activity by asking students "What is meant by the word *equality*?" If desired, record all responses on newsprint or the chalkboard.

Divide the students into four groups. Distribute student handouts respectively: **The Tale about Opportunia** to Group I; **The Tale about Equitania** to Group II; **The Tale about Jurisdonia** to Group III; **The Tale about Electonia** to Group IV.

Ask students to carefully read their respective handouts and to think about how one could improve the imaginary country's social policies. Ask students to describe their ideas within their groups. Tell them in advance that at the end of the class they will have to do an exercise using the information obtained in the course of the lesson.

Developing the Lesson

After the students have finished working on their handouts, draw a four-part table (like the one below) on the blackboard which can be used to compare and contrast the four tales.

In their groups, ask students to consider the following questions about their group's tale:

1. What does equality mean in this country?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of defining equality in this way?
3. What is the role of the government in guaranteeing this definition of equality?

The solutions proposed by the students should be recorded on the blackboard in respective columns in the table.

Distribute copies of the essay **On Equality** to provide students with information about how equality has been defined within political philosophy. Reading the essay (and, if desired, seeking out commentary from the philosophers mentioned) should help to clarify and expand upon the definitions presented in the tales.

Concluding the Lesson

Conduct a class discussion which summarizes the ideas generated from the four-part table. Questions might include:

1. Which of the countries represented in the tale reflect legal equality? Equality of opportunity? Material equality? Democratic equality?
2. Which views most accurately reflect the ways in which the United States' Constitution defines equality? Why?
3. These tales demonstrate four separate, distinct types of equality. Can you think of examples of how these ideas could be interwoven into a state?
4. What are examples of these types of equality in the United States?
5. The essay **On Equality** discusses the perspectives of many different political philosophers. With whom does Tomasz Merta, the author, seem to agree? What makes you think this?
6. How would an individual raised under a communist regime define equality? Under the United States' system of government? In what ways might personal histories affect the ways in which we view equality?

Extending the Lesson

In an essay or a class discussion, students could compare Polish educator Tomasz Merta's definition of equality to one or more views from political philosophy. Locke, Kant, Plato, Aristotle, and Rousseau's views could all be included in this comparison.

Jurisdonia	Opportunia	Equitania	Electonia

Ask students to compare and contrast the four types of equality:

- legal equality,
- equality of opportunity,
- material equality,
- democratic equality.

This might be completed through an essay or a visual representation such as a chart, drawing, or cartoon.

Ask students to answer, in writing, the following question: Which facts, events or situations from the press, television, radio or everyday experience are, in your view, indications of legal equality, democratic equality, equality of opportunity or material equality? Justify your selection.

In an essay or class discussion, students could apply this four-part analysis of equality to a study of specific contemporary American issues such as welfare reform and affirmative action.

Students could discuss examples of times when people have challenged inequitable laws, societies, etc. (i.e. the Civil Rights movement).

Student Handout

The Tale about Opportunia

by Tomasz Merta

In Opportunia there is universal agreement that all people are equal. This is why the government thinks it most important to make sure that nothing violates the absolute equality in the country with which it has been entrusted. Equality is the highest value and the only guarantee of justice, so that other values, desires and feelings have to give way to it. It does not mean that the people of Opportunia shun honest competition and do not reward the hard-working and the wise. The people of Opportunia assume that one of the functions of the government is to compensate for initial inequalities through *post hoc*[1] public policies that allow the disadvantaged to overcome their initial disadvantages. Therefore, the government must provide equality of opportunity for all citizens.

Regarding creating the best conditions for equality, the government long ago discovered the main obstacle: the fact that children are brought up in different families and even if they are sent to the same schools, some become better educated than others. Some children had rich parents and could see the world, while others were so poor that they had to work from a very young age. Some children began reading books in early childhood, while others—left to themselves—spent their time playing around.

The government concluded that the government should raise children from the time they are very young; in this way the inequality which results from having very different parents could be avoided. Therefore young children are sent to special homes and put in the care of professional staff. All are treated absolutely equally; they are raised, dressed and fed in the very same way.

The implementation of the plan of equal upbringing in Opportunia caused a good deal of social unrest—the citizens appealed to their rights and their love for their children. They were calling the government inhumane. However, this was a big misunderstanding—the government cannot be inhumane if it acts in the best interest of the citizens: people have in the first place the right to equality and that is why even the love for children has to be subjected to it.

The government finds comfort in the thought that a new generation of citizens, brought up in the conditions of perfect equality, will have more understanding for its noble intentions and wisdom than the present generation. The government does not lose hope that, with the help of genetic engineering, it will be able to introduce even better equality in the future.

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[1] Editor's Note: *Post hoc* is short for *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, or "after this, therefore because of this"

Student Handout

The Tale about Equitania

by Tomasz Merta

Equitania took its beautiful name from the Latin word for equality, because its government considers equality as its only task and indeed the only just purpose for any government. Is it not the case that everybody is equal and so is it not just that everybody should get an equal share of different goods the world has to offer? The government of Equitania knows that other states are also proud of the equality they cherish, but these are merely nice words with no real content. The equality of the rich and the poor? The equality of the janitor and the manager?

In Equitania, equality is more than a mere word. Here words gave way to action a long time ago. It was decided that no matter what one is doing and how much effort one puts into it, one will get an equal share of jointly produced goods. If you earn more, you have to give it to the state through taxation and the government will give it to those who have earned less than is their due on the basis of the principles of equality. Hence, now in Equitania everybody is equal and no one has a reason to stand out. Also, there are no people who are objects of envy and resentment. The wisdom and modern character of the government of Equitania—a genuine warrior of progress—simply cannot be overstated, however not all the citizens are mature enough to understand it. This concerns both the people with great personal talents and those whose talents and skills are quite modest. Instead of working with enthusiasm towards the common good (the more wealth they create the more there will be to share) the former become easily discouraged, apathetic and depressed, while the latter indulge in idleness with more and more pleasure. These people do not enjoy being treated the same; in fact, they seem to thrive under conditions in which they are treated in a variety of ways.

Thus the economy of Equitania has become more and more sluggish and the equality in wealth has undiscernibly turned into equality in poverty. However, the government does not believe that it has taken a wrong turn on the road to equality—the principle is correct, the problem is only how to make people work effectively. If rational motivation has failed, coercion must be used. Of course, the enlightened government of Equitania is not going to use coercion for long; it is just a temporary need that forces it to do so. The government believes in the power of education—in time people will come to appreciate real equality and understand that working together is in their interest. Only then will people be equal, the world just, and Equitania prosperous.

Student Handout

The Tale about Jurisdonia

by Tomasz Merta

In Jurisdonia nobody doubts the importance of equality. People remember those unhappy old times when some people enjoyed tremendous privileges, and even the power of life and death over those who were not so fortunate as to have been born among the privileged. The latter's deeds were judged with a different measure, their crimes being punished less strictly, if at all. Nowadays in Jurisdonia this would be unthinkable; all the citizens have the same rights and responsibilities, encounter the same rewards and punishments. No one can complain; everybody gets as much as he or she has accomplished through work. The government does not interfere in the affairs of the citizens, allowing them to do as they please. Law is the only limit of their freedom. The law guarantees that everyone is treated the same in court, everyone has the same political rights, no one is considered above the law—in essence the same legal standards are applied equally to everyone.

However hard it is to believe, there are malcontents [disgruntled people] even here. They say that the equality in Jurisdonia is not just at all, and that equal law for everybody is not enough, because the real limit of civil liberty is what is in that person's wallet. Money is the real ticket to the kingdom of freedom. What is the point of the equal right to study if only the rich can afford to pay tuition fees? What is the point of everyone's right to have a car or a house if not everybody can afford that? What good is legal equality to the poor man starving on the street? And who really dares to claim to be equal to a rich man? Maybe in the sense that they have the equal right to sleep under the bridge?

The government does not share these views and does not even quite comprehend them. In order to help the poor, one needs proper resources, and in order to obtain them the government would have to take at least some of its money from the rich. Thus, a police officer protecting the law would turn into a Robin Hood. Would that be just? Could this be reconciled with equality in law? Everybody has an equal right to the fruits of one's labor.

One should not think, however, that the terrifying fate of the poor leaves the government indifferent. The ministers of Jurisdonia generously give alms from their own salaries and they do it in public in order to encourage other rich citizens to follow their example.

Student Handout

The Tale about Electonia

by Tomasz Merta

If a foreigner asks any inhabitant of Electonia what is the most important thing for its citizens, the answer will be without a doubt: we are all equal. The foreigner may be surprised with this opinion, since equality in Electonia is very far from being obvious to the observer. On the contrary, it is a country of terrifying contrasts and disturbing political terror. Politicians who lose elections often have to leave the country in a hurry, and the rich can become poor overnight. In fact one cannot even say that any of Electonia's citizens sleep in peace. Too often their fate depends on the changing moods of other citizens.

One should not conclude, however, that in Electonia there is no equality or that its people are equal only in fear and uncertainty. This is because the people of Electonia understand equality as the right to share the government of their country. Everyone has as an equal influence on the decisions that are taken by the state. Everyone can vote, everyone can run for office, all votes count equally, and steps are taken to ensure that when poorer people run for office they can win even if their opponents are wealthy. These guarantees give citizens of Electonia confidence in the decisions of the majority. The majority opinion is decided through voting and immediately implemented. The minority is expected to accept the view of the majority, because the people are always right, and unity gives power of action.

To those who complain about the unpredictability of life in Electonia, the wisest philosophers of this beautiful country reply that there is nothing more important than the common will of the people and, therefore, it should not be limited in any way. They also explain that there is no greater happiness for people than to be able to fulfill civic responsibilities, merging their private and public lives. In other countries the citizens do not have such a big impact on governments— even if there are democratic elections there. Once the ballot is cast, the citizen loses rights to make decisions for several years. In Electonia the government is only an obedient agent of the will of the citizens—here the people really have the power.

The wise men know (for who would call them wise men otherwise?) that the will of the people is changeable and those who lose the vote often end up in trouble. However, they say that nothing comes free in this world: one simply has to pay the price for the most beautiful gift of equality—the equal right to decide about one's self and one's fellow citizens.

Student Handout

On Equality

by Tomasz Merta

We often say that all people are equal without thinking how far from obvious this statement is. The truth of what we see every day is quite different: people are always, everywhere, and in every respect absolutely unequal. It is easy to understand why this is so. First of all, we are different. We have different abilities, skills, and desires, we look for different things and consider different things important or pleasant.

Historical Roots

Then in what sense can we say that "all men are equal"? What is the appeal of this commonly used expression immortalized by Thomas Jefferson in the American Declaration of Independence? In the course of centuries many answers have been given to this question. One should mention the most common ones (which does not free us from philosophical ambiguities).

The oldest conception of equality comes from the Bible; from the point of view of Christianity everyone is equal in the eyes of God. For centuries, however, this equality has been thought of as "not from this world" as it concerns the relation between people and God and not the relations of the people.

A different justification of equality can be found in the works of the natural law philosophers (such as John Locke). They believed that each human being has identical natural rights and also the ability to comprehend these rights. Hence equality means having the same rights and the same potential.

There were also utilitarians (such as Mill and Bentham) who justified human equality by pointing out the same ability to feel pleasure and pain. Such an ultimately animalistic conception allowed them to treat people as basically the same. This, in their view, made it possible to solve the problem of the common good, which they defined as the greatest happiness for the greatest number, so that it could be quantified and computed.

For Immanuel Kant, equality originated from the fact that everyone was able to create for oneself universally applicable norms of moral law. Contemporary political philosophers often say that the basic equality of human beings comes from dignity, an inalienable quality of each individual.

Why is equality so important? One reason is the connection between equality and justice. The first people to notice it were the Greek philosophers: Plato emphasized the importance of equal opportunity, while Aristotle claimed that it is just to treat those who are equal equally, and those who are unequal unequally. (The various ways in which this claim may be interpreted makes this one of Aristotle's more ambiguous statements.) As various groups attempted to establish equality in society, these different interpretations have often led to conflict and, sometimes, ended in disaster.

Throughout history, the concept of equality has often been discussed using four different interpretations: *legal equality, democratic equality, material equality*, and *equality of opportunity*.

Legal Equality

The most commonly accepted type of equality is legal equality, which boils down to equal treatment of all citizens by the state. Everybody bears the same responsibility for his or her actions, the government favors no one and discriminates against no one. Legal equality rests on citizens' equal access to the political process, both as part of the government and part of the constituency. This assumes a fair way of electing government officials which is public and accountable to all citizens. Legal equality is the foundation of constitutional democracy and the basis of the concept of the rule of law (i.e. the polity where law is above the government). Even though the need for legal equality is basically unquestioned, very often this equality is deemed insufficient. A number of arguments are brought against it. First of all, it has nothing to say about the participation of the citizens in exercising power; secondly, rules of the game are not enough when the players' chances are not equal at the starting point; and thirdly, legal equality is merely a hypocritical excuse for the existing social material or class inequalities.

Democratic Equality

Democratic equality, which consists in the demand for equal power sharing, comes from the idea of direct democracy in the Greek *polis* [city-state]. Its proponent in modern political thought was Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Liberal constitutionalism has accepted this principle, however with significant limitations. In contemporary states it is secondary to the principle of legal equality because such nations rigorously protect the rights of individuals so that the minority is not left to the mercy of the majority. There are many thinkers who still consider this situation unsatisfactory. They do not accept the view that side by side with freedom to partake in politics there is also the freedom *from* politics. They dream of common, permanent and equal participation of all citizens in exercising power. Hence, the popularity of the idea of referendum [submitting a proposed measure to popular vote] and the constant search for ways to increase people's political participation.

To a large extent, democratic equality requires the use of several notions of equality all held in a delicate balance.

Material Equality

Initially, the idea that everyone should have equal amounts of income and property may seem appealing. However, promoting material equality can endanger certain freedoms. Achieving material equality requires government intervention in social and economic life. In extreme cases (such as communism), this can be dangerous. Material equality can be achieved through redistribution of income (Equitania) and/or through a total abolishment of private property.

In both cases individual freedom is drastically violated. It also has disastrous economic consequences; people who cannot keep the fruit of their labor lose the willingness to work and cease to be interested in any economic activity.

Equality of Opportunity

Unfortunately, even the most drastic attempts at material equality do not guarantee a perfect equality of opportunity. In the race of life, equality of opportunity emphasizes the absolute necessity of fairness from the starting point. All should have equal opportunity to achieve a good life for themselves, and it is up to them what they will make of this opportunity—how they will finish in the race.

Like material equality, when taken to an extreme, equality of opportunity remains in open conflict with freedom, as it may require dramatic government intervention.

In fact, one could argue that *perfect* equality of opportunity can only be achieved (as in the case of Opportunia) through brutal intervention into the life of communities, social groups, and families. For example, in post-revolutionary Russia the idea of bringing up children away from their parents was given serious consideration.

Constitutional Democracy

Contemporary constitutional democracy understands these dangers, while at the same time it realizes the "heartlessness" of legal equality. This is why it chooses a compromise. The principle "what you acquire is yours to keep" remains valid, but with serious limitations. Progressive taxation allows the state to obtain resources for developing its educational system (equality of opportunity) and helping the poor (economic equality).

MAJORITY RULE:
IS IT ALWAYS FAIR?

If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one.

—Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, [March 4, 1861]

Summary of the Lesson

Majority power and respect for **minority rights** are the primary principles on which democratic societies rest. This means that the preferences of a majority of citizens are decisive, but no majority decision can infringe on the rights and freedoms of people who are in the minority. Respect for minority rights is good for everyone, as any citizen may find herself/himself in the minority. Students will discuss issues related to the **tyranny of the majority** and analyze a case study in which they are asked to make choices about protecting minority rights.

Objectives

Students should be expected to

- analyze the advantages and disadvantages of majority rule,
- identify measures for protecting minority rights,
- evaluate the consequences of giving up on democratic procedure in the face of the tyranny of the majority.

Background Material for the Teacher

See **Tyranny of the Majority** handout. This handout may be used to provide teachers with an historical and philosophical framework for the lesson and/or may be shared with students as enrichment material.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Write the following opinions on the board and ask students which would be closest to examples of democratic behavior:

1. As long as I obey the laws, I cannot be persecuted by the authorities.
2. I dress as I like and eat what I want.
3. I raise my children in a religion that I think is right.
4. The authorities are always right and we should obey them no matter what.
5. I change my opinion to match what the majority of people believe.

Developing the Lesson

After students express their opinions, ask them if the majority principle (the majority is always right) guarantees respect for individual rights.

Distribute and read the student handout **The Story about the Victory of Long Hair**.

- Discuss the motives that drove the behavior of legislators in Szamponia. Pay particular attention to elements of rational thinking and consideration of the majority's interests reflected in their activities.
- Underscore the fact that, even though all decisions were made democratically, many people who did nothing wrong were seriously hurt.
- Ask students to list the limitations that should exist on decisions made by democratically elected authorities.

Ask students to generate examples of the government (typically the majority) assuming responsibility for protecting the rights of minority groups and individuals. Discuss the following rights: right to expression, right to take advantage of one's political rights, and freedom of conscience. (Remind students that the basic human rights are usually codified in a constitution.)

- Ask students, "Would the inclusion of legislation concerning the protection of human dignity in Szamponia's constitution have altered the course of events in that country?" Emphasize that mere inclusion of human rights and freedoms in the constitution is not sufficient—provisions need to be made for protection of these rights.

Distribute copies of the student handout **Limited or Unlimited Rights**. Ask students to choose one of the conclusions at the end of the reading and give an example of the conclusion chosen. The different conclusions represent various approaches to maintaining an equilibrium between majority and minority (or individual) rights. The absence of such an equilibrium, as illustrated in examples B and C, is likely to lead to negative consequences. Ask students to justify their opinions.

Ask students for reactions to the following situation: The majority of voters support a decision which has severe consequences for a significant portion of the general population. For example, the legislature passed a law prohibiting tourism in the country in which just less than half the population relies on tourism for its revenues. The goal of this legislation was to eliminate overcrowding during the peak tourist season; however it also lowers the incomes of those people who work in the tourism industry and does not bode well for the country as a whole (a drop in national revenues and the national budget because of the drop in revenues from taxes).

- On the board, write three courses of action that could be considered by the minority:
  1) Agree with the majority's decision,
  2) Oppose the decision with violence, or
  3) Publicly accept the decision but privately violate the new law.

Distribute copies of student handout **A Clever Minority in the Face of the "Majority's Error."** Ask students to fill in the blanks on the chart; if necessary elaborate and give hints on the way in which students should complete the chart.

Ask selected students to justify the three stands described in the exercise. Lead a discussion focusing on the following problem: What kind of a "price" does one have to pay for choosing one of the possible courses of action? Point students' attention to the fact that in extreme situations, relying on violence to abolish an "unjust" majority decision might, in fact, be beneficial. One needs to remember, however, that it is extraordinarily difficult to go back to the democratic procedures once one has successfully violated them. Similarly, permanently sabotaging the government's decisions leads to anarchy—and not the law; nonetheless, some citizens decide on their own what is permitted and what is forbidden.

Concluding the Lesson

Start a discussion focusing on the following proposition: It is in the majority's interest to respect minority rights. Make sure students understand that the notions of "majority" or "minority" usually have a very fluid meaning. We can belong to the majority on one issue and to the minority on the other. Protecting minority rights is, then, in the interest of everybody.

Analyze actual situations in which the majority of people support a government which violates the rights of minorities. (One contemporary example would be Belarus where the majority of the population has supported a move toward a dictatorship.)

Extending the Lesson

Present students with the following scenario: A Ku Klux Klan rally is being held in a large U.S. city. Protesters are planning actions against this rally. Ask students to decide several courses of action these protestors could take. Use the "negative consequence" and "positive consequence" chart to analyze the actions given. Ask students to justify a course of action in writing. (The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Skokie, Illinois vs. The United States of America* is relevant to this discussion.)

Have students create their own case studies of situations in which majority rule ran the risk of violating minority rights. These cases may be based on actual or fictional events. Evaluate the case studies based on students' understanding of the concepts and their ability to apply the concepts to new situations.

Distribute copies of the background material handout entitled **Tyranny of the Majority**. Students could respond to the questions on the handout individually or use the questions as the basis for small group discussion.

Students might compare and contrast the advantages and disadvantages of majority rule with those of a dictatorship or autocracy. Students might read sections of Machiavelli's *The Prince* in order to develop a foundation for these comparisons.

Guidelines for Student Responses

From "A Clever Minority in the Face of 'Majority's Error'"

Possible answers to Path "A" might include:

Negative consequences:

- changes, if they come, will be slow
- the bad decision is still on the books
- the society as a whole suffers from the majority's error
- campaigning against the law causes the divisions in the society to come to a head

Positive consequences:

- there is no violence
- there are no deep divisions because the decision followed political protocol
- the law eventually gets repealed

Possible answers to Path "B" might include:

Negative consequences:

- people are hurt or killed
- sets a precedent for future actions of violence
- a polarization of society into supporters and opponents of dictatorship surfaces

Positive consequences:

- a quick resolution of the problem
- a bad law has been repealed and the society as a whole can only benefit from this
- the majority which has made the bad decision has been, at least temporarily, removed from power and, thus, punished

Possible answers to Path "C" might include:

Negative consequences:

- the problem still exists and will continue if citizens do not get involved in solving society's problems
- a false sense of righteousness occurs and perpetuates future decisions

Positive consequences:

- my personal situation remains good; due to an astute ignoring of the law on the part of many citizens, its negative consequences have been minimized

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas from " Tyranny of the Majority"

1. DeTocqueville's statement regarding justice forming "the boundary to each person's right" refers to the idea that some rights are universal and transcend the parameters established by human law.
2. Students answers may vary. Some may argue that the United States has successfully preserved individual rights while others may argue that the United States has, indeed, failed to protect the rights of minorities. In either case, students should support their answers.
3. Mill defines "self-government" as the government (or rule) "of each by all the rest." Mill equates this definition to the tyranny of the majority—where each person is subject to the will (and whim) of the majority.
4. Students answers may vary. Probable responses might include examples of cases where individuals or minority groups' rights have been denied (treatment of African-Americans, homosexuals, women, etc.).

Background Material

Tyranny of the Majority

An excerpt from *Democracy in America* by Alexis deTocqueville, ed. J.P. Mayer, Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., New York, 1966, pp. 251–54.

There is one law which has been made, or at least adopted, not by the majority of this or that people, but by the majority of all men. That law is justice. Justice therefore forms the boundary to each person's right. A nation is like a jury entrusted to represent universal society and to apply the justice which is its law. Should the jury representing society have greater power than that very society whose laws it applies? Consequently, when I refuse to obey an unjust law, I by no means deny the majority's right to give orders; I only appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of the human race. There are those not afraid to say that in matters which only concern itself a nation cannot go completely beyond the bounds of justice and reason and that there is therefore no need to fear giving total power to the majority representing it. But that is the language of a slave. What is a majority, in its collective capacity, if not an individual with opinions, and usually with interests, contrary to those of another individual, called the minority? Now, if you admit that a man vested with omnipotence can abuse it against his adversaries, why not admit the same concerning a majority? Have men, by joining together, changed their character?

...I believe that freedom is in danger when that power finds no obstacle that can restrain its course and give it time to moderate itself.

...So when I see the right and capacity to do all given to any authority whatsoever, whether it be called people or king, democracy or aristocracy, and whether the scene of action is a monarchy or a republic, I say: the germ of tyranny is there, and I will go look for other laws under which to live.

...It is important to make the distinction between arbitrary power and tyranny. Tyranny can use even the law as its instrument, and then it is no longer arbitrary; arbitrary power may be used in the interest of the ruled, and then it is not tyrannical. In the United States that omnipotence of the majority which favors the legal despotism of the legislator also smiles on the arbitrary power of the magistrate. The majority, being in absolute command both of lawmaking and of the execution of the laws, and equally controlling both rulers and ruled, regards public functionaries as its passive agents and is glad to leave them the trouble of carrying out its plans. It therefore does not enter by anticipation into the details of their duties and hardly takes the trouble to define their rights. It treats them as a master might treat his servants if, always seeing them act under his eyes, he could direct or correct them at any moment. In general, the law leaves American officials much freer...within the sphere marked out for them. Sometimes the majority may even allow them to go beyond that. Assured of the views and strengthened by the support of the greatest number, they then dare to do things which astonish a European, accustomed though he may be to the spectacle of arbitrary power. Thus habits form in freedom that may one day become fatal to that freedom.

An excerpt from *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill, ed. Elizabeth Rapaport, Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1978, pp. 4-5.

...It is now perceived that such phrases as "self-government," and "the power of the people over themselves," do not express the true state of the case. The "people" who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised; and the "self-government" spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people—the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number, and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power. The limitation, therefore, of power of government over individuals loses none of its importance when the holders of power are regularly accountable to the community, that is, to the strongest party therein. This view of things, recommending itself equally to the intelligence of thinkers and to the inclination of those important classes in European society to whose real or supposed interests democracy is adverse, has had no difficulty in establishing itself; and in political speculations "the tyranny of the majority" is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard.

...Society can and does execute its own mandates; and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself. Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough; there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling, against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development and, if possible, prevent the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence; and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism.

Thinking about Key Concepts and Ideas

1. DeTocqueville states, "Justice…forms the boundary to each person's right. What does he mean by this?
2. DeTocqueville was writing about the United States in 1835. He warns "…habits form in freedom that may one day become fatal to that freedom." Do you think deTocqueville was correct? Why or why not?
3. How does John Stuart Mill define "self-government"? How does his definition of "self-government" relate to the "tyranny of the majority"?
4. Based on Mill's explanation of tyranny of the majority, generate an example of a situation in which the majority has prevented "the formation of any individuality not in harmony with its ways."

Student Handout

A Story about the Victory of Long Hair

In the democratic republic of Szamponia, the industry was rather poorly developed, the trade did not bring too much revenue, and the agriculture constituted a side job for many of the country's citizens. The standard of living of Szamponia's citizens, however, was very high. Why was that the case? Because in Szamponia, thanks to the kind of climate which could not be found anywhere else, thanks to the springs of special water and very clean air, people's hair grew extremely well. Crowds from all over the world, all year round would pour into Szamponia in order to improve the quality of their hair and to increase its shine. People who had fine and thin hair since the time they were children would be buying new combs for their beautiful hair after only a few months in Szamponia. Women whose hair has lost its shine and started to break would recover the shine and beauty of their hair after only a few weeks of breathing Szamponian air and drinking Szamponian water. Men with thinning hair would be able to slow down the process by years after their visits to Szamponia. You could see television and movie stars, models, politicians, and many other people taking leisurely walks in this famous country.

Several years ago, the Party of the Radical Long-Haired Ones won the elections to parliament in Szamponia, and their leader, Agenor Włochacz (Ag-E-nor Vwo-hahts), became the country's president. The election took place at a time when fewer visitors were coming to Szamponia than before. Hotel, restaurant, shop and bar owners, mountain guides, and taxi drivers, were figuring out their losses and inquiring about what had caused the loss of interest in Szamponia. According to the Party of the Radical Long-Haired Ones the Szamponian *bald people* were to blame. Strange though it may sound, about one in every ten Szamponian citizens was completely bald, despite the fact that many had lived in Szamponia since birth. "Their appearance," argued Agenor Włochacz, "is scaring tourists away! Their bald skulls constitute a clear contradiction of the attractiveness of our country."

Therefore, the newly elected parliament, dominated by the Party of the Radical Long-Haired Ones, instituted a new tax for baldness and prohibited bald people from living in the regions favored by tourists. When a new drop in the number of tourists was noted the following year, the Parliament passed another law forbidding bald people from leaving their houses between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m., and banning them from local bars and restaurants, as well as trains, airplanes, and buses. The League of Thin Hair, an organization attempting to protest these decisions, was disbanded, and its leaders arrested. The newspaper called "Bald as a Knee" was closed down as well.

All these measures, however, have not led to any measurable increase in the incomes of the Szamponians. Recently, Agenor Włochacz conceded the fiasco of his party's policies. "We were too sensitive," he stated in a radio interview, and announced stricter measures. A few weeks later, all bald people and their families were deported from Szamponia.

In a special announcement, the Radical Party of the Long-Haired Ones emphasized: "We have done everything possible to rescue Szamponia." The Party won the subsequent elections as well.

Student Handout

Limited or Unlimited Rights

The rule of the majority power means that the minority has to obey the decisions made by the majority. In principle, the majority could impose various burdens on the minority, even some that are completely absurd. Constitutions of democratic countries, however, usually protect individual and minority rights.

Conclusions

Conclusion A:
The rights concerning human dignity, freedom of opinions, and citizenship rights cannot be abridged in these countries. They can be temporarily suspended only under extraordinary circumstances.

Conclusion B:
Each individual right needs to be respected in these countries at all times. The majority cannot impose its laws on the minority even on issues important for the society as a whole.

Conclusion C:
The code of individual rights in these countries only includes the prohibition on discrimination on the basis of origin, skin color and gender.

Student Handout

A Clever Minority in the Face of the "Majority's Error"

Here are the choices I have:

A. Acceptance, but I also conduct a political campaign to repeal the new law as soon as possible.

B. Repealing the decision of the majority by means of violence

C. Faking acceptance and doing as I please

Remember that the majority of political decisions have both positive and negative consequences. Fill in the worksheet below:

I have chosen path "A"

My negative consequences might be: ____________________
____

My positive consequences might be: ____________________
____

I have chosen path "B"

My negative consequences might be: ____________________
____

My positive consequences might be: ____________________
____

I have chosen path "C"

My negative consequences might be: ____________________
____

My positive consequences might be: ____________________
____

Which of the above chosen paths do you think is best?

____
____
____

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE U.S.S.R. AND RUSSIAN FEDERATION: A CONTEMPORARY ROUND TABLE

> ***"Our women are active builders of a new society; they help to create all material and spiritual values. They are mothers and we know how much love and care they give in bringing up the rising generation."***
>
> *—Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet leader (1955-1964)*

> ***"Women are the dissidents of the 1990s. I really believe that."***
>
> *—Martina Vandenberg, activist for Russian women*

Summary of the Lesson

In this lesson, students will examine diverse viewpoints about **women's rights** from the 1917 October Revolution into the present-day Russian Federation. After studying specific articles ranging from a lively conversation between female workers at a *Zhensoviet* meeting to a Russian woman's post-*perestroika* blues, students will present information in small groups to the rest of the class before role playing these unique perspectives in a "radio talk show." Major themes include comparative approaches to **political rights, economic rights** and **social rights**.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- gain a historical perspective on Russian women from 1917 to the present,
- understand the hardships women face during the transition in the Russian Federation,
- articulate one of many perspectives on women's issues in the U.S.S.R. and/or Russian Federation,
- actively participate in a multi-faceted discussion of women's issues in the U.S.S.R. and/or Russian Federation,
- synthesize these historical, diverse viewpoints into an essay.

Background Material for the Teacher

Students are expected to have some general background knowledge of the political transition period from 1991 to the present in the Russian Federation. Specifically, students should know about the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, *glasnost* (openness in social and cultural areas), *perestroika* (restructuring in economic and other areas), and how citizens are variously affected by contemporary economic problems in the Russian Federation. Many lessons in this collection discuss these issues in detail. For more information , also, see *The End of the Soviet Union* (Teachers' Materials and a Set of Lessons for High Schools), published in 1992 by The Southern Center for International Studies, Atlanta, Georgia.

It is recommended that the teacher first read through all student handouts to better understand the wide historical and ideological scope of the lesson and to anticipate potential questions about people, places and events of the U.S.S.R. and Russian Federation.

This lesson involves preparation and role-playing of a variety of perspectives about women in Russia. It should be noted that the handouts included in this lesson are by no means an exhaustive representation of such diverse perspectives. The teacher is encouraged to add supplementary materials, as appropriate. Suggestions for additional sources are as follows:

- The books and articles referenced in the student handouts contain a plethora of additional relevant material, such as interviews, commentaries, etc. See individual handouts for detailed citations.
- Also, see Mary Buckley's *Women and Ideology in the Soviet Union* (The University of Michigan Press, 1989).
- Refer to the **Guide to Instructional Support Materials** at the end of this book.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Distribute student handout **Hubby Has Zero Tolerance for Cosmonaut in Zero Gravity** and ask all students to read it in class.

Ask students for their impressions of this article. What is their initial reaction? Does this Russian cosmonaut's reaction to his wife's career represent what an American husband might believe, too? If so, is it likely that he would voice such an opinion in a public media statement? Why or why not? Do students think this viewpoint is representative of most Russian men's beliefs about women's roles? Why or why not?

Explain that perspectives on the roles, responsibilities, and status of Russian women in the twentieth century are wide and varied. Students may be surprised to learn that throughout history Russian women have had many legal rights that American women have not had. These are just some of the issues that will be explored in this lesson.

Developing the Lesson

Ask students, "What might be some of the differences in the lives of Russian women under the communist government of the U.S.S.R. vs. the present, post-communist government of the Russian Federation? Encourage students' brainstorming and jot down some ideas on newsprint, overhead transparency or chalkboard, which can be referred to later for comparison.

Organize students into 8 groups. Explain that each group will be exploring a different perspective about women in the Russian Federation, and then participating in a radio talk show.

Distribute student handout **About This Perspective** to each group, along with one of the following student handouts, and ask students to read their respective article, discuss it, and answer the questions. The handouts are as follows:

1) **After the 1917 October Revolution**

2) **A Soviet Perspective**

3) **Stalin's Many Legacies**

4) **They Only Listen to Us Because We Are Mothers**

5) **The "Woman Question" Today**

6) **On Doing Laundry**

7) **Measuring Change: Larisa's Perspective**

8) **A Conversation among Workers**

This group activity will form the basis of a 4-5 minute presentation to the rest of the class in which the group will educate others about their articles and will help students "get into character" for their radio talk show. To encourage thorough understanding, have each group select a "presenter" who will present the information to the class, and a "talk show guest" who will participate in the talk show role play. (For groups with 3 people, allow students to decide upon the best role for their third person, i.e. organizing notes, information, facilitating discussion, co-presenting, etc. However, there should be just one "talk show guest" representing each article/perspective.)

Help students prepare their roles for the radio talk show. The perspectives they will represent are those of their articles. Therefore, if their article discusses the economic difficulties women face under Yeltsin's reform (as in **Measuring Change: Larisa's Perspective**) that group's talk show guest should articulate those frustrations, as someone who is experiencing them. If an article presents Khrushchev's 1960 perspective that it is much better to be a woman living in communist U.S.S.R. than in the capitalist U.S. (as in **A Soviet Perspective**) than that group's representative should articulate that opinion. Depending upon the article, some students will have access to more than one viewpoint.

Have each group present their article to the rest of the class. Although they have questions to guide them, encourage their creativity in sharing this information. How can they best relay their information to the rest of the class? Encourage the student "audience" to ask questions.

Organize the talk show. Decide upon a talk show host, who will ask the questions and facilitate the discussion. (This role could also be filled by the teacher.) The point of the talk show is to compare and contrast varying viewpoints across time, states, and perspectives. Questions can either come from background material **Suggested Talk Show Questions** and/or solicited from students, in advance. They can be directed at individuals, or to the group. An agreed upon format, whatever its style, should be discussed with the class in advance. Chairs, desks, etc. should be arranged with the talk show host and guests in a circle, and the rest of the class as an observing "audience." Suggested time allotment for this activity is 15-20 minutes.

Option: Consider staging two different talk shows with clever combinations of fewer guests.

Concluding the Lesson

Stage the talk show(s) and debrief afterwards. How was it for students to play these different roles? Was it difficult to answer the questions? To stay in character?

Consider the issue of public speech. Ask students to recall the Russian cosmonaut husband's disapproving comments over his wife's career, as well as other issues that were raised in the talk show. Some ideas are considered acceptable in one culture and without value (or even offensive) in another. How does society set norms regarding the acceptability of speech and ideas?

Extending the Lesson

Have students prepare individual essays in which they critically examine the various perspectives presented in the talk show. Organizing themes could include questions such as the following.

1. During what historical time have Russian women had the most rights? Why did you choose this time period?
2. Compare and contrast women's lives (politically, economically, socially) under various periods of communism in the U.S.S.R. (after the 1917 revolution, under Stalin, Khrushchev, the 1970s and 1980s) and in the contemporary Russian Federation.
3. What kind of future do you foresee for women in the Russian Federation? Use information, statistics, etc. about the transition from communism to post-communism to form your predictions about these political, economic, and social events.

Encourage critical thinking about these questions and about the issues explored in this lesson. Many different conclusions could be drawn about them. What is most important is that students support their answers with solid evidence from the readings, presentations, and talk show discussion.

Engage students in a constitutional comparison using the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation (included in the Appendix of this book) and the 1977 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. (see **Lesson 20: "Affirmative and Negative Rights in Constitutions"** for excerpts pertaining specifically to women. Other comparisons could be made using the 1993 Constitution of the Russian Federation constitution and those of other countries. What do these documents say about women's rights?

This topic can be extended by the teacher to include comparisons of women's rights in other areas of the world. Women's well-being could be compared using data from several world regions. Catherine Mackinnon's essay, "Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace" in the book *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures,* which was published in 1993, is particularly insightful.

Create a similar lesson using women from other formerly communist countries. (See, for example, "Czech Women in Transition," *Monthly Labor Review*, Marianne A. Ferber, November 1994. An interesting, personal account of everyday matters in women's lives is found in Slavenka Drakulic's*How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1993), which focuses upon women in the former Yugoslavia and selected cities of Central and Eastern Europe.)

Student Handout

Hubby Has Zero Tolerance for Cosmonaut in Zero Gravity

From "Hubby Has Zero Tolerance for Cosmonaut in Zero Gravity," in *The Columbus Dispatch*, May 11, 1997, p. 8A. Reprinted by permission of the Associated Press.

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla, (AP)—Lucky for cosmonaut Elena Kondakova her upcoming trip to Mir will last just nine days. Last time she visited the Russian space station, she stayed six months—six too many if you ask her cosmonaut husband.

He says women, his wife included, should stay on Earth and take care of their families.

She says go fly a kite.

So goes the battle of the space sexes, unusually public by American space agency standards.

To her husband's dismay, Kondakova will be the first Russian woman to fly on a U.S. spaceship when the shuttle Atlantis lifts off Thursday.

... "The only reason he gave me the permission to fly, he considered this a small, relatively short flight. That's why he decided I may go," Kondakova said, laughing, during a NASA news conference.

Truth is, she decided to go.

When the 40-year-old Kondakova returned from Mir in 1995 after 169 days aloft, then a world space endurance record for a woman, the couple assumed she'd never go back. Then shuttle commander Charles Precourt invited her to join his mission, where her language ability and Mir experience would be assets, and she accepted.

Her husband, three-time space flier Valeri Ryumin, now director of Russia's end of the Mir-shuttle program, grudgingly concurred. In 1980, he, too, had an unexpected opportunity to return to space "and I couldn't resist."

However, "It's my opinion that a wife should stay at home for the most part, not at work and not in spaceflight. That's my opinion. There's nothing new in that because I think the majority of men will support me, because the majority of us would prefer that everything in our home is taken care of and everything is quiet."

NASA's public relations machine cringed.

It was the second time in just over a year that a high-level Russian space official had offered, live on NASA's satellite TV link to all its centers, a blunt assessment of a woman's place.

"We know that women love to clean," Gen. Yuri Glazkov, deputy commander of the cosmonaut training center, said just before NASA astronaut Shannon Lucid joined an all-male crew aboard Mir last year.

NASA's first female shuttle pilot, Eileen Collins, also a member of the Atlantis crew, politely disagreed with Ryumin.

"The important thing is that Elena loves the job that she does and I love the job that I do and whether we like it or not, we're both role models for the women in our respective countries," Collins said.

Student Handout

About This Perspective

Directions: Answer the following questions in response to your group's particular article.

When was this piece written?

What time period does the article cover?

What can you tell about the author and/or publisher of this piece? (For example, does it appear to be a governmental publication? A private publication? Where was it published?)

What is the main point or points of the article? What does this article tell you about women in Russia and/or the U.S.S.R.? (Write the main point or points as definitive statements, i.e. "This article states that contemporary women have fewer rights now than they did 20 years ago," rather than "This is about women's rights.")

What, if any, statistics about women appear in this article? (List the most important ones, in your opinion.)

What does the article say about…

- Women and Politics?

  Women and the Economy?

  Women in Society?

Additional notes:

Background Material

Suggested Talk Show Questions

The following questions are adapted from interviews in *Soviet Social Scientists Talking: An Official Debate about Women*, ed. Mary Buckley, MacMillan Press, London, 1986.

What, in your opinion, have been the most important changes in the lives of women since the [1917] revolution?

Which female roles have changed the most?

What has changed the least in the lives of women?

What changes in the lives of women would you like to see in the future?

If you had the power to effect one change in the lives of women, what would it be, and why?

What in your opinion, is a woman's main role in the Russian Federation?

What do you understand by the equality of women with men?

In what ways can the Russian Federation promote the development of genuine equality?

What are the main difficulties in attaining equality?

What problems arise in different political systems (such as communism and capitalism) in the realization of equal rights?

What role, in your opinion, should the husband play in the upbringing of children and in housework?

Do contradictions exist today regarding the position of women?

If Lenin were alive today, what do you think he would say about the position of women in the Russian Federation?

Student Handout

After the 1917 October Revolution

**An excerpt from *Soviet Woman in the Family and in Society* by Feiga Blekher,
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1979, pp. 11–15. Copyright Keter Publishing House Ltd., Jerusalem.
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Advancements for Women

The February Revolution of 1917 granted women the right to vote, and after the October Revolution all the laws maintaining the inequality of women were repealed. Women became the complete equals of men with regard to work rights, civil laws, marriage and family laws, and education. Measures were taken to protect female labor, as well as mothers and infants, and the principle of equal pay for equal work was adopted.

...During the 1920s and 1930s the women's movement in the U.S.S.R. manifested itself mainly in the form of meetings of delegates. These meetings were organized at places of work or, in the case of housewives, at the local soviets [elected governmental councils]. In (Soviet) Central Asia delegates' meetings were supplemented by women's clubs, "Red Corners,"[1] home groups, and other organizations. Here women learned to read and write, could gain the benefit of medical consultations, and were introduced to culture. At the women's clubs activists appeared, and they began to study at workers' schools (*rabfaks*) and at institutions of higher education.

In spite of the very great economic and social difficulties, with each postrevolutionary year the participation of women in social labor (that is, work in the public sector of the economy) and in other spheres of public life steadily increased. This progress was attended by an elevation of their educational and professional levels as well. In pre-revolutionary Russia 83% of the women aged 9 to 49 could neither read nor write. Dozens of entire peoples did not even have their own written language.

...In the outlying regions of Russia, in the national republics of Central Asia, in the Crimea, and in the Caucasus, the struggle for the liberation of women was very difficult. Clubs and courses for women were organized in these regions.... By 1935, however, many of the women in these republics had obtained a higher education.

...Women began to study technical professions, especially in factory schools, and this led to an increase in the number of women who were qualified specialists. Frequently, women who had begun to work in industry without having a profession became specialists after a time. Their work productivity was on a par with that of men, and in fact the quality of the women's production was often higher than the men's.

The "Opposite Process"

...While on the basis of the proclaimed equality of rights some women were able to progress in their work, to study, and to assume responsible posts, the opposite process also took place, whereby enormous harm was done and great losses were suffered, especially among the socially and politically active part of the female population. A great many women were imprisoned or exiled, and many paid with their lives. During the first years after the Revolution there was a general repression of those women whose families had been connected with the former regime, with business circles, or with noncommunist parties and organizations.

During the second half of the 1920s the more prosperous peasant women suffered. Then, during the first half of the 1930s, in connection with the completion of collectivization[2] and the expansion of the general purge of the population, a large number of women also suffered. The general purge of the nonparty population and the gradually developing purge of the Party itself during the second half of the 1930s put numerous women into prisons or labor camps. Women Communists, as well as wives, mothers, and sisters of arrested Communist men, were also imprisoned or sent to camps.

...Women who were ready to put all their powers, abilities, and talents in the service of the people also crowded the prisons, labor camps, and places of exile of the time. They were torn from their families and children and from creative activity, and they were transformed into the most deprived, despicable members of society. Many remained in prison...and many were executed...without knowing why.

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[1] Author's Note: A "Red Corner" is a room in a factory, etc., providing recreational and educational facilities.

[2] Editor's Note: Collectivization refers to the policy pursued by communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to replace private farms with collective farms and state-owned farms.

Student Handout

A Soviet Perspective

An excerpt from *Women in the U.S.S.R., Brief Statistics*,
by the Central Statistical Board of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,
published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, pp. 17-19.

…Speaking in the Kremlin at a reception for a delegation of women collective farmers and state-farm workers from Ryazan Region, N.S. Khrushchev [Soviet leader 1955-1964] said: "In our country a woman wins distinction by her work and not because she bears the name of her capitalist businessman husband, as is the case in the capitalist countries. Our women are active builders of a new society; they help to create all material and spiritual values. They are mothers and we know how much love and care they give in bringing up the rising generation."

The outstanding services of women in production, scientific achievement, art and other spheres of their activity are highly valued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. More than 1,125,000 women have been decorated with Orders and medals of the U.S.S.R., and over 835,000 awards have been received by women for valiant labour. The title of Hero of Socialist Labour has been conferred upon 2,619 women, 24 women have been decorated with the second Hammer and Sickle gold medal, 75 women bear the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and during World War II two women were decorated with the Order of Glory of all three classes.

Lenin and Stalin prizes for achievements in science and technology, literature and art have been won by 749 women. Some have been awarded these prizes several times.

The position occupied by women in the Soviet Union shows the great advantages of the genuine equality enjoyed by Soviet women over the formal equality of women in the capitalist countries.

Bourgeois legislature on the rights of women very strikingly reflects the hypocritical nature of bourgeois democracy. Proclaiming the principle of equality between men and women in the constitution, bourgeois democracy at the same time retains for women an unequal status in economic and social life. In the capitalist countries female labour is primarily employed for unskilled work.

In the U.S.A., women make up a third of all industrial, office and other workers, but at the same time among engineers only about 1 per cent are women, among lawyers 4 per cent, among doctors 7 per cent and among agronomists and livestock experts 16 per cent.

The position of Negro [sic] women in the U.S.A. is a particularly difficult one. Of the total number of Negro women in employment in 1950, 41 per cent were servants. Negro women receive half the pay of white women.

In the colonial and dependent countries, where slavery and colonial oppression reign, women have no political rights whatever. In these countries women have no opportunity of receiving professional training and are compelled to agree to any employment and to work in the most inhuman conditions.

In the capitalist countries women receive less payment for their work than men. A U.S. delegate at the World Women's Congress in Copenhagen declared that in her country "…in all sections of industry female labour is automatically paid less than male labour only because it is female labour." According to the 14th book of *Labour Facts*, published in the U.S.A. in 1959, the average income of women in the U.S.A. in 1957 was three times less than the average income of men. In Britain women's earnings average 60 per cent of the earnings of men, while in Japan this figure stands at only 50 per cent.

In the U.S.S.R. women receive the same payment for their work as men…

Student Handout

Stalin's Many Legacies

An excerpt from "Introduction" by Gail W. Lapidus, from *Moscow Women* by Carola Hansson and Karin Lidén, Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc., New York, 1980, pp. x-xiii. Reprinted by permission of Gail W. Lapidus, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University.

[Note: The following summarizes points made in a 1978 series of interviews with Moscow women.]

As in Western Europe and the United States, the "woman question" in Russia had its origins in the nineteenth century, when advocates of political and social reform incorporated a commitment to sexual equality into their broader programs of emancipation. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 proclaimed the full liberation of women and granted them equal political and civil rights, but the central thrust of the Marxist-Leninist perspective emphasized female employment as the condition of full equality, not only in the wider society but within the family itself.

By the Stalin period [1924-1953], however, the very image of women's liberation had been transformed. Where the revolutionary theorists viewed employment as a way of enhancing women's status and independence and sought to free women from family responsibilities by shifting these to the socialized sector, the economic and social transformations of the Stalin period simply added industrial employment to women's traditional family roles. The Five-Year Plans, which created enormous demands for workers, combined with the social and demographic effects of World War I, civil war, collectivization,[1] purges,[2] and then of World War II, transformed wives and widows into heads of households and deprived a large proportion of Soviet women of the opportunity to marry. The shortage of men not only increased the pressure upon women to enter the labor force; it also had its impact on culture and psychology. On the one hand, it strengthened a long tradition of the "strong woman" in Russian culture by placing a great premium on the qualities of toughness and independence, requisites of sheer survival during these years. On the other hand, it enhanced the value of—and nostalgia for—a more traditional feminine role in which family-oriented values occupied a central place.

By the end of World War II women constituted over half the Soviet labor force, and in the face of the continuing labor shortage of the postwar years, female participation rates outside agriculture continued to rise. Today, virtually all women outside Central Asia and the Caucasus are either employed or studying, almost all full-time. While work is clearly a source of both status and genuine personal satisfaction, these interviews testify to the role that financial pressures play as well. Two incomes are essential to support a family above what even Soviet economists would consider the poverty level. Moreover, because the possibility and desirability of part-time employment are only now being debated in the Soviet Union, women with young children are forced to choose between the exhaustion of full-time work and the isolation and limited horizons of remaining at home.

At the same time, the burden of household responsibilities is far greater in the Soviet Union than in other countries at comparable levels of development. Because Stalin's economic policies attached such high priority to the development of heavy industry and the military sector, the consumer sector and the services needed to supply it were deliberately sacrificed. An underdeveloped system of retail trade, combined with severe shortages and irregularities in the supply of consumer goods and services, makes shopping [today] in the Soviet Union an extraordinarily time-consuming activity. It is a kind of "hunting and gathering" operation that requires locating supplies of desired goods, waiting in long queues [lines] in a multiplicity of small stores or departments to obtain them, and carrying heavy parcels over long distances by train and bus at the end of a long work-day to get them home.

Housing was another victim of Stalinist priorities, as well as the devastation wrought by World War II. Despite the large investments in new apartment construction that Khrushchev [Soviet leader 1955-1964] initiated, Soviet urban families continue to live in cramped apartments lacking in basic amenities. Almost a quarter of them still occupy communal apartments where kitchen and bath are shared with other occupants; young families often crowd into a single room in dormitory accommodations provided by enterprises or educational institutions. New projects with individual apartments have long waiting lists, unless a family has sufficient capital to purchase a cooperative apartment of its own. Typically, it is young couples and newlyweds who face the hardest time finding living space and a modicum of privacy....

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[1] Editor's Note: Collectivization refers to the policy pursued by communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to replace private farms with collective farms and state-owned farms.

[2] Editor's Note: Stalin's "purges" resulted in millions of Soviet citizens' banishment to exile and/or death.

...During the Stalin period, it was only in the area of child care, so essential to massive female labor-force participation, that economic priorities and revolutionary commitments meshed. The Soviet commitment to extensive public child-care facilities derived from three distinct objectives: to permit the employment of mothers, to provide an environment more suitable than of the family for the proper socialist upbringing of children, and to capitalize on the economies of scale. The system of public child care that gradually developed was composed of three types of institutions that together embraced about one-third of Soviet preschoolers by 1982: *crèches* or nurseries for infants and children under the age of three, kindergartens for the group aged three to seven, and combined nursery-kindergartens introduced in 1959 to provide a more unified learning experience.

Despite the enormous expansion of this network in recent years and its central role in the daily lives of working mothers, it suffers from a number of problems widely discussed in the Soviet press and further illuminated by these interviews. First, the availability of places, particularly at the better-quality institutions, falls short of the demand. The quality of the centers varies widely, and the staffing is a particular subject of complaints. The ratio of children to staff is extremely high and the quality and training of personnel relatively low, since the profession is ranked rather low in both status and income. The exposure of children to disease is a perennial problem, compounded by the absence of special provisions for the care of sick children. The high rate of illness and absenteeism in turn disrupts the work schedules of mothers. Finally, child-care centers are often located at considerable distances from the parents' places of employment, necessitating long and arduous trips by public transportation before and after working hours. In the case of single mothers...the burden may prove so great that the child is placed in a boarding facility and returns home only for the weekends. All in all, Soviet families are less than enthusiastic about such institutional care, particularly for very young children, and it is often the absence of alternatives rather than a positive preference that dictates their use. New mothers generally choose to remain at home for the first year of a child's life, aided by provisions for maternity leave with partial pay. If a grandmother or other close female relative is available, the child may then be left in her care to permit the young mother to return to work.

Student Handout

A Conversation among Workers

An excerpt from *Soviet Women: Walking the Tightrope* by Francine du Plessix Gray, Doubleday, New York, 1989, pp. 181–84. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday, a division of Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.

"Greetings, my name is Lyubov," one of the cheerful, bespectacled factory workers said as we sat down to tea. "I'm a member of the Machine Builders' Union, my salary is about four hundred rubles a month. I live with my husband in a two-room apartment near Kolsomolskaya Station, our daughter is grown and has a family of her own."

"My name is Rimma," her friend said, "I also make about four hundred rubles a month. I'm a member of the Construction Workers' Union. I live with my husband and son in a two-room apartment with a balcony in Kuskovo, about ten miles from Moscow."

My friend Elvira Novikova had arranged the gathering a few days before the end of my last trip to the U.S.S.R. We met over tea at the *Zhensoviet* headquarters, a magnificent neoclassical nineteenth-century building off Gorky Street… *Zhensoviet* is a government-controlled women's organization modeled on the *Zhenotdel* founded by Aleksandra Kollontai [a famous Soviet feminist] in the 1920s. (The original *Zhenotdel* was eventually abolished by Stalin, but was resurrected in the 1960s in somewhat different form as *Zhensoviet*.)

Like many industrial workers, the two *tovarishchi* Elvira introduced me to are very active in this women's council, which has branches in most every factory and town of the Soviet Union.

The two women, who as members of the *Zhensoviet* serve as ombudsmen for the women employed at their respective plants, described some of the "women's issues" they lobby for throughout the year: They verify safety precautions and make sure that their colleagues are not lifting too heavy loads, inspect offices and production rooms to check that lighting is efficient and the ceilings are properly painted, strive to improve the diets of their factory cafeterias. They have recently started an anti-smoking campaign—a considerable problem in any site where Soviet men are employed. And they have devised an ingenious system to ensure the quality of child care in their factories' *yasli*: the care-givers' earnings depend on how well their charges fare; each *nyanya* gets extra pay for every youngster who doesn't get sick during the year; conversely, a sum is subtracted from her salary for every child who falls ill. "You should see our kids," Lyubov said. "They're fed like kings, they thrive like flowers!"

Lyubov's *Zhensoviet* group has obtained a cultural center in which workers can stage their own plays. Rimma's group takes pride in having obtained free meals for its employees, and resting facilities equipped with VCR's and audio-visual cassettes "designed by psychologists to relax you beautifully during a half-hour break." Rimma and Lyubov's respective *profsoyuzi*—"trade unions"—have special funds to draw on for emergency cases, and they also interview women who apply for such support.

…As the three women chatted, I was impressed by the abundance of privileges enjoyed by industrial workers which are denied to the intelligentsia. Beyond having solved that central problem of the working woman—child care—Lyubov's and Rimma's trade unions offer their members a wide choice of resorts to choose from for their vacations, enabling them to pick a spot in just about any part of the U.S.S.R., from Smolensk to the Black Sea. The unions also have their own clinics and sanatoriums (part of a network of some three thousands institutions of that kind in the U.S.S.R.) to which any worker can go for a rest cure upon a doctor's referral without using up any vacation time.

"Ah, *tovarishchi*, what privileges you have," Elvira sighted. "Your benefits will always be far greater than ours because of collective bargaining; that's never worked for professors. Well, the working class feeds the country, they do everything for us, whereas the world will survive if I don't lecture all year."

…[Later] [a]s we discussed the issue of family vacations, I was struck again by the extent to which many women of the working class look on their workplaces rather than on their homes as the center of their lives. This priority was beautifully summed up by Lyubov, with a very Soviet emphasis on the single mother: "Every factory is a self-contained unit in which you can give birth, bring up and feed your child…of course we're not going to get fur coats, but we get what we strive for, an independent woman."

"After all," added Rimma, "it's at work that we spend the best hours of our lives."

Student Handout

They Only Listen To Us Because We Are Mothers

An excerpt from "Loyal Wives, Virtuous Mothers," by Katherine E. Young, *Russian Life*, March 1996, p. 13. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

It is estimated that there are over two thousand women's organizations currently active in Russia. These organizations fall into several broad categories: entrepreneurial and professional associations, single-issue groups (ranging from the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers to rape crisis centers), and official "women's councils" and other structures left over from the Soviet period. The boundaries among these groups are generally fluid, with women academics playing important roles in each.

"Women are the dissidents of the 1990s. I really believe that," says Martina Vandenberg, who has been working with women's groups in Russia for the past three years. Vandenberg claims that Russian women are steadily losing the social and economic rights—such as unlimited child care—they enjoyed under the Soviet system. Unfortunately, according to Vandenberg, lost social and economic rights are not being replaced by better political or economic realities.

"We are still fighting for the basic rights women in America take for granted," agrees Natalya Soboleva. For example, the State Duma is currently considering a draft law on domestic violence ("It's really a law about child abuse," says Vanderberg) that some legislators have managed to brand as "a feminist law."

In state organs in particular, the political organization of women is still poor. The cause suffered a setback when the moderate non-feminist Women of Russia Party failed to win the necessary 5% of the popular vote last December to retain its representation in the Duma.

Although the 46 current female Duma members are trying to form a women's caucus across party and faction lines, their only real chance to develop a legislative agenda is through alliances with traditional, male-dominated factions.

Things are not much better in the executive branch. Of the 89 people named by President Boris Yeltsin as his personal representatives to Russia's provinces through August 1995, only one was a woman.

Many Russian women are extremely pessimistic about the political chances not only for their own generation, but for their daughters' generation. Irina Yevseyeva puts it bluntly, "Russians always claim that we're a European country, not an Asian one. But even Turkey has a female prime minister!"

Maria Kirbasova, chairwoman of the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers, sighs when asked about the ability of women to exercise even a modest moral influence over Russia's political realities.

"People don't listen to us because we are women," she says of her organization's public advocacy activities. "They only listen to us because we are mothers."

Student Handout

The "Woman Question" Today

This excerpt from "Women as an Object and a Motive Force of Change in Our Time," by Anastasia Posadskaya originally appears in her book *Women in Russia: A New Era in Russian Feminism*, 1994, trans. Kate Clark, pp. 12-13, and is reprinted by kind permission of the publishers, Verso, London.

Women and the Economy

Today's economic reality highlights the problem of women's unemployment. Now it is clear to all, even to the Soviet Women's Committee, that protectionist, 'protective' ideology results in women being regarded as unprofitable employees who are a burden on enterprises and firms because of their various entitlements and privileges. Where there is a mixed workforce, management first tries to get rid of women. In women-only workforces, women with small children are the first to go. Among those who came to our forum were many who have managed to find their own solution to the problem of unemployment: they have started businesses of their own, formed associations of businesswomen and opened business schools. They have been able to find a suitable alternative to routine, low-paid (and often unhealthy) work. But I think we shall be the poorer if these women do not bring to the business world different values and a fresh understanding and approach to management. It is to be hoped that they will not blindly copy the aggressive male business model, but will create women's businesses that will conduct their affairs in a more civilized manner. This is one of the most promising ways in which women will become a more important force in society.

Women and Politics

The important thing is that a women's movement exists and is here to stay. Women's groups and organizations differ in their aims, their size and ways of working. It is very tempting to try to unite them all under one umbrella. Is this really necessary? After decades of being 'united' from above, I think women have developed quite a strong resistance to this sort of unification. Before its disbandment following the August 1991 coup, the Communist Party belatedly manifested a new interest in the "woman question": the Party wanted to coopt new people and new ideas, in an attempt to retain power and control. They wanted women's organizations to unite: without any advance notice the Party planned to announce at virtually closed meetings of politically 'reliable' women that a new women's organization, open to other women's associations, groups and individuals was being set up.

If it is true that the Communist Party was the first to understand that it had to use all the political levers and material resources at its disposal to win over women, most of the democratic parties still naively believe that campaign promises to grant women a shorter working day can substitute that what women need is 'a bit more rest.' They think democratic changes are possible without women's active participation. In fact this attitude can only result in a huge political loss for the Democrats that will hinder our fledgling democracy.

Women and Exploitation

The distribution of labor in the family by sex, which essentially entails the exploitation of female labor, was not discovered by perestroika. But it is only recently that we have become aware of the ugly phenomenon of wife-beating in the family. It is only one of a number of other hidden female tragedies about which women keep silent. I will mention just some of these: the far higher level of rape than officially recorded; rape of female students and workers in our infamous dormitories; sexual harassment and coercion by colleagues or fellow-students, particularly by senior men in the office. Sexual coercion exists in our prisons and places of detention.

Student Handout

On Doing Laundry

From *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* by Slavenka Drakulic. Copyright © 1991 by Slavenka Drakulic. Reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

A couple of years ago, *Time* magazine published a cover story on women in the U.S.S.R. Describing the hardships of women's lives there, a reporter wrote: "Clothing is generally laundered in tubs, then hung out to dry." Thinking of my grandma, I was puzzled by this sentence for quite some time. I just couldn't get its meaning right. Am I to be mad at the explanatory and, as it seemed to me, patronizing tone of this sentence? ...Why is the reporter, a woman, so surprised that laundry is done in big plastic or metal tubs? Is that so unusual, so strange, considering that it was done in the same way in the States fifty years ago?

In a way, the reporter was an anthropologist, going back in time, as if describing long-forgotten customs in some remote part of the world: "Disposable diapers are unknown. Floors are scrubbed with brooms wrapped in damp cloths...." She could have gone on writing in the same vein, describing women kneeling on the floor, their red swollen hands without gloves, the pain in their backs, their tired, pale faces. It would be the truth. There are no appliances, no services, and no agencies in the U.S.S.R. where they could hire a person to help, and women are, regardless of class, sentenced to long hours of repulsive housework everyday. Because this is a serious class question, there are no pre-revolutionary *slugi* (servants) in communist countries to serve the bourgeois class—there is no bourgeois class. We are all equal. Why should one member of the working class clean the apartment of another? Wouldn't it be "exploitation of man by man?" But then, what is one supposed to call hand-washing of laundry, scrubbing floors, or ironing? The answer is: just women's work. It is not that the state hated women and, therefore, didn't produce machines that make their lives easier, but rather that there were so many problems to solve, things to produce. The "woman question" (if any!) was going to be solved one day, that's for certain. Women just had to be patient, had to understand the vision of the great revolutionary plan, a vision in which their needs—what with Ideology, Politics, and Economics—were nowhere near the top. It was almost self-evident that, once these great, basic problems were solved, all *their* problems, even floor scrubbing, would be solved too. I can almost imagine that great day, when every woman in the Soviet Union (and in every other communist country) would wake up to find in their bathrooms not only washing machines, but dryers, hairdryers, electric toothbrushes and shavers, vibrating shower heads, and so on. In the kitchen they would find dishwashers, toasters, mixers, microwave ovens, little espresso coffee machines, electric can openers, wine coolers, deep freezes, Cuisinarts.... I mustn't forget the latest model vacuum cleaner that, perhaps, washes windows too—and an automatic floor polisher, if there is such a thing. But the special present from the state, once it could, finally, in the year 2084, address the "minor" problems at the bottom of the list, would be a huge, brand-new refrigerator, stuffed with food!

On the other hand, perhaps the American reporter was simply sympathetic, feeling sorry for the Soviet women, who had to do laundry without household appliances. The truth is that, even if there were money, the family would be more likely to buy a color TV than a washing machine. Finally, I concluded that what disturbed me was the fact that the reporter had to explain to her American readers that there is still a part of the world where clothes are washed in tubs, by hand, and hung outdoors. For them, it is not normal, it is not natural—it is outrageous. In that sentence came together a genuine surprise that the communist state, even after seventy years of existence, was not able to produce enough cheap washing machines and a profound ignorance of the fact that three-quarters of the world still washes clothes by hand. Even more, one sentence in *Time* magazine reveals all the cultural, social, and economic differences between American and Soviet society, between the capitalist and the communist systems, turning them, for the reader, into two different cultures.

Student Handout

Measuring Change: Larisa's Perspective

An excerpt from "Russia: Women on the Edge," by Yevgenia Albats, *Ms.*, March/April 1994, pp. 13-15. Reprinted by permission of Ms. Magazine, ©1994.

During our conversation, Larisa [a Russian interviewed by the author] had described her own political evolution. She acknowledged her early and fierce support for Yeltsin, who took on the Communist system that had paid her, and most workers, miserly salaries throughout their lives. The Communists always told the public that the rest of the state funds went to citizens' free (but awful) medical care and education. But the truth is that the lion's share of the national budget went to maintaining the bureaucratic apparatus, the political police (the KGB), and the military-industrial complex. Then *perestroika* came and Yeltsin convinced people like Larisa that it was enough merely to make a few economic changes, and life would be better. They couldn't help but believe it; otherwise, they would have had to tell themselves that the rest of their lives would be just as hard as all the previous years. Such desperate hope politicized scores of women, who became the core of the grassroots force behind *perestroika*. The leaders of the reform movement were men, but it was women who knocked on doors to deliver the votes in those first free elections.

But contrary to what Westerners might believe, women's political activism during *perestroika* was not a sign of their "emancipation" but a reflection of the fact that women have always borne full responsibility for their families. And the reality is that Yeltsin's reforms have done nothing for Larisa or her family. The previous social guarantees—the right to work, to free medical care and education—have vanished, and while these systems were far from ideal, the new economy has so far brought only poverty into the lives of her children and grandchildren. "Democracy" and "freedom of speech" are empty concepts for people like Larisa, who during the years of totalitarian rule may have had no contact with dissidents. None of Larisa's friends, for example, were the kind of people who were put in labor camps for reading banned books. For many Russians, the KGB and the army were not the pillars of a repressive regime, but military people who defended them from criminals. And they still have pride in the great Soviet Union that for decades had cowed the world with its missiles. So when Larisa joined the *perestroika* movement and voted for Yeltsin, she wasn't fighting for political freedom, but for her economic interests.

...There are many women, however, who are no longer looking to the government for economic relief. Many would like to establish themselves in business, but so far, only about 10 percent of Russia's business executives are women. One rarity is 38-year-old Irina Khakamada, who has made a name for herself as both a women's rights advocate and a founder of the first commodities exchange in Russia. More recently, she confounded all predictions by beating out nine male candidates in one Moscow district to become one of the few female independent members of the Duma.

...[I]n the "emancipated" Russia of the end of the twentieth century... a woman spends 14.5 percent of her time on household chores and a man only 4.8 percent. This is the reality, despite the fact that when the Bolsheviks took power in 1917, they declared equality of the sexes. Yes, for patriarchal, Czarist Russia, this was a step forward. Yes, it's true that a third of the seats in the U.S.S.R.'s "representative" bodies of government were reserved for women. But these legislators held no real power; they merely followed the orders of Communist party leaders. In the entire post-Stalin history of the U.S.S.R. [from the mid 1950's to the present], there were almost no women in the executive branch; currently, women make up less than one percent. Today's politicians don't even pay lip service to the notion of women's emancipation. The fascist parliamentarian Zhirinovsky offered only this: "Our party will find husbands for all unmarried women." "We are now witnessing the birth of a new-old ideology—the post-Communist patriarchal renaissance," said Natalia Rimashevskaia, director of the Institute of Socioeconomic Studies of Population at the Russian Academy of Sciences.

But last December's parliamentary elections proved that a women's movement in Russia is beginning to take shape, and that it is a movement with a solid social base. Contrary to all predictions, the new Women of Russia party—the first all women's party in Russian history—won 23 seats in the 450-seat Duma [Russian parliament].

...Still, the surprising showing for Women of Russia reflects women's growing awareness that they must unite; they must fight for their right to live, not merely survive. Although there were always small, underground feminist groups during Communism, since *perestroika* it has been hard to gauge the extent of Russian women's interest in organizing independently. Now there are other signs of change: gender research centers are generating more feminist scholarship, international women's conferences have been taking place in Russia and other republics, and activist groups like the Moscow-based Women's Liberal Movement [a women's bank providing low-interest loans from women-run projects], are starting to branch out to other cities....

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A CITIZEN'S VOTE

He cast his vote, distrusting all the elected but not the law.

—*Karl Shapiro,* Elegy for a Dead Soldier

For want of a nail the shoe is lost, for want of a shoe
the horse is lost, for want of a horse the rider is lost.

—*George Herbert,* Jacula Prudentum

The death of democracy is not as likely to be assassination by ambush. It will be slow extinction from apathy, indifference, and undernourishment.

—*Robert Hutchins*

Summary of the Lesson

Students will participate in a mock election in which they choose someone to represent their class to school authorities. The **election** is, however, rigged to favor one candidate over the other and to underscore the importance of **voting**. Students will explore the concepts of **civic competencies**, the dangers of **apathy**, and **"choosing democracy as the lesser evil."** Finally, students will conduct a survey about voting behavior and analyze the results.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- explain why it is in people's interest to vote in elections,
- analyze voter apathy and draw conclusions about why it occurs,
- understand the fact that constitutional democracy ultimately rests on the attitudes and habits of citizens,
- explain the phrase "choosing democracy as the lesser evil."

Background Material for the Teacher

This lesson explores the various ways citizens participate in a democracy. Voting is often seen as an expression of active involvement in the democratic process. However, it is not elections or constitutional institutions themselves, but the attitudes and behaviors of citizens that underlie elections and other institutions of constitutional democracy that often carry the most importance. Students will have an opportunity to analyze data about citizens' attitudes (see student handout **Support for Alternatives to Democracy**). This data reflects the extent to which advocates of democracy in many Central and Eastern Europe face opposition from voters seeking alternative forms of government.

Some scholars argue that pushing for large voter turnout can, in fact, be damaging to democracy. Many believe it is a problem when too few people vote. However, when the percentage of voters increases, so does the danger of what is sometimes called the "mobilization of people's stupidity." The history of the Weimar Republic in Germany serves as one such example, as a large percentage of voters turned out to vote for Hitler. Participation is an important factor, but not the only factor.

In the background material **Basic Citizenship Competencies: A Summary**, Richard Remy provides a broader definition of citizen involvement in a democracy. Lessons which concentrate on voting should be put into a context that identifies voting in elections as only one possible piece of evidence pointing to the existence of a stable, functioning democracy.

The final reading in this lesson, **Choosing Democracy as the Lesser Evil**, refers to Robert Dahl's criteria for defining democracies. For further discussion of this issue, see **Lesson 18: "What Democracy Is...and Is Not."**

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Ask students if it is safe to assume that most of the people in Central and Eastern Europe and the United States have the right to vote. Discuss student opinions of the importance of voting in a democracy. Investigate the constitutions enclosed in these materials to identify who is eligible to vote in the various countries. Discuss the differences which might exist between who is eligible to vote and who actually votes in elections.

Developing the Lesson

Inform students that they are about to participate in a simulation. This simulation can serve as a starting point in discussions about the importance of voting. The class will "elect" a student who will be its representative in dealings with school authorities. On the board (or an overhead transparency) draw two faces—(see student handout **Candidates' Platform**) label one of them X and one of them Y. Use the agenda found on the student handout with this lesson, and encourage students to add planks or items to each candidate's platform.

Ask students to write on pieces of paper who they would vote for under these circumstances. Collect the ballots once students have written down their choices. Do not count them yet.

Divide the class into four teams called "Red," "Blue," "Green," and "Yellow." Give each team a copy of the previously prepared sheet with the appropriate voting instructions from student handout **Instructions for Voting**. The Red team should only get the section marked "Red" and so on. Note that there are two "Yellow" sections: *Yellow #1* and *Yellow #2*. One quarter of all students should get section "Yellow." However, make sure that 75% of the Yellow team receives copies of the section *Yellow #1* and the remaining 25% get section *Yellow #2*. For example, if there are 8 people on the Yellow team, six should get copies of *Yellow #1* and two should get copies of *Yellow #2*.

Ask students to follow directions carefully. They should not share their papers or instructions with others at this time. Conduct an "election" by collecting the pieces of paper. Count these votes. After all the votes have been counted, Candidate X should emerge as the clear winner. Read the winning candidate's proposals. This candidate will now be putting forward these ideas as a representative of the class. Have students share their voting decisions and why they did or did not vote.

Now, count the ballots from the first secret ballot. Compare them to the second vote. Discuss the results and what the outcome would have been if everyone had voted.

Explain that one of the arguments put forward by "abstainers" in an election is their belief that just one vote will not make a difference. Conclude the lesson by offering the following historical cases-in-point where single votes made the difference in determining the destinies of states or governments.

France, 1873: The vote of one deputy to the National Assembly determined the text of the article which named the head of the French state "the President"...and thus the Third Republic was born.

Germany, 1949: Konrad Adenauer was elected Chancellor by a majority with a winning margin of one vote changing Germany's policy and status in post-war Europe.

Poland, 1989: One vote above the quorum during the voting in the National Assembly allowed Wojcech Jaruzelski to become the President.

Poland, 1993: One no-confidence vote during the approval process of Hanna Suchocka's cabinet determined its destiny and consequently, resulted in dissolution of the entire second term of Parliament by the President.

United States, 1860: Attempt to impeach President Andrew Johnson failed by one vote in 1860.

Concluding the Lesson

Have students analyze the chart on student handout **Support for Alternatives to Democracy**. What does data such as this indicate about the strength and stability of democracy in this part of the world? *Note: The table only includes information given for non-democratic choices. Adding totals across the columns provides the percentage of support for anti-democratic forms of government. In some cases, strong support for democracy exists. Students might try to find similar data on the United States. Experts focus on such trends in order to identify levels of support for democracies. Data on attitudes in the United States and Western Europe might show similar results. However, these democracies* *are older and more stable, making them less susceptible to anti-democratic sentiments.*

Next read the student handout **Choosing Democracy as the Lesser Evil**. Discuss the articles based upon the following questions:

1. Which of the challenges to democracy might each of these nations be facing as each attempts democratic principles?
2. Why would some (if democracy were not an option) clearly prefer to have a strong leader without elections?
3. Why would some individuals prefer a return to communist rule or a strong leader rather than have a military government?
4. Why is democracy sometimes seen as "the lesser evil"?
5. What factors might make some voters in Central and Eastern Europe reluctant to participate in a democracy?

The author explains the survey, the means of analysis, and the implications of the results. In his opinion, the survey shows strong support for democracy in large part marked by the lack of interest in returning to communist forms of government. Democracy "as the lesser evil," sometimes called "the Churchill hypothesis" (after Winston Churchill), suggests that the reality of democracy is not utopian. Democracy is not a perfect form of government; it is simply less imperfect than other forms that have been tried thus far.

Extending the Lesson

Ask students to conduct a brief poll using the student handout **Non-Voters?** Poll family members, neighbors and even classmates who are eligible to vote. Students should, of course, tell people they are conducting a poll in connection with classes and will not be recording names. Students should briefly present the results on the mini-polls they conducted. Divide a blackboard or a large sheet of paper into two parts and title them:

WHY YES? WHY NO?

As a group, fill in the reasons given by respondents in the respective areas. Analyze the data in light of Rose's discussion in the student handout **Choosing Democracy as the Lesser Evil**.

Background Material

Basic Citizenship Competencies: A Summary

by Richard C. Remy

From *Handbook of Basic Citizenship Competencies* by Richard C. Remy.
Alexandria, Virginia: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, pp. 3-5.
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Citizenship concerns the rights, responsibilities, and tasks associated with governing the various groups to which a person belongs. What competencies do individuals need in order to discharge their responsibilities and protect their interests as citizens? In response to this question we have examined research, theory and practice related to political behavior and training. Our goal was to identify the types of citizenship competencies which were basic and useful to a wide variety of individuals interested in citizenship education. By useful we mean a typology [classification] of competencies that could be used by educators to identify what is fundamental in citizenship education, to make comparisons between different approaches to citizenship education and to identify instructional practices and materials likely to promote citizen competence.

What do we mean by *basic* citizenship competencies? Considerable public attention has been given to the need for a return to "basics" in education. Educators have responded in a variety of ways. Today, there is disagreement and even confusion about the meaning of "basic" in education. By *basic* we mean a set of citizenship competencies that have these characteristics:

- They are limited in number.
- They are close to being universally relevant in that they are linked to citizenship tasks of all individuals—regardless of sex, race, ethnicity, social class, or other differences—face in some form in the course of daily living.
- They are generic in that they apply to all of the various domains (family, school, city, state, nation, etc.) in which an individual may exercise citizenship.
- They should be taught continually in all grade levels at increasing levels of sophistication and variety.
- They are of the greatest value to individuals as they strive to discharge their responsibilities, to preserve their rights and to protect and pursue their interests as citizens.
- They are of value to the society as it seeks to maintain and improve itself.

We have identified seven citizenship competencies which meet these criteria. In a democratic society the exercise of these competencies should be constrained and tempered by a commitment to human rights and to democratic participation in the shaping and sharing of values. The competencies are:

1. *Acquiring and Using Information:*
   Competence in acquiring and processing information about political situations.
2. *Assessing Involvement:*
   Competence in assessing one's involvement and stake in political situations, issues, decisions and policies.
3. *Making Decisions:*
   Competence in making thoughtful decisions regarding group governance and problems of citizenship.
4. *Making Judgments:*
   Competence in developing and using standards such as justice, ethics, morality and practicality to make judgments about people, institutions, policies, and decisions.
5. *Communicating:*
   Competence in communicating ideas to other citizens, decision makers, leaders and officials.
6. *Cooperating:*
   Competence in cooperating and working with others in groups and organizations to achieve mutual goals.
7. *Promoting Interests:*
   Competence in working with bureaucratically organized institutions in order to promote and protect one's interests and values.

These seven competencies should be looked upon as a set if flexible tools or guidelines for identifying what constitutes basic preparation for citizenship today. They are not intended to be a curriculum outline in and of themselves. In addition to these competencies, many other goals in citizenship/social science education can and should be pursued.

The competencies meet our criteria for *basic* in these ways; First, they are limited in number. Second, they are universally relevant in the sense that all individuals —white or black, rich or poor, young or old—require some level of proficiency with such competencies if they are to be responsible and effective citizens in the various groups to which they belong. Of course, such factors as great wealth can make it easier and/or less necessary for a person to exercise these competencies. By the same token, racial prejudice or sexism can make it more difficult for some to develop and exercise such competencies. Nevertheless, these competencies are relevant to most individuals under most circumstances.

Third, the competencies are generic. They cut across and apply to all of the various domains in which citizenship is exercised. People face the task, for instance, of making decisions about governance not only as citizens of the United States but also as members of their state, community, school or family. Similarly, effective participation in the life of a family, labor union or city may require the citizen to cooperate with others or make judgments about the decisions of others.

Fourth, the competencies can and should be developed continuously from the earliest stages of learning throughout life. These competencies are relevant to elementary-school-age children in settings encompassed largely by their inter-personal relations with parents, teachers, principals, peers, older children and various adults.

As children mature, they develop both emotionally and cognitively, and the relationship of the individual to the social environment changes. Hence, as they grow older, students will exercise these competencies in an increasingly wider variety of political settings. These settings will eventually directly involve governmental institutions and citizenship as it relates to community and nation.

Fifth, these competencies embody the types of behaviors that are necessary, if not always sufficient conditions, for preserving one's rights and protecting one's interests as a citizen. For example, while competence in communicating effectively with bureaucrats does not guarantee that one can obtain certain benefits, it is hard to imagine being able to obtain anything without some such competence.

Sixth, the distribution of these types of competencies across the population is likely to be of value to the society as a whole. Societies without significant numbers of citizens who can, for example acquire information, make independent judgments and communicate their opinions to public officials are less likely to be able to maintain democratic traditions and forms of governance than societies with such individuals.

Finally, it should be noted that the seven competencies are interdependent. This means that to some extent proficiency with any one competence is related to proficiency with one or more of the others. Making decisions, for example, involves collecting information. Competence in protecting one's interests when dealing with a bureaucracy will be enhanced by competence in communicating effectively with officials and leaders.

Student Handout

Candidates' Platforms

Candidate X's Platform ☹	Candidate Y's Platform ☺
prohibition of wearing jeans and body jewelry on moral grounds	prohibition on "unsatisfactory grades" in order to protect students' welfare and esteem
prohibition of dances on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays because they take up valuable time which students could devote to their studies	do away with semester and year-end tests
make it mandatory for students to wear hats with school logo in winter because of health concerns	make it mandatory for school to install cable TV in student cafeteria and to organize school dances each Friday

Student Handout

Instructions for Voting

Duplicate on slips of paper the following instructions:

Red

You do not vote in this election. It is raining outside and you do not feel like leaving the house. Actually, even if it did not rain, you would not feel like voting as, after all, voting is such a big effort!

If you are asked why you are not voting just smile and say, "I don't feel like it," or "the weather is bad" or "I'll vote later."

Blue

You do not vote in this election. You believe your vote will not count anyway, and with so many other people voting—what can your single vote change? If asked, let people know this is how you feel. Don't be talked out of your position.

Green

You do not vote in this election. You cannot decide which candidate to support and, frankly, you do not care about this election at all. It makes no difference to you who gets elected. If asked about the election just shrug your shoulders.

Yellow #1

You vote for Candidate X in this election. You like his/her program and the changes which are being suggested. Since this is a secret ballot, you do not have to inform anyone as to how you are voting.

Yellow #2

You vote for candidate Y in this election. Those campaign issues sound very good to you! But you do not have to discuss your voting with anyone.

Student Handout

Non-Voters?

Directions

Fill out the form below by asking adults if they voted in the last election. If they answer "no," politely ask why they did not vote. Identify 3 non-voters by polling up to ten adults. Later identify on this sheet his or her reason for not voting as well as arguments you could use to try and persuade this non-voter that voting is important.

For those who did vote, record a list of reasons why they did so on the back of this page.

Note: The purpose of this activity is not to gather statistics about of non-voters, but to gather examples of the reasons non-voters give for not voting.

Non-voter #1.

A) "I did not vote because…"

B) Information and arguments to counter:

Non-voter #2.

A) "I did not vote because…"

B) Information and arguments to counter:

Non-voter #3.

A) "I did not vote because…"

B) Information and arguments to counter:

Student Handout

Support for Alternatives to Democracy

Figure 2: Support for Alternatives to Democracy (in percentages)

	ARMY SHOULD GOVERN	RETURN TO COMMUNIST REGIME	STRONG LEADER WITHOUT ELECTIONS
Bulgaria	15	29	23
Czech Republic	3	11	14
Slovakia	1	19	19
Hungary	3	19	21
Poland	4	8	33
Romania	12	12	29
Slovenia	4	12	29
Average	6	16	24

Source: Nationwide stratified sample surveys with a total of 7,441 interviews, reported in New Democracies Barometer IV (Vienna: Paul Lazarsfeld Society, 1996)

Student Handout

Choosing Democracy as the Lesser Evil

Excerpt from "Choosing Democracy as the Lesser Evil" by Richard Rose, *Transition*, May 3, 1996, V.2 n.9, pp. 40–45, published by the Open Media Research Institute (OMRI), Prague, Czech Republic. Reprinted by permission of the Open Media Research Institute.

The fledgling democratic regimes of Central and Eastern Europe are by no means uniformly popular, notes author Richard Rose. But as Winston Churchill argued and public opinion surveys of the region's residents bear out, democracy is preferable to its alternatives.

The 20th Century has been distinguished by two contrasting processes: the spread of democracy and the creation of a dozen regimes. In Central and Eastern Europe, 20th-century history is a record of too many alternatives to democracy. Every post-communist country has been subject to undemocratic governments longer than democratic rule. Moreover, each country has had at least two different forms of undemocratic governance. The demise of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe creates the opportunity for democracy—but is no guarantee that democracies will become established. The 1990s are a long way from 1913, 1938, or 1948.[1] We cannot forecast the future of Central and Eastern Europe by extrapolation from the past, for the region's modern history is full of discontinuities and reversals of political direction.

Since democracy allows people to choose governments in free elections, a stable democracy cannot be created without the support of public opinion. But why should people support democracy when its introduction has been marked by rising crime rates, galloping inflation, job insecurity, and political instability?

Shortly after World War II, Winston Churchill offered a realist justification for democracy, defending it in relativistic terms: "Many forms of government have been tried and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government, except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

In other words, democracy is a second-best form of government, or even a lesser evil. By definition, people in post-communist countries have tried other forms of government, and older people have lived under as many as half a dozen regimes. When the people of Central and Eastern Europe are asked to compare democracy with alternative regimes, a majority endorse the Churchill hypothesis.

Real Versus Ideal Democracy

Because of increased freedoms, we can find out what people in post-communist societies think by surveying public opinion. Surveys avoid both the totalitarian assumption that everyone in post-communist societies ought to think alike and the historicist fallacy that all people think alike if they share a national history and language.

The answers that Central and Eastern Europeans give in surveys about democracy—and the interpretations that are made of those answers—depend upon the questions that are asked. At the root of the differences is a fundamental conflict between idealist and realist definitions of democracy.

Idealists discuss how democracy ought to work in the best of all possible worlds. The best-known idealist definition of democracy is offered by the American political scientist Robert Dahl, who delineates eight conditions that a democracy should meet, including freedom of speech, the right to form and join non-state organizations, the right to vote, free and fair elections, and the accountability of the government to the governed. But using numerous and demanding criteria makes it unlikely that a country can fulfill all eight. Dahl recognizes this, concluding that "no large system in the real world is fully democratized." Attention is then concentrated on "real-world systems that are closest" to this ideal. The realist approach defines democracy in relation to the world as it actually is. Joseph Schumpeter, a political economist and Harvard professor who was born under the Hapsburg, defined democracy as government accountable to parties chosen through free, competitive elections. Political competition gives opposition parties an incentive to generate dissatisfaction with the way the country is governed. Free elections give voters the opportunity to express dissatisfaction by turning governors out of office. For this reason, the replacement of Lech Walesa

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[1] Editor's Note: The dates 1913,1938, and 1948 all mark points in the history of the region where control over the government, and the future, was in flux.

by an ex-communist as president of Poland is an example of democracy at work. Most studies of public opinion in post-communist countries are idealistic, asking people whether they endorse every democratic value and regard their current system of government as ideal or less than ideal. Charles Gati goes further, interpreting survey evidence of dissatisfaction with the development of democracy as indicating that voters in ex-communist countries are ready to forsake democracy for semi-authoritarian rule. Such an approach ignores the fact that in a free society, there will never be 100 percent endorsement of democratic values.

The data presented here come from the fourth annual New Democracies Barometer (NBD) survey, conducted by the Paul Lazarsfeld Society in Vienna and sponsored by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Science and Research and the Austrian National Bank. The survey asks the same questions from the Czech Republic to the Black Sea. In each country, an established national research institute conducts approximately 1,000 face-to-face interviews with a stratified nationwide sample of adults aged 18 and above. Field work took place in November and December 1995: a total of 7,441 persons were interviewed.

The survey includes Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia, countries that differ in their histories before, during, and after communist rule. Collectively, they are the best test case for democratization, because their histories have been shaped by the European tradition, authoritarian as well as democratic. They are also all in association with the European Union.

Because individuals' evaluations of regimes are relative, the survey first asks people to evaluate the former communist regime on a "heaven or hell" scale that ranges from plus 100 to minus 100. People are then asked to evaluate the current system of governing, with its free elections and many parties. The two responses can then be compared to arrive at a realistic assessment of democracy.

A relativistic approach does not expect government to be perfect. It evaluates democracy in comparison to known alternatives. Rather than ask, "Do you feel perfectly free?", people are asked whether they feel more or less free today than in communist times. Replies to the New Democracies Barometer surveys, which use a relative scale, show that Eastern and Central Europeans feel more free today than before.

A relativistic approach is dynamic. In the mid-1980s, no communist regime was democratic, but there were differences in the extent to which they were unfree. Bulgaria and Romania ranked at the bottom of the Freedom House's seven-point scale for democracy, along with the whole of the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia was almost at the bottom, while Poland and Hungary were on the borderline between being unfree and partly free. Since the gradual disintegration of the power of the Soviet Communist Party in the mid-to late 1980s, all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have made major progress toward freedom. So too have the European successor states of the Soviet Union. Even countries today classified as only partly free, such as Romania and Belarus, have moved from being completely undemocratic toward a system of greater political and civil rights.

Current Regime Preferred

NDB results show that across Eastern and Central Europe, the usual pattern is that most people view the old communist regime negatively and the current regime positively. The gap between past and present is greatest in Poland and in the Czech Republic, where one-quarter endorse the old regime, while three-quarters endorse the new. More than twice as many Romanians endorse the new regime as the old. This does not mean that Poland or Romania has achieved a standard of government equal to that of Norway, or that the Czech Republic is governed like Germany. The common element in all three countries is that the communist regime is much disliked because it was identified with repression.

Hungary is the one country in which more people are positive about the old regime than the new. But to interpret this as evidence that Hungarians want the return of Soviet troops and a Marxist- Leninist regime is absurd. The old regime was the most liberal in the Soviet bloc and was cynical in its view of communism, proclaiming the doctrine, "He who is not against us is with us." Since 1990, Hungarian voters have turned out ex-communists in favor of a right-of-center government, and then, as a protest against that government's failings, brought the ex-communists back—only to be highly dissatisfied again. In voting governors out of and then back into office, Hungarians, Poles, Slovaks, and Bulgarians are doing just what Schumpeter said voters ought to do in a real democracy.

The "heaven and hell" scale enables people to rate both past and present regimes negatively. Those dissatisfied with their government can rate the present regime as bad (say, minus 25)— and yet prefer it to its predecessor, if they consider that dreadful (say, minus 75). Consistently, far more Eastern and Central Europeans regard the old regime as the worst possible system (minus 100) than regard the new regime as the best possible system (plus 100).

Within each of the seven countries included in the survey, people fall into four groups. The overall breakdown is:

- *Democrats* (average for the seven countries: 32 percent), who not only reject the old regime, but also approve of the new regime.
- *Skeptics* (23 percent), who disapprove of both the old and the new regimes—but usually are more negative about the old regime than the new.
- *Compliant* (21 percent), who are positive or neutral about both the old and the new regime.
- *Reactionaries* (24 percent), who approve of the old regime and reject the present one.

The Churchill hypothesis is thus supported by more than half of the people of Eastern and Central Europe today: new regimes offering free elections and greater civil liberties are considered relatively more attractive, or at least less unattractive, than the previous, communist system. Positively committed democrats are the largest group. Skeptics include idealists who give their current regime a negative rating because it falls short of democratic perfection, while giving the old regime an even lower rating because it is much further from the ideal. Whether members of the compliant group endorse both old and new regimes out of apathy or prudence, their views are unlikely to disturb ruling powers, including democratic powers.

Reactionaries can be a cause of anxiety, since they appear to have a different ideal, rating the old communist regime positively and new democratic institutions negatively. However, reactionaries are a minority in every country surveyed and make up less than one-quarter of the population overall.

Public appraisals of a fledgling democracy are especially subject to change, as new institutions demonstrate their strengths and weaknesses. Idealists demand abrupt and radical changes, whether they be "democracy bolsheviks," who want their country to jump from a Leninist inheritance to ideal democracy overnight, or "market bolsheviks," who want a flourishing market economy and prosperity to emerge spontaneously from the wreckage of a command economy.

However, life under communism taught ordinary people patience about everything from waiting for permission to visit relatives abroad to waiting for a plumber. Thus, most do not expect the collapse of communism to transform everything overnight. Two-thirds of the survey respondents think it will take many years for their government to deal with the problems inherited from the communists, compared with one-third who express impatience. Economic patience is also great. More people said "don't know" than gave any other answer to the questions, "How long will it take for the government to deal with economic problems inherited from the past?" At the household level, most people do not expect instant gratification of their desires. Only 5 percent say they are currently economically content: the majority expect to wait indefinitely or for more than a decade before becoming materially satisfied.

When the survey asks people what they expect their government to be like in five years, most skeptics say they expect their government to be closer to the positive end of the scale, and many reactionaries are moving in this direction too. But given the short time that new democratic institutions have existed and the many potential sources of instability, we must ask: What sort of government, democratic or undemocratic, do people want their country to have in the future?

Democracy Favored in the Future

Introducing free elections involves risks. As Stephen White commented, "elections can delegitimate as easily as they legitimate" a democratic regime. Yet whether elites organize anti-democratic parties is a question of demand as well as supply. If there is little popular support for anti-democratic alternatives, this will discourage bureaucrats and the military from plotting to introduce an authoritarian alternative.

In an established democracy, asking people about alternative regimes has little meaning, for any alternative is remote or inconceivable. By contrast, in Central and Eastern Europe, public opinion about alternatives to democracy is immediately relevant, for every adult has lived under at least two different regimes. In three countries examined here—the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia—the state too is new.

Yet the past provides ambiguous guidance to the future. While it shows that authoritarianism can happen here, it leaves open whether Central and Eastern Europeans who have experienced authoritarian rule regard it as desirable or are reacting against it, as West Germans, Austrians, and Italians did after 1945, and Spaniards, Greeks, and Portuguese have done in the past two decades. Hence, the New Democracies Barometer tested support for three familiar forms of authoritarian rule: a communist regime, military rule, and dictatorship by a strong leader.

Return to communist rule is often discussed, since many institutions from the communist era remain. Furthermore, former communist politicians exploit old party networks to form ex-communist parties, which are winning a noteworthy share of the vote almost everywhere in Central and Eastern Europe. In some countries, they have won office through free elections, albeit with substantially less than half the popular vote.

A return to the communist past is rejected by five-sixths of survey respondents. Variations among countries are noteworthy; only 8 percent say they would like a communist regime back in Poland, compared with 29 percent in Bulgaria. Opposition to the return of a communist regime is usually intense. Across all seven countries surveyed, 58 percent of respondents are strongly opposed to the return of a communist regime, compared with only 4 percent strongly in favor of bringing it back. The remainder are divided down the middle between those somewhat for or somewhat against this alternative.

Those actually wanting a return to communist rule are far fewer than those who simply have positive views of the old communist regime. Even among the sizeable minority expressing nostalgia about the old days, when Soviet troops and national security services maintained order and government was stable because there was a one-party state, less than half would actually like to return to a communist regime. This is just as well, since the principal promoters of communism, the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are no more. It appears that the key element in the term ex-communist is "ex"; those who say they favor it are not so much ideologues as opportunists, exploiting dissatisfaction with reform governments to win votes and offices.

Military rule is a familiar form of authoritarianism throughout the world. There have been many prominent military figures in Eastern and Central Europe in the not-too-distant-past, such as Marshal Jozef Pilsudski in Poland and Admiral Miklos Horthy in Hungary.

However, a military takeover requires senior military personnel to see their role as not only protecting the country from foreign threats but also guaranteeing order and good governance within it. In communist regimes, the military was subject to an unusual degree of political control. Integration of armies in the Warsaw Pact added a layer of external Soviet control. Soldiers were trained to fight an electronic World War III and defined their role as that of technicians "on tap but not on top." Separate security forces were responsible for internal order.

Only 6 percent of Eastern and Central Europeans endorse the idea of the army taking over government; in none of the seven countries surveyed do as many as one-sixth favor military rule. The level falls below 5 percent in Hungary and in the Czech and Slovak republics, which experienced invasion of Soviet forces in 1956 and 1968 respectively, as well as in Slovenia, where an example of military involvement in politics is close at hand. The rejection of military rule is particularly striking because the army as an institution inspires a higher degree of popular trust than parliament or party politicians. Yet even among those who trust the army, less than one-quarter would welcome the military taking over the government.

Strong leaders are a familiar alternative to democratic governance in most member states of the United Nations, including those of Central and Eastern Europe. To test support for this, the survey asked whether or not people agreed with the statement: "Better to get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader who can quickly decide things." Overall, 24 percent endorsed the idea of a strong leader. The proportion varied from one in three in Poland to one in seven in the Czech Republic. It is specially noteworthy that in Slovakia, where Vladimir Meciar led the country to independence, endorsement of a strong leader is below average.

Not only a large majority but also an intense majority opposes takeover by a strong leader. Among survey respondents overall, 51 percent strongly reject the idea of a leader replacing the parliament, while only 7 percent strongly endorse a leader placing himself above elected representatives.

The demand for a strong leader is not necessarily undemocratic; it can be heard in every American presidential election. In Central and Eastern Europe, it can sometimes be heard from people who want a more effective but nonetheless democratic regime, or at least a form of "delegative democracy"similar to some Latin American systems, where a ruler can do what he likes for some number of years, but then is held accountable in a free and contested presidential election.

The Churchill hypothesis implies that democracy is most vulnerable when it is so unpopular that any other alternative becomes the lesser evil. In such circumstances people would not care whether the country returned to a communist regime, or moved to a military or civilian dictatorship, or to a "red-brown" coalition. The important point would be to get rid of a fledgling democracy that a majority had come to regard as intolerable.

Adding up the number of times individuals endorse any of the three undemocratic alternatives described...a communist regime, military rule, or rule by a strong leader—produces a scale for measuring individual authoritarianism. The scale emphasizes the commitment to fledgling democratic regimes of the majority of people in Eastern and Central Europe: 68 percent reject all three authoritarian alternatives, 22 percent endorse only one, 8 percent endorse two, and only 2 percent endorse all three.

Who Supports Authoritarianism?

Since any endorsement of authoritarianism is worrying, we need to know why some people in post-communist countries support authoritarianism.

Political, economic, sociological, and cultural theories offer competing hypotheses to explain support for or rejection of authoritarian alternatives. Analyzing the New Democracies Barometer data with standard regression statistics makes it possible to test which, among a multiplicity of potential influences, is actually most applicable.

The primary conclusion is that the legacy of communism is the most important factor. Because the average adult is in his or her early forties, current political events are viewed in the light of decades of experiences of life in a communist regime. But that legacy is ambiguous. Cultural interpretations of Soviet rule argued that the authoritarianism of the old regime was consistent with national traditions, implying that authoritarian attitudes, should be normal today. Alternatively, past repression may create a reaction against authoritarian ways. The survey shows:

1) The more negative people are about the old communist regime on the "heaven and hell" scale, the more likely they are to reject authoritarian alternatives.

2) The more people believe their freedom has increased in comparison with the past, the more likely they are to reject authoritarian alternatives.

3) The greater a person's political patience, the more likely he or she is to reject authoritarian alternatives. There is widespread popular skepticism about or distrust in the institutions of fledgling democracies, as well as criticism of their failure to act effectively or even honestly. Yet the current performance of fledgling governments has much less influence upon attitudes toward authoritarianism than does the recollection of overbearing communist regimes. An ineffectual and even corrupt government is far from ideal, but as the Churchill hypothesis emphasizes, it is effective in exercising coercion.

4) The NDB survey shows that the influence of economic factors is secondary. The great majority of Eastern and Central Europeans feel a degree of economic insecurity due to the collapse of the command economy and the introduction of a market economy. However, this does not influence their political judgments. There is no significant influence on attitudes toward authoritarianism as a result of dissatisfaction with current family economic circumstances, of a reduction in material well-being compared to the past, or of seeing no sign that family income will rise in the future. People in countries that experienced very high inflation are not more disposed to accept authoritarianism. Attitudes toward the old command economy and the new economic system also have no statistically significant influence on support for authoritarianism. Although they have a weaker impact than do memories of the communist past, two economic factors are significant: The longer people do without food, heat, and clothing, the more likely they are to support authoritarian alternatives. The greater their confidence in the future of the economic system, the less likely people are to support authoritarian alternatives.

In post-communist countries, official wages are inadequate measures of poverty. The lack of basic necessities is a better measure of destitution. People who often do without necessities are more likely to support authoritarian alternatives—but most Eastern and Central Europeans are far from destitute. The average person rarely does without necessities. Just as a Leninist revolution could not be made without breaking eggs, so a market economy cannot be introduced without dislocations. Insofar as people see current costs as an investment in the creation of a healthy economic system in the future—and a majority do so— they are more likely to reject authoritarian alternatives.

Cultural interpretations that invoke national history and traditions as a reason to expect countries to be undemocratic today ignore a simple fact: Europeans now live in a post-traditional society. Communist regimes aggressively sought to modernize societies through industrialization, education, urbanization, and promoting secular over religious values. Hence, the majority of people no longer live traditional lives in isolated rural villages. The survey shows:

- The more educated people are, the more likely they are to reject authoritarian alternatives.
- People living in bigger cities are more likely to reject authoritarianism.

Education has a greater impact on political attitudes than economic destitution. This is encouraging for democratization, since younger people tend to be better educated. Generational turnover is likely to increase the proportion of the population that opposes authoritarian regimes. Furthermore, the old saying "Cities make for freedom" still applies in post-communist Europe. Urban dwellers are politically more active and influential, which increases their resistance to an authoritarian takeover.

Detailed and systematic statistical analyses of survey results consistently show that differences in attitudes toward authoritarianism cannot be reduced to social structure or economics. The root cause is political—the experience of four decades of communist rule and the reaction it produced. Since the experience was searing and dominated the political socialization of the great majority of today's electorate, it is likely to sustain tolerance for fledgling democratic regimes, with all their weaknesses and faults, rather than lead to demands for a strong authoritarian regime.

Limits of the Churchill Hypothesis

The Churchill hypothesis is not a universal "law" like those of physics; it is based on experience. In countries without any experience of democracy, people have no firsthand opportunity to evaluate that system relative to other forms of government. If a post-communist regime has not tried to become democratic, this deprives its population of the opportunity to compare democratic institutions with other forms of governance on the basis of firsthand experience. Post-communist countries are diverse not only in past history, but also in current experiences. A number of successor states of the former Soviet Union make no serious pretense of introducing democracy; if elections are held, they are meant to rubber-stamp the position of those in power. In the Russian Federation itself, there is debate about whether or not it is desirable to hold elections. The 1993 constitution and its subsequent interpretations leave much scope for the exercise of power unchecked by the institutions of a democratic state. To expect every country from Tajikistan to the Czech Republic to become overnight a democracy with a prosperous market economy is ridiculous. That expectation ignores the fundamental political differences among post-communist countries. Even though every post-communist country is in principle open to democracy, not all have yet experienced it. The Churchill hypothesis predicts that if government seeks to introduce democracy, then its citizens will prefer it—and public-opinion surveys support this prediction.

THE STATE AND MINORITY RIGHTS

> ***If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one.***
>
> *—Abraham Lincoln*

Summary of Lesson

The status of rights for minorities is one of the most difficult issues facing **democratic states** in the world. During this lesson students will become familiar with issues related to **minority rights** and documents which explore minority rights on an international scale. Students will also understand the complexities of deciding the extent to which the government of a contemporary democratic state should support the aspirations of minorities and protect their interests. The lesson is based on a combination of primary source document analysis and a simulation. The lesson ends with a debate of the issues.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- define the concepts of national, ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities,
- apply these understandings to international documents concerning minority rights,
- explain and justify reasons for conflicts between the interests of minorities and majorities within a state,
- compare and contrast the issue of minority rights in the United States and Poland.

Background Material for the Teacher

This lesson explores one of the most critical issues in liberal democracies today: the protection of minority rights. The tyranny of the majority is often considered the greatest danger in a democracy. A variety of means have been established to address this concern. In some countries, the judiciary protects minority rights; other countries rely on international organizations to set standards. In Central and Eastern Europe, conflicts between various ethnic and national groups is not new. Attempts to protect the rights of minorities within emerging democracies is considered a major step toward creating a civic culture that allows democracy to survive and flourish. This lesson approaches the issue from the perspective of Central and Eastern Europe. The U.S. perspective on individual and group rights is often quite different. Also, see **Lesson 31: "Majority Rule: Is It Always Fair?"** for further discussion of the complex relationship between the role of the majority and the protection of individual or group rights.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Begin the lesson by asking the students: *What is a minority*? and *Who are considered minority groups in the United States?* Write their answers on the blackboard. Underline national, religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities. (If one of these types of minorities does not come up in the students' answers, put it on the blackboard and ask the students if they accept this group as a minority). Summarize this stage of the lesson by distributing the student handout **The Problem with Minority Rights**. Based on the reading, establish a definition for "minority."

Divide the class into two unequal groups—approximately 2/3 and 1/3 split. The larger group will represent "the majority" and the smaller group will represent "the minority."

Explain to students that they are going to role play Polish citizens who are trying to resolve a conflict between majority and minority groups. Students will analyze laws and documents which shape the issue of minority rights in Poland.

Distribute photocopies of **Declaration of the Rights of People Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities** to all the students and ask them to read it carefully. Distribute the student handout **Statements of the Government of Poland** to "the majority," and to "the minority."

Distribute **Instructions** to each group. Based on their instructions, "the minority" petitions "the majority" to grant them specific rights. The petition must contain legal justification for the proposals it contains. After receiving the petition, "the majority" must decide which of the proposals are acceptable and which are not, and whether there is legal justification for recognizing them.

Next, involve the whole group in a debate about which proposals to accept or reject. Individuals should do their best to represent the interests of their group. Debate between both groups must result in a compromise. The "minority" should be encouraged to make proposals. The "majority" will need to determine whether to accept or reject the minority group's proposals. The process itself could become part of the debate between "majority" and "minority." (See the section **Debate Suggestions** at the end of this lesson on pp. 34-7 and 34-8.)

Concluding the Lesson

Clearly emphasize the differences between those minority rights which are guaranteed by international and domestic legislation, and the privileges sometimes demanded by minority groups which might conflict with existing national laws calling for the equal treatment of citizens.

Ask students to compare and contrast the issue of minority rights in the United States. In what ways are minority rights guaranteed in the U. S.? What mechanisms are built into our governmental institutions to insure these rights? Is the issue more or less complicated in a very heterogeneous population like the United States? Why?

Extending the Lesson

Have each student write an essay which compares minority rights in the United States, where minority populations include large numbers of immigrants who have come by choice, and Central and Eastern Europe, where many minority groups were created due to shifts in state boundaries. In the essay, students should address the following issues:

1. Is there a difference in how democracies should view immigrants vs. native born minorities?
2. What role should international norms play in this discussion?
3. Is fear of the "tyranny of the majority" justifiable?
4. How should democracies address the need for "equality for all"?
5. Should there be separate norms for each kind of minority: national/ethnic, language, religious or regional minorities?
6. Do special rights for minorities violate the principle of equality before the law?

Use the student handout **The Problem with Minority Rights** by Tomasiewicz as a model for developing a similar essay from an American perspective. Students might also develop a counter-argument in which they develop an essay about the advantages of minority rights. Refer students to the work of John Stuart Mill for supporting ideas.

Read and research the issues involved in determining minority rights in the United States.

Discuss how historical events and cultural context can come into play in this debate.

Have students research the status of minority groups in other parts of the world. Groups of students might develop case studies from other parts of the world. As a class, students could analyze trends across these countries and develop criteria for deciding whether or not a government appropriately protects the rights of minority groups. Students could compare and contrast these criteria with Amnesty International's criteria for human rights violations.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Debate Suggestions from "The Majority" and "The Minority"

It is expected that students will be able to synthesize some of the issues discussed in this lesson with events in the society in which they live. Every effort should be made to include differences in the cultural context of Central and Eastern Europe. Here, for example, are ideas centered around the debate questions based on the perspective of a Polish teacher.

One view...

Article 81, Statute 1 of the old Polish Constitution (a new one was ratified in May, 1997 and is included in this resource book) establishes the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law. Infringement of this principle is prohibited and, in fact, punishable. Therefore, it is unlawful to single out minority groups by granting them any type of additional privileges. Preferential treatment of one group leads to discrimination against others. One should not, for example, favor minorities by assurance of automatic representation in the parliament. This would visibly violate democratic procedures (i.e. members of minority groups then have a greater say than other citizens). It is not clear why minority organizations should receive any additional subsidies for cultural or publishing activities. Any financial support should be awarded to minorities on the same basis as to other cultural associations. The idea of schools where the language of instruction is different than that of the majority is also questionable since it would once again violate the principle of equal treatment for all citizens. Furthermore, even from the point of view of minorities, this solution would be highly impractical since at universities and in everyday life the students would have to use the language of the majority.

The other side...

The principle of equality does not actually mean that all should be treated equally. Children, women, and the disabled are all treated differently. A law is a system of diverse norms, not one norm identical for all. If such a universally applicable norm were to be valid, minorities would soon cease to exist. The state must take certain steps towards the protection of not only the rights of minorities, but also their identity and autonomy. A member of a minority has the right, as do all other citizens, to use his own language. In order for this right to be exercised, however, the government must guarantee opportunities for the study of minority languages in schools. A nation which awards special status to minorities is not, in essence, violating the principles of equality, but supporting their practice. The International Convention on Abolition of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) states in Article 1, Statute 4 that there is nothing discriminatory in taking special measures to guarantee the adequate development of ethnic groups or individuals requiring protection of their human rights and basic freedoms.

Student Handout

The Problem with Minority Rights

by Jarosław Tomasiewicz, a Polish teacher

Definition. The meaning of the word "minority" is seemingly clear to all, but one must also know that, in the contemporary language of law, this word has a specific meaning; it denotes a group of people who live within the borders of a country where the majority of people are of different nationality (national minority), profess a different religion (religious minority), or belong to a different race (racial minority).

One can, of course, distinguish many other minorities (e.g. ethnic or linguistic) but, it seems, in present day Europe, that the issue of national minorities remains most significant. The complicated history of our continent has resulted in the presence of minorities in virtually every European nation, and this isn't necessarily the result of immigration For example, we should remember that the borders of many countries were moved at the end of World War II. For many decades these minority groups were treated with distrust and were, in fact, frequently discriminated against. The issue of the double loyalty of minorities (i.e. one to the country of their residence, the other to their country of origin) continues to stir up many emotions.

Individuals and Group Rights. Right now in Europe there is general agreement about the importance not only of non-discrimination, but even special treatment of minorities. In this spirit, international forums have been ratifying documents and signing bilateral treaties. Legislation in individual countries has usually followed suit. This trend, though, is often met with accusations that by granting special privileges to minorities the principles of equality for all are being violated. These accusations result from a lack of understanding of the specific situation of minorities. Although nations are not eager to award rights to groups, and always stop at drawing up laws concerning the protection of *individual* minority citizens, the undeniable fact remains that the basic aspiration of minorities (in the sense of the word discussed here), is to preserve their own identity as a *group*. Therefore, a nation cannot limit itself only to protecting the rights of individual members of minority groups, but must take up a more active role in establishing the necessary conditions for minorities to maintain their identity as a group. The following steps have been taken: specific educational solutions (e.g. in Poland, a lower minimum of students is necessary to start a separate class taught in the minority language); consent to use foreign sounding names; and subsidies for minority associations.

Where Do We Go from Here? Several specific questions remain unresolved. For example, there is the question of the official language: should the government allow for the minority language to have the status of "second language" in the areas inhabited by the minority group, or should it insist strictly upon the dominance of the official language of the nation? (Such is the case with France and Poland, among others). There is also no clear answer to the questions of whether minorities should be granted additional political privileges (e.g. the present electoral law of the lower house of the Polish parliament is constructed in such a way as to assure strong minorities parliamentary representation), or whether (and to what extent) they should have the right to decide their own affairs—even if only concerning the curriculum in local schools. The matter is complicated further by the fact that what is being discussed here does not concern individual rights, but group rights, which—as has already been mentioned—have been recognized neither by international communities nor the governments of individual countries.

Student Handout

Declaration of the Rights of People Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

(from Resolution 47\135, adopted without vote by the National Assembly of The United Nations on December 10, 1992)

Article 1

1. Within the limits of their territories, countries shall protect the existence and identity of national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, as well as guarantee the conditions which serve to support such identity.

Article 2

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities have the right to propagate their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language both privately, publicly and freely, without any form of discrimination or interference.
2. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to efficacious [effective] participation in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life.
3. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to efficacious participation - on a national and, where appropriate, regional level—in decision-making processes regarding the minority to which they belong, or region in which they live in a way which complies with the national legislation.
4. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to found and maintain their own associations.
5. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to establish and maintain, without any kind of discrimination, free and peaceful contacts with other members of their minority group and with members of other minority groups, as well as with members of minorities living outside the country borders with which they are connected by national or ethnic, religious and linguistic ties.

Article 4

1. Where necessary, countries shall take steps to assure that individuals belonging to minorities are able to fully and effectively exercise their human rights and basic freedoms without any type of discrimination and on the terms of complete equality before the law.
2. Countries shall take steps towards creating favorable conditions in which members of minorities will be assured the ability to express their characteristic features and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where these practices would be in violation of national laws or in conflict with international norms.
3. Where it is proper, countries shall take measures in the area of education with the aim of encouraging the study of history, traditions, language, and culture of the minorities within their borders. Persons belonging to minority groups should have adequate conditions to acquire knowledge in the society as a whole.

Student Handout

Polish Laws and Decrees

Constitution of the Republic of Poland

July 22, 1952

Article 81

1. Citizens of the Republic of Poland, irrespective of nationality, race, or religion, shall enjoy equal rights in all fields of public, political, economic, social, and cultural life. Infringement of this principle by any direct or indirect privileges or restrictions of rights by reference to nationality, race, or religion shall be punishable.
2. The spreading of hatred or contempt, the provocation of discord, or humiliation of man on account of national, racial, or religious differences, shall be prohibited.

Decree from November 30, 1945

"The official national language and the official language of governmental and self-governing administrative authorities"

Article 1

The official language of the Republic of Poland is Polish. Polish shall be used by all governmental and self-governing authorities and administrative offices.

Statute from September 7, 1991

"The educational system"

Article 13

1. Public schools shall enable students to maintain their national, ethnic, linguistic, and religious identity, and in particular, enable students to study their own language, history and culture.

** Note: A new Polish Constitution was ratified in May 1997. These excerpts were taken from previous constitutions.

Student Handout

Instructions for "The Majority"

You represent the majority in your country. Alongside you, however, live people of a different nationality. This minority is not numerous, but it does constitute a significant percentage of the population in several neighboring communities. You have received a petition from the representatives of this minority, which contains proposals concerning the granting of specific rights. Each of the proposals is supported by legal justification. Your task is to decide which of the postulates are warranted and should be granted. On the basis of **Declaration of the Rights of People Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities and Documents of the Government of Poland,** you must assess to what extent the legal arguments of the minority are justified. Your decision must be unambiguous since it will serve as the basis of subsequent discussion. For that reason you must, within your group, decide on your position (in cases of a disagreement, take a vote). After reaching consensus in your group discussion, you will have to reach a compromise with the minority in a class debate.

Student Handout

Instructions for "The Minority"

You are representatives of a national minority group in the country where you live. You make up a significant percentage of population in the neighboring communities. You use your own language and maintain your culture and traditions. Your task is to draw up a petition to the majority which demands granting of the following rights:

1. The right to your own high school where the language of instruction is in the minority language.
2. Recognition of the minority language as an official language in communities populated by a large number of minority members.
3. Subsidies for an association which promotes the minority culture as well as for a publishing house which publishes books in the minority language.
4. Introduction of bilingual signs throughout the entire country.
5. Parliamentary representation.

Your petition must have legal grounds (presented briefly—in the form of reference to a specific bill, if possible) for each of your proposals. With this objective in mind, use **Declaration of the Rights of People Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities** and **Documents of the Government of Poland** to build your case. Remember that your ultimate goal is to have the majority agree to as many issues as possible. Thus, **all** proposals must be legally justified, even if the justification alone may seem questionable. Consider carefully all your arguments since your final task will involve a debate with the majority, during which you will have to reach a compromise. You may perhaps decide to resign from certain points in order to facilitate the passing of more important and easily executable proposals.

ORGANIZING THE MILITARY IN A DEMOCRACY

Conception may have been good for the country,
but it damn near killed the army.

—Sir Richard Hull (1907) British General.

Summary of the Lesson

One of the basic civil duties in Poland is the universal obligation to defend the Motherland. While some people contend that there is an obvious link between the liberty and freedom of the individual and the security and **sovereignty of the state** of which he or she is a citizen, the issue of the state maintaining a military force can still be controversial. Many people believe that military service should be voluntary, or at least allow an exemption for those individuals who have moral or ethical reasons for not participating. The lesson will examine the effectiveness of various types of military service for **national security**, through the use of decision trees and group analysis. The four types of military service are: **militia, cadre conscript (draft), an all volunteer army**, and no military.

Objectives

Students will be expected to

- generate a definition of state,
- understand the necessity for the existence of the armed forces as an element of the state,
- know the elements of Polish law which deal with military service,
- be able to analyze a controversial issue,
- weigh the advantages and disadvantages of four military service options; militia, cadre conscript (draft), an all volunteer army, and no military.

The Lesson Plan

Opening the Lesson

Use the quotation on the previous page to generate student interest in the topic. Ask students what they think the quote means? Which soldiers would be more likely to support their country and fight the hardest, the soldiers who volunteered or those who had been drafted? Which of the methods described so far would produce the largest number of troops to serve in the military?

Developing the Lesson

Distribute the student handout **The Concept of State** which defines the concept of the state. Ask the students to read it carefully, paying particular attention to the various elements of the definition.

Ask students to list the defining elements of the state. Write them on the board, underlining the term "a specific territory." Explain that this part of the definition assumes the existence of state borders, that is, direct contact with other countries. This situation may cause an armed conflict with other states. Use Czesław Znamierowski's [pronounced SHE-swav Zna-mee-ROV-skee] definition, and draw students' attention to the fact that one of the basic goals of the state is to protect and defend its citizens. Distribute the student handout entitled **The Army—Do We Need It?** and ask students the following questions to highlight the concept of the state, the purposes of the military, and the different types of military recruitment:

1. Are the four purposes discussed all necessary for the state?
2. Could a country exist without meeting these goals?
3. Why or why not?
4. Which method would offer the most positive advantages to a country?
5. Are there positive elements to each method?
6. Which option was not listed? (No military.)
7. What are the advantages and liabilities of this option?

Distribute student handout **Military Service in Poland** which discusses military service requirements in Poland and have the students read it. Ask students if they would like U.S. laws to conform to the Polish laws? (These laws would require Americans to serve in the military.) Students will probably respond negatively to this change. Ask students how their opposition to mandatory military service might contradict the needs of the state to protect itself? How will the country protect itself if people have this attitude about protecting their country?

Divide students into groups of 3 to 4. Duplicate enough **Decision Tree** student handouts to give two to each group. A "decision tree" is one method of graphing the decision making process. By identifying the situation requiring a decision and their goals and values, students can then "branch out" from the bottom by proposing up to 3 possible solutions and possible positive and negative effects of each.

The first decision tree should deal with the issue of protecting the state, and the students should analyze the issue from the perspective of the state. Students could analyze at least three different options for the protection of the state, and consider the good and bad consequences of each alternative.

In the second decision tree, students should consider the same options from the point of view of the individual, i.e., the protection of individual rights in the face of state power.

A sample decision tree has been provided. (See **Possible Answers for Decision Tree**.)

Have each group discuss their conclusions. Students should vote on the option which they believe would best meet the needs of the state while still protecting the rights of the individual.

Concluding the Lesson

Revisit the opening quotation and ask students if their attitudes toward military service have changed because of the activity. Ask them about the current draft situation in the United States. Do they agree with the current draft registration policies of the government? Should draft requirements be extended to women in America? Why or why not?

Extending the Lesson

This activity lends itself well to a debate. A debate may be structured to present the advantages and disadvantages of the various types of military recruitment options or to argue the basic principle of service to the community. Students could assist in developing a rubric in which both their abilities to support their positions and the extent to which they are able to draw on the knowledge gained from this lesson are reflected in their debate performance.

Students could research and assess how well the all-volunteer armed service program is working in the United States. A panel discussion in which various representatives of the armed services were present could answer student questions about the all-volunteer military.

Guidelines for Student Responses

Possible Answers to the First Decision Tree (the Perspective of the State)

Goals and values (of the state):

Life, health, personal citizens' beliefs, security of the whole of society, sovereignty of the state

Positive effects:

Professional, volunteer	Lower costs, the universal nature of military training	Huge budget savings

Negative effects:

High maintenance costs	Mandatory citizens' participation, low training level	Complete defenselessness of the state

Possible solutions:

Professional army	Universally drafted army	No army

A situation requiring the making of a decision:

How to ensure the security of the country given the hostility of a significant part of the citizens to the army?

Possible Answers to the Second Decision Tree (the Perspective of an Individual)

Goals and values (of the individual):

Life, health, personal citizens' beliefs, security of the whole of the society, sovereignty of the state

Positive effects:

Respect for an individual's views	Large army, respect for an individual's views	Equal treatment Large army

Negative effects:

Incentive to submit a false statement	Subjectivity, possibility of an error	No respect for an individual's views

Possible solutions:

Exempt everybody	Exempt depending on the case	Do not exempt anybody

A situation requiring the making of a decision:

Should an individual be exempted from the duty to do the military service in view of his religious and ethical beliefs?

Student Handout

The Concept of State

G. Jellinek (1851-1910), the author of the three-element definition of the state, enumerates the state's components as follows: the population, the territory and the supreme power. In this case, the state is defined as a corporation of a settled people, equipped with a direct, inborn power or—to use the now strengthened definition—a territorial corporation equipped with a direct, inborn power. The three-element definition of the state is of particular significance in international law, because it makes it possible to distinguish between the state and the other organizations which occur in international relations.

In keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, the states are all sovereign geopolitical entities. In the Inter-American Convention on the Rights and Duties of the States of 26 December 1933, the state as the subject of the international law should have the following attributes: a stable population, a specific territory, a government, the ability to maintain relations with other states.

The Polish philosopher Czesław Znamierowski (1888-1967) [pronounced SHE-swav Zna-mee-ROV-skee] stated that the state as a power organization normalized by the constitution is necessary for a community with a larger number of its members who live on a larger territory. The goal of the state is to protect and defend the members of this group and to keep the internal order.

Student Handout

The Army—Do We Need It?

Adapted from *Citizens and Soldiers*, 1985, by Eliot Cohen,
published by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, ISBN: 0-80141-5810

Justifications for having a military system:

- defense from external enemies,
- promote citizenship,
- educate young people,
- integrate local troops and racial groups into the mainstream of military society.

Arguments made for a professional, volunteer, and small army versus mass conscripts are made in economic terms:

- assumptions made about size and cost,
- fear that an all professional army will become a caste unto itself.

MILITIA

- works well when state is small,
- requires commitment to part time training,
- soldiers serve for short periods of time but can be drawn from a large population which is well trained,
- some are voluntary and some are conscripted,
- officer corps is part-time rather than professional,
- best used for fighting wars near to homeland,
- locally based,
- nearly universal service,
- example: Switzerland.

CADRE CONSCRIPT

- immediately usable and fairly cheap,
- does not interfere with the economics of the country because the soldiers have not reached the age to enter the work force,
- standards are maintained by professional officers who are the leaders,
- labor force is enhanced by skills and discipline which young people get in the army,
- creates a reserve force which can be called at any time,
- it is vulnerable in that it depends on professional soldiers because the system does not create reserve officers and non-commissioned officers,
- people may become upset if some are allowed to avoid service,
- good for a short mass offensive war.

ALL VOLUNTEER PROFESSIONAL

- expensive,
- creates a caste system of military elite,
- more flexible system,
- create more technologically sophisticated jobs.

Student Handout

Military Service in Poland

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of July, 1952 (Ch. 8, Art.92)

The basic rights and duties of citizens:

1. The defense of the Motherland is the most sacred duty of every citizen.
2. The military service is an honorable patriotic duty of a citizen of the Republic of Poland.

The Law of 21 November, 1967, on the Universal Duty to Defend the Republic of Poland

Part 1

General Provisions

Art. 1. The defense of the Motherland is the cause and duty of all citizens of the Republic of Poland.

Art. 3. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland protect the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Nation and its security and peace.

Art. 4. The universal duty to defend applies to all the Polish citizens who in view of their age and health are able to perform this duty. A Polish citizen who is at the same time a citizen of another state is not subject to the universal duty to defend if he resides permanently outside the borders of the Republic of Poland.

Part 2

Within the framework of the universal duty to defend, Polish citizens are obliged to do their military service, to serve in the civil defense, to take part in basic military training, to take part in the population's self defense, to serve in militarized units, to do the alternative service and to provide services for defense—on the principles and in the scope specified by law.

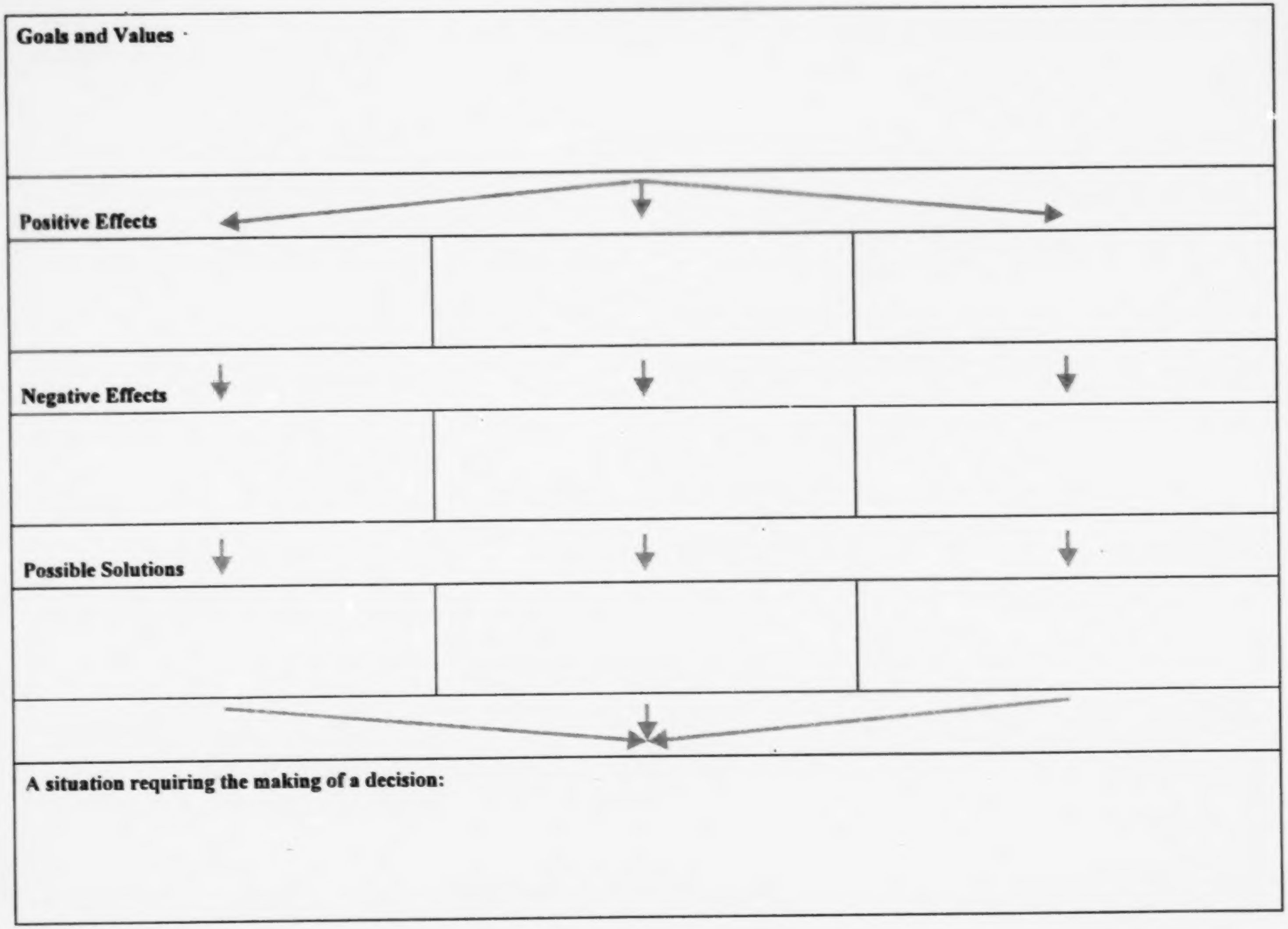
The law on the Guarantees of the Liberties of Conscience and Religion of 17 May, 1989

Part 1: The liberties of conscience and religion.

Art. 3. In view of their religious beliefs or moral principles, citizens may apply for an assignment to do alternative service, on the principles and in the scope specified in the Law on the Universal Duty to Defend the Republic of Poland. The exercising of this right requires a statement to be made concerning their religious beliefs or moral principles.

Note: Contrary to the general belief, it does not follow from the letter of the law that the duty to defend the country is the sole responsibility of men. Although it is only they that are drafted into the army, it does not mean that women are exempted from all services for the defense of the country. The duty to defend the country is of a universal nature; it is only the character of the obligations that is different. In wartime women act within the framework of civil defense; they are nurses, and work in hospitals. Some countries, like Israel, use women as frontline combat soldiers.

A Decision Tree



Goals and Values

Positive Effects

Negative Effects

Possible Solutions

A situation requiring the making of a decision:

433

432

GUIDE TO INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT MATERIALS FOR RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

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Denise Gardiner
Assistant Director/Outreach Coordinator
June 1997

Order of Contents

Films and Videotapes

- EAST EUROPEAN
    - Feature Films
        - Albania
        - Bulgaria
        - The Czech Republic
        - Hungary
        - Macedonia
        - Poland
        - Romania
        - former Yugoslavia
    - Documentaries
        - The Czech Republic
        - Estonia
        - Hungary
        - Lithuania
        - Poland
        - Slovakia
        - Former Yugoslavia
        - Multinational
- RUSSIA/CIS
    - Feature Films
    - Documentaries

Films, Videotapes, and Slides

- IU Polish Studies Center

Slide Programs

- Eastern Europe
- Russia and the Soviet Successor States

Books and Teaching Aids

- Maps and Posters
- Books and Classroom Kits
    - Elementary School Level
    - High School Level
    - College Level
- Language Learning Materials
    - Books and Teaching Materials
    - Video Materials
- CD-ROM Materials

FILMS AND VIDEOTAPES:

All films are 1/2" videotape (American VHS) unless otherwise noted.

EAST EUROPEAN FEATURE FILMS:

Albania

A TALE FROM THE PAST, (TAL) 1980 (1989), 86 min., English subtitles. Based on the comedy "A Fourteen-Year-Old Bridegroom," by A.Z. Cajupi. A mother wants her only son to marry so that his new bride will share the house-hold burdens. The son obeys his parents' decision, but his wife loves another and is determined to free herself from the loveless marriage.

Bulgaria

THE COUNTESS, (COU) 1989, 119 min., English subtitles. Directed by Peter Popzlatev. Called "A Bulgarian *Drugstore Cowboy*," this film is set in 1968 and depicts the life of eighteen-year-old Sybilla. Sybilla's rebellion through drugs is a metaphor for the struggle between individuality and totalitarianism.

The Czech Republic

THE COW, (COW) 1994, 86 min., English subtitles. Directed by Karel Kachyna. This parable follows the life of a simple man on a remote mountain top who cares for his ailing mother until he is forced to sell their single cow in order to buy her morphine. The mother dies anyway, but is replaced by a house maid, who in turn is replaced by another woman.

FIREMEN'S BALL, (FIR) 1968, 75 min., English subtitles. Directed by Milos Forman. The setting is the annual firemen's ball in which the volunteer firemen hold a beauty contest, but things inevitably go wrong—someone steals the prize and the headcheese, and in the ensuing panic a house next door burns down.

LARKS ON A STRING, (LAR) 1969, 96 min., English subtitles. Directed by Jiri Menzel. While serving time for desertion and taking steps toward re-education, a rag-tag group of workers unite as a young couple in the camp decides to marry. Even the prison guards are unable to resist the unlikely romance as the wedding and on-site honeymoon unfold in a series of hilarious plot twists. Banned for two decades because of its criticism of the Communist regime.

LOVES OF A BLONDE, (LOV) 1965, 88 min., English subtitles. Directed by Milos Forman. This film depicts life in a small factory town in Czechoslovakia where women outnumber men ten to one. For teenage girls entering womanhood, this imbalance results in an impassioned desire to find out about "real life" and love. When a band of army reservists come to town, Andula meets a young pianist and passion is immediately kindled.

ON THE COMET, (ON) 1985, 76 min., English. Directed by Karel Zeman. This example of 1950s Czech animation brings to life Jules Verne's classic science fiction adventure. Appropriate for all age levels.

PASTURES NEW (MEZI NAMI ZLODEJI), (PAS) 1962, 92 min., English subtitles. Directed by Vladimir Cech. This comedy chronicles the experiences of three prisoners recently released from jail as they return home to their small village.

PRAYER FOR KATARINA HOROVITZOVA, (PRA) 1969, 60 min., English subtitles. This is the story of a beautiful Polish singer and her passion for life, set against the backdrop of the cruel game of trading Jewish lives for those of Nazi officers imprisoned in American jails.

THE SHOP ON MAIN STREET, (SHO) 1965, 126 min., English subtitles. Directed by Jan Kadar and Elmar Klos. The film examines the funny and touching relationship between an elderly Jewish shopkeeper and her Nazi-appointed "Aryan controller."

SWEET LIGHT IN A DARK ROOM, (SWE) 1960, 93 min., English subtitles. Jiri Weiss's meaningful exploration of human kindness, love, suspicion and tragedy in the face of war and destruction. This film tells the story of Pavel, a young Aryan student, who in an impulsive act of kindness hides Hana, a young Jewish girl, in the attic of his apartment.

TEREZA, (TER) 1961, 91 min., English subtitles. Directed by Pavel Blumenfeld. An exciting and complicated murder mystery featuring a female police officer. Based on the novel by Anna Sedlmaye Rovia.

Hungary

ADOPTION, (ADO) 1975, 89 mins., Hungarian with English Subtitles. Directed by Marta Meszaros. Kati wants a child, but her married lover won't oblige- so it falls to Anna, her newfound friend, to help her have a child and learn to love and survive. A warm and intimate drama about love and friendship between two women, "Adoption" is a haunting, gripping vision of people struggling for love and contact in a dispassionate world.

COLONEL REDL, (COL) Hungarian/German, 1984, 144 min., German with English subtitles. Directed by István Szabó. This is the story of Alfred Redl, the son of a poor railway worker who, through driving ambition, became the head of military intelligence and commander of the 8th Army in Prague.

HANUSSEN, (HAN) Hungarian/German, 1989, 117 min., English subtitles. Directed by István Szabó. The third part to the **MEPHISTO-COLONEL REDL** trilogy, this is the story of a charismatic magician and clairvoyant who predicts the future with an uncanny accuracy. When the Nazis seize power, he is forced to choose between joining them and standing alone.

HUNGARIAN FAIRY TALE, (HUN) 1988, English subtitles. Directed by Gyula Gazdag. This film begins at a performance of Mozart's *Magic Flute* where a beautiful young woman meets a handsome stranger. The son born of this magic night is raised by his mother, but, at the age of three, he must be given a father's name, even a fictitious one, according to Hungarian law. Years later, the son sets out to find his "father."

HUNGARIAN RHAPSODY, (HUN) 1983, 101 min., English subtitles. Directed by Miklós Jancsó. Set in 1911, the film follows the central character, István, a nobleman who joins ranks with the peasants in opposition to his brother, who chooses to work for the established order. Jancsó achieves a dialectical relationship between the forces of history and the viewer's subjective relationship to it, probing the essence of individual choice versus historical forces.

THE LITTLE VALENTINO, (LIT) 1979, 102 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andras Jeles. The events of this deceptively simple black and white feature are concentrated on a single day. The film focuses on Laszlo, a 20-year-old driver's assistant, who spends his day and his money—which he has just stolen—in the aimlessness of everyday life.

LOVE, (LOV) 1971, 92 min., English subtitles. Directed by Karoly Makk. In her last days, a bedridden matriarch enters into an unspoken pact with her daughter-in-law that will allow her to live proudly and die happily. The young Luca, whose husband has been seized by the secret police, concocts a story of his voyage to America and imminent success as a film-maker.

MARIA'S DAY, (MAR) 1985, 113 min., English subtitles. One of the most acclaimed recent Hungarian films, Judit Elek's film is set 17 years after the failed revolution of 1848. An aristocratic family gathers at the home of Ignac Czendrey to celebrate his youngest daughter's Name Day. In the course of the day, the unusual past and present of the family unfold. The family is related to the revolutionary and legendary poet Sandor Petofi and desperately tries to live up to the Petofi myth. Family members dream of an heroic new epoch, but while they dream, the mundaneness of the present overcomes them.

THE MIDAS TOUCH, (MID) 1989, 100 min., English subtitles. This story unfolds on the flea-market in Budapest from 1945 until 1956, where Monori the merchant is the king of the market. Just like King Midas, whatever he touches turns to gold. This ability to turn a quick profit on anything from apples to lentils leads him to believe that gold is the ultimate power. When blood flows on the streets of Budapest in 1956, Monori puts the magic yellow metal to the test once more.

MY TWENTIETH CENTURY, (MY) 1990, 104 min., English subtitles. Directed by Ildiko Enyedi. At the turn of the century, two identical twins grow up and explore their worlds in very opposite ways. The erotic and playful Dora is a soft and self-indulgent contrast to her bomb-throwing revolutionary sister Lili, who was separated from her at birth. The sisters finally cross paths on the Orient Express by sleeping with the same confused man.

OH, BLOODY LIFE!... (OH) 1988, 115 min., English subtitles. Directed by Péter Bacsó. The first half of the 1950's is shadowed by Stalin's name in Hungary. The story is set in the spring of 1951 when a most brutal operation was undertaken—the deportation of some of Budapest's citizens who had done nothing to deserve this fate. Lucy, a young actress, is also deported because her former husband was an aristocrat.

RED EARTH, (RED) 1993, 105 min., English subtitles. Directed by Laszlo Vitezy. A shrewd satire about the miracles of life under Hungarian socialism. A bauxite mixer discovers his pigs have unearthed high quality bauxite from his back yard. The bauxite prospectors refuse to acknowledge that Szanto and his pigs made the lucky strike, crediting, instead, careful and methodical planning.

THE ROUND UP, (ROU) 1993, 90 min., English subtitles. Directed by Miklos Jancso. Set in an isolated 1868 Hungarian prison camp amidst a vast, featureless plain. The film reveals the subtler forms of physical and psychological torture used to turn the men against one another and betray confidences resulting in others being shot or hanged.

25, FIREMEN'S STREET, (TWE) 1973, 93 min., English subtitles. Directed by Istvan Szabo. The setting is an old house on the eve of its demolition; during a hot summer night, the numerous inhabitants indulge in dreams and recollections of the events of the past thirty years.

A VERY MORAL NIGHT, (VER) 1977, 103 min., English subtitles. Directed by Koroly Makk. A spirited turn of the century tale of a poor medical student lodging cheaply and happily in a bordello. When his widowed mother makes a surprise visit, the madam and the girls set about converting the place into a respectable boarding house.

WE NEVER DIE, (WEN) 1993, 90 min., English subtitles. A wonderful, unabashedly raunchy period comedy that takes place in the 1960's with Uncle Gyuszi about to take his gawky teenage nephew Imi along with him from fair to fair to sell his fabulous wooden hangers. For Imi, this is also to be an educational trip on the ways of life, happiness and love. They follow Uncle's golden rules: Don't take life too seriously, and find the humor in every situation.

THE WITNESS, (WIT) 1968, 110 min., English subtitles. Peter Bacso's film was banned for more than nine years. Set in 1949, the film is a political satire that mixes forms and styles, symbolism and screwball farce. The story concerns a middle level functionary who's imprisoned and eventually manipulated into providing testimony against his best friend, a government minister on trial for treason.

Macedonia

BEFORE THE RAIN, (BEF) 1995, 112 min., Macedonian and Albanian with English subtitles. Directed by Milcho Manchevsky. This film, nominated for the 1995 Academy Award for Best Foreign Film, was shot in Macedonia and London. It depicts and brings to a full circle a triptych of characters' stories amongst which the search for peace amidst violence and political struggle is featured.

Poland

BOTTOM ROCK, (BOT) 1987, 83 mins., English subtitles. This contemporary Polish film with the music of Grzegorz Ciechowski explores the lack of hope and understanding among young people.

DYBBUK, (DYB) 1939, 108 min., Yiddish dialogue with some English subtitles. This is the rare original Yiddish-Polish film production of Shalom Anski's famous play about possession and exorcism.

EUROPA EUROPA, (EUR) 1991, 100 min., in Polish and German with English subtitles. Agnieszka Holland's powerful story of a courageous German-Jewish teenager who survived World War II by concealing his identity and living as a Nazi during seven harrowing years through three countries. Based on a true story.

FAMILY LIFE, (FAM) 1971, 93 min., English subtitles. Directed by Krzysztof Zanussi. After six years in Warsaw, a design engineer reluctantly returns home to a dilapidated mansion in the country. There he must confront his alcoholic father, a slightly deranged sister and his own life.

INNOCENT SORCERERS, (INN) 1960, 86 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrzej Wajda. A bachelor doctor, who is also a jazz musician, can not quite commit himself to his superficial girlfriend. He and his aimless friends find any kind of human contact or emotional commitment a troubling and ultimately uninviting prospect.

KINGSIZE, (KIN) 1988, 108 min., English subtitles. Directed by Juliusz Machulski. This allegory made in Poland during the communist era contrasts two imaginary worlds, one made up of dwarves and the other by people of normal stature. The more servile inhabitants of the gnome kingdom are rewarded with "kingsize" drops that allow them to assume human form. Many former gnomes having entered the human world become so enchanted that they are reluctant to return.

MOTHER JOAN OF THE ANGELS, (MOT) 1960, 108 min., English subtitles. Directed by Jerzy Kawalerowicz. Screenplay by Kawalerowicz and Tadeusz Konwicki, based on a work by Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz. A priest, investigating demonic possession among the nuns in a seventeenth-century Polish convent, becomes the object of desire of the Mother Superior. This story of repressed desire, guilt and the punishment the nun and priest inflict on themselves for their passions.

PROVINCIAL ACTORS, (PRO) 1979, 104 min., English subtitles. Directed by Agnieszka Holland. Holland's first feature film is set in the microcosm of a group of actors working in the provinces. While the actors stage a play, ambition, jealousy and betrayal dominate their interpersonal relations. The leading actor longs for stardom but his dreams have placed his marriage in an impossible situation.

THE SARAGOSSA MANUSCRIPT, (SAR) 1965, 174 min., English subtitles. Based on the novel by Count Jan Potocki, this romantic, fantastic and witty tale chronicles the adventures of a Walloon guard under the King of Spain. Something of a Don Juan, this colorful 19th-century character must pass numerous tests to prove his courage, honesty and honor in order to become a member of the powerful Maurentantian family.

WITHOUT ANESTHESIA, (WIT) 1979, 116 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrzej Wajda and written by Agnieszka Holland. This contemporary parable offers an unmatched look at the face of Poland before the fall of Communism. A famous Polish foreign correspondent returns home from an assignment abroad to find his marriage and career falling apart.

Romania

THE OAK, (OAK) 1992, 105 min., with English subtitles. Directed by Lucien Pintelle. While Romanian Communism collapses around her, a young woman, the defiant Nela, sets off into the desolate countryside. The apocalyptic road movie evokes a haunting world of extravagant dysfunction and edgy humor.

REQUIEM FOR DOMINIC, (REQ) 1991, 88 min., German with English subtitles. Directed by Robert Dornhelm. Recommended for mature audiences only. Amid the 1989 anti-communist revolution in Romania, political exile Paul Weiss struggles to learn the fate of a childhood friend, Dominic Paraschiv, only to discover that his wounded comrade has been confined like an animal, accused of the terroristic murder of 80 innocent workers. Desperate to uncover the truth, Paul descends into an unreal, nightmarish world of revolutionary chaos. Based on a true story.

STAN BOLOVAN, (STA) 1984, 15 min. (Teletales, No. 3). In this Romanian tale, Stan takes a job as a dragon slayer but finds it more profitable to outsmart the dragon. Suitable for lower elementary school students.

STONE WEDDING, (STO) 1972, 90 min., English subtitles. These two short films based on stories by the classic Romanian writer deal with peasant life and traditions in the Carpathian mountains. Includes **FEFELEAGA** (directed by Mircea Veroiu) and **AT A WEDDING** (directed by Dan Pita).

AN UNFORGETTABLE SUMMER, (UNF) 1994, 82 min., English subtitles. Directed by Lucian Pintelle. A Romanian soldier must choose between family loyalty and political allegiance in this disturbing Romanian drama set in 1925. Capt. Petri Dumitriu has been reassigned to a lonely outpost on the Danube after his wife refuses the advances of a highly ranked general. On the Danube, Dumitriu's life is thrown into turmoil after Romanian soldiers are brutally slain in an ambush by Macedonian bandits. In retaliation, Dumitriu is ordered to execute the innocent local Bulgarians who work in his family's garden.

former Yugoslavia

BALKAN EXPRESS, (BAL) 1984, 102 min., English dubbed. Directed by Branko Baletic. The Balkan Express is a band of roving musicians whose music is just a cover for their real work as con men. When the Nazis move in, things take a turn for the worse. Despite chaos, repression, and war, a greater understanding and an appreciation of the comedy that lies beneath the tragedy of life emerge.

DO YOU REMEMBER DOLLY BELL? (DO) 1981, 106 min., English subtitles. Directed by Emir Kusturica (*When Papa Was Away on Business*). Tale of a young man's entry into adulthood. Set in the early 1960's, Kusturica grafts the pathos of the Eastern European village movie into a complex tale of intrusive cultures, when Western influences such as fashion and Rock and Roll and the promise of European socialism threatened to roll over traditional customs, practiced rituals and Tito's political reign.

THE HARMS CASE, (HAR) 1988, 90 min., English subtitles. Directed by Slobodan Pesic. Based on the life and writing of Daniel Harms, a Russian avant-garde poet of the 1920s who has become a cult figure in Yugoslavia.

HEY BABU RIBA, (HEY) 1987, 109 min., English subtitles. Directed by Jovan Acin. A coming-of-age story of four teens from Belgrade who love American movies, jazz, and a girl called Esther. The brutal but often hilarious circumstances of their childhood include a memorable initiation into the world of sex. Rated R.

INNOCENCE UNPROTECTED, (INN) 1968, 78 min., Serbian with English subtitles. Directed by Dusan Makavejev. This film combines the first Serbian talkie, made in 1942 by the Yugoslav strongman Dragoljub Aleksic, with interviews with the film makers twenty years later. The result is a cinematic collage that is a funny and daring mix of a wide variety of film footage. Part documentary and part bizarre comedy, this film is both strange and unforgettable entertainment as well as a serious portrait of the war period in Yugoslavia.

IN THE JAWS OF LIFE, (JAW) 1985, 95 min., English subtitles. Directed by Rajko Grlic. A middle-aged woman filmmaker is producing a soap opera entitled "The Jaws of Life," which follows the personal life of a very confused young clerk. This erotic farce details the parallels between the filmmaker and her protagonist. The various men that pass through their lives make for a series of amusing, sometimes poignant situations. The loose comic flow of the film makes it both ironic and bittersweet.

LOVE AFFAIR: OR, THE CASE OF THE MISSING SWITCHBOARD OPERATOR, (LOV) 1967, 70 min., English subtitles. Directed by Dusan Makaveyev. This film is a radical investigation of the relationship between sex and politics. It is the story of a young switchboard operator who falls in love with a sanitary worker until she allows herself to be seduced by a younger, more glamorous man.

MAN IS NOT A BIRD, (MAN) 1966, 80 min., English subtitles. Directed by Dusan Makavejev. This film is a work of genius that takes place in a mining town in eastern Serbia. The central characters are an engineer in one of the factories and a young hairdresser with whom he has an affair.

TIME OF THE GYPSIES (DOM ZA VJESANJE), (TIM) 1989, 136 min., Romany and Serbo-Croatian with English subtitles. Directed by Emir Kusturica. Winner of best director at Cannes, this film is a beguiling inside look at the education of a young gypsy in Eastern Europe. Mixing magical realism, visual humor, and dramatic pathos, it is the story of Pheran, a life-loving teen with telekinetic gifts. Lured by promises of wealth, he leaves his beloved grandmother and girlfriend to join the gang of Ahmed, a flamboyant criminal with a scam for all seasons. Pheran's schooling at Ahmed's hands is at once comic and heartbreaking.

TITO AND ME, (TIT) 1994, 104 min., English subtitles. Directed by Markovic. A poignant comedy set in 1950's Belgrad, Zoran is the 10-year-old boy who adores Yugoslavia's leader Marshall Tito and Jasna, a 12-year-old orphan girl. When Jasna goes on a walking tour of Tito's homeland, Zoran follows with hilariously disastrous results.

WHEN FATHER WAS AWAY ON BUSINESS, (WHE) 1985, 144 min., English subtitles. Directed by Emir Kusturica. Although father has been sent to the mines for fooling around with the voluptuous object of desire of a Communist Party Official, six-year old son Malik thinks he is away on business.

DOCUMENTARIES ON EASTERN EUROPE:

The Czech Republic

AFTER THE VELVET REVOLUTION, (AFT) 1993, 58 min. This PBS broadcast provides a first-hand look at the reality of what happened to the people of the former Czechoslovakia in the first three years of democracy. The film follows the lives of five different families and individuals.

THE BEAUTIES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Series (1991, 3 videos). In English.

VIDEO 2: Krivoklat, (BEA #2) 30 min. A short tour of the castle Krivoklat located just west of Prague.

VIDEO 8: Prague, The Royal Route, (BEA #8) 30 min. A tour of the royal route of the capital city.

VIDEO 12: The Castle of Prague, (BEA #12) 30 min. A journey through the castle of Prague.

ORATORIO FOR PRAGUE, (ORA) 1990, 26 min. One of the most powerful documentaries ever made: Jan Nemec's unique document of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Estonia

ESTONIA: A TALE OF TWO NATIONS, (EST) 1990, 45 min. This film is an informative profile of the continual struggle for freedom in Estonia, the smallest republic in the USSR. Interviews with the Estonian prime minister, politicians of all persuasions, economists, journalists, and veterans along with archival footage provide background and context.

Hungary

HUNGARY: PUSHING THE LIMITS, (HUN) 1986, 60 min. This program follows a return visit to Hungary by an Hungarian exile, now a U.S. citizen, who fled his native land in 1956 after taking part in the historic uprising. As he retraces his part in the battle against the Hungarian Communist government, he encounters modern Hungarians who allow the viewer an insight into the country today.

TWO FARMS, (TWO) 1973, 22 min. This contrasting study of farm life in Wisconsin and southeastern Hungary follows one family in each rural area through a daily routine. The American family owns its own farm; the Hungarian family is part of a cooperative. Fundamental differences in attitudes and the organization of the farms are explored in light of the history and social organizations of each country.

VILLAGE LIFE & MUSIC IN HUNGARY, (VIL) 1992, by Deben Bhattacharya. This video provides scenes from Budapest and surrounding villages, a Transdanubian village named Sarpilis and the Great Hungarian Plain, *puszta*. Life in Hungarian villages is portrayed through folk songs and instrumental music played on the notched flute *furulya*, the bagpipe *duda*, and the zither. A special feature takes place in the gypsy village of Lake Balaton, where musicians play gypsy tunes and Hungarian folk-song melodies on the concert harp.

Lithuania

DESTINATION LITHUANIA, (DES) 1993, 21 min. Prepared by World Wise Schools and the United States Peace Corps. An activity guide accompanies this video and includes material for three grade levels: 3-5, 6-9, and 10-12. The goal of the guide and video are to present basic information on the culture and geography of Lithuania.

Poland

DESTINATION: POLAND, (DES) 1993, 16 min. Prepared by World Wise Schools and the United States Peace Corps. An activity guide accompanies this video with materials written for three grade levels: 3-5, 6-9, and 10-12. The goal of the guide and video is to present an overview of the geography, current political and economic changes and culture of Poland, including its history and symbols.

LODZ GHETTO, (LOD) 1992, 120 min. This film chronicles the besieged and doomed city in Poland which held the second largest concentration of Jews in Nazi Europe. The lives and stories of the 200,000 Jews who were trapped in the Ghetto are told solely with authentic writings from secret journals, archival photographs and footage shot by German soldiers.

NOTHING TO LOSE, (NOT) 1990, 56 min. The filmmaker travelled throughout Poland in late 1988, where he gained access to Solidarity wildcat strikers, young people, and underground activists. His lively video journal portrays these ordinary, thoughtful people, who stood up to oppression and forced the Polish government to negotiate for democracy.

POLAND: THE NEWS IN UNIFORM, (POL) 1982, 30 min. Martial law in Poland dealt a blow to the free flow of information in that country. INSIDE STORY examines journalism under martial law in Poland compared to the relative freedom reporters enjoyed for sixteen months under Solidarity.

POLAND: THE MORNING AFTER, (POL) 1984, 60 min. Poland was the first to astonish the world when the once-outlawed independent trade union Solidarity took power in a new coalition government and change from communism to capitalism. But the people of Poland discovered that overnight the price of bread and gasoline had doubled, train tickets tripled, and electricity quadrupled. FRONTLINE examines the new, phenomenal pressures on Poland's young democratic government and the consequences of its crash economic reform program.

VISIONS OF WAR: BATTLE FOR WARSAW, (VIS) 1988, 50 min. This outstanding documentary traces the tragic story of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, which cost the lives of almost 250,000 Poles. Armed with only homemade or captured weapons and outnumbered more than three to one, the citizens of Warsaw held out for over two months against the German forces, struggling to liberate their capital before the Russians came. Although the Red Army was only ten miles away when the uprising began, Stalin delayed the capture of Warsaw. The film contains rare archival material and eyewitness accounts.

THE WARSAW FILE, (WAR) 1983, 30 min. The continuing story of Poland and its struggle for freedom are the focus of this INSIDE STORY as viewers get a closer look at the daily problems American correspondents face as they try to cover Polish national events.

Slovakia

SLOVAK SUNSHINE: THE SIGHTS AND SOUNDS OF SLOVAKIA, (SLO) 60 min., in English. Directed by Ed Konecnik. An emigre look at Slovakia. Not recommended for academic use.

The former Yugoslavia

DUBROVNIK AND THE (YUGOSLAV) RIVIERA, (DUB) 1980?, 15 min. Beautiful scenes of Dubrovnik. Produced by Indiana University.

FAREWELL BOSNIA, (FAR) 1995, 19 min. An introduction to the war intended for young people. This film focusses on the lives of two teenage students who left their homes and families in Bosnia and came to the United States. They reflect on what it was like to live in the midst of a war, with the use of their home videos and other war footage.

KILLING MEMORY: BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS DESTRUCTION, (KIL) 1994. A 50-minute slide lecture on video with stunning views of Bosnia-Herzegovina's artistic and cultural heritage, including the destructive results of the war.

KOLO, (KOL) 1987, 60 min. An ensemble of Yugoslavian national dances performed by the Yugoslav National Ballet. Can only be used with **PAL SECAM videotape player**.

LAIBACH: VICTORY UNDER THE SUN, (LAI) 1988, 65 min., English subtitles. Documentary by Goran Gajic. Laibach is the name of a rock band and performance art group from Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, which has become enormously popular in Yugoslavia. They are part of a controversial artistic movement called Neue Slovenische Kunst, which has appropriated the symbols of Germany's Third Reich to critique totalitarian society.

NACIONALNA I SVEUCILISNA BIBLIOTEKA, (NAC) 1988, 100 min., in Serbo-Croatian. Documentary film on the Yugoslavian National Library in Zagreb. Can only be used with **PAL SECAM videotape player**.

ROMEO AND JULIET IN SARAJEVO, (ROM) 1994, 90 min., Produced by Frontline. Admira and Bosko, a Muslim and a Serb, died in each other's arms trying to escape Sarajevo, just yards away from freedom and safety. Their touching and tragic story tells of the religious persecution and hatred that is the Bosnian conflict.

SARAJEVO: THE LIVING AND THE DEAD, (SAR) 1994, 60 min., Produced by Frontline. Meet ordinary people living extraordinary lives. Discover the beauty that survives amidst the rubble in Sarajevo, the hope amidst the agony.

TRUTH UNDER SEIGE, (TRU) 1994, 68:20 mins. Directed by Gladsjo/Borgers. This feature-length documentary chronicles the heroic efforts of independent journalists in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia who resist the nationalist propaganda put forth in the official media. Their struggle for the democratic ideal of a free press is waged with courage, irreverence, and often rebellious glee. Despite siege conditions, sanctions and government repression, these individual provide voices of sanity amid the hysteria of war.

YUGOSLAVIA: DEATH OF A NATION, (YUG) 1995, 60 min. each episode. A five-part Discovery channel series hosted by Christiane Amanpour.

YUGOSLAVIA: THE SUMMER OF 1953, (YUG) 1986, 40 min. Scenes from Yugoslav life as seen by a professor of Slavic languages during his first visit to Yugoslavia in 1953. Produced by Pennsylvania State University.

Multinational

DATELINE: THE EAGLE AND THE BEAR SERIES. An informative look at the United States and the Soviet Union in the twentieth century. Selections from the film archives of Pathe News Library and ABC News and contemporary interviews with participants and eyewitnesses provide a rich overview of crucial confrontations in the Cold War struggles between the United States and Soviet Union.

> **DATELINE: 1943, EUROPE, (DAT 1943)** 1989, 23 min. This documentary focuses on the unraveling of the tenuous alliance between the Americans and the Soviets as World War II draws to a close. Beginning with the three Allied superpower meetings at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, personal portraits look at Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and Truman and how the supposedly everlasting friendship turned into distrust and fear. As the map of the postwar world is drawn and spheres of influence decided, the conflicting superpower agendas bring into focus how the stage was set for cold war and the many years of confrontation which would follow.
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> **DATELINE: 1944, YUGOSLAVIA, (DAT 1944)** 1991, 23 min. In 1943, as World War II consumed the European continent, Marshal Josip Broz Tito consolidated his power in Yugoslavia. Two years later at the close of the war, the Allied leaders devised a plan to divide post-war influence in Yugoslavia between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Tito emerged as an important communist ally of Stalin, but subsequent disagreements doomed the Soviet-Yugoslav

relationship. In the late 1940s Tito forged a new economic relationship with the United States in a rare demonstration of post-war independence: a communist government free of Soviet dominance that also maintained economic ties with the West.

DATELINE: 1956, BUDAPEST, (DAT 1956) 1989, 23 min. Following a popular revolt demanding free elections, free expression, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the nation, Hungary dislodged the puppet Soviet regime and replaced it with their own nationalist government. This documentary examines the national and international chain of events that led to Hungary's brief period of freedom and then details the full-scale November 4th military invasion that rolled over Budapest, killing 30,000 Hungarians and restoring Soviet domination.

DATELINE: 1968, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, (DAT 1968) 1989, 23 min. Reviewing twentieth century Czecho-Slovak history and focusing on the roles played by Tomas and Jan Masaryk, Eduard Benes, Joseph Stalin, Alexander Dubcek, and Leonid Brezhnev, this documentary examines the optimistic period of liberalization known as the Prague Spring. Put into context with Brezhnev's fears of lost Soviet control, this detailed documentary examines the events that led to the eventual suppression of democracy and submission to Soviet interests.

DATELINE: 1980, POLAND, (DAT 1980) 1989, 23 min. Beginning with the Soviet domination of Poland following World War II, this insightful documentary focuses on the rise to international importance of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity worker's union. Composed of millions striking for lower food prices, better working conditions, freedom of the press, and free trade unions, Solidarity threatened Soviet control in Poland as none ever had before. This investigative report documents the course of events that led to martial law under Defense Minister and party General Secretary Jaruzelski and the official banning of Solidarity at the end of 1982.

DATELINE: 1989, HUNGARY, (DAT 1989) 1991, 23 min. Highlighting events in Hungary from 1956 to 1989, this videotape documents the slow and patient struggle of the Hungarian people to rid their country of communism and Soviet forces. From the introduction of "goulash communism" in the 1960s and 1970s to his forced resignation as party leader in 1988, the policies of János Kádár are discussed, as well as the impact of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost on Hungarian politics. Also covered is the reintroduction of multi-party politics under Kádár's successor, Károly Grosz. The film ends with coverage of Hungary's role in allowing East Germans to transit Hungary on their way to West Germany, a move which led ultimately to the fall of communism in East Europe.

DATELINE: 1989, PRAGUE, (DAT 1989) 1991, 23 min. This documentary traces the path of Czechoslovakia in overthrowing its communist leadership and government. The film begins with the armed suppression of the 1968 Prague Spring and moves on to the 1977 Charter 77 human rights statement, a movement of Czechoslovakian dissidents and intellectuals opposed to the repression of the Husák regime. By 1987, while glasnost was inspiring democratic changes in other Central European countries, repression in Czechoslovakia increased, and after the events of the summer of 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in the autumn of the same year, the Czechoslovakian hard-liners were increasingly isolated. Finally in November and December 1989, nationwide strikes and protests led to the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

DATELINE: 1989, ROMANIA, (DAT 1989) 1991, 23 min. In 1965, Nicolae Ceauşescu became head of the Romanian Communist Party and soon thereafter president of Romania. In seeking to be the "maverick" of the Communist Bloc, Ceauşescu undertook policies to curry favor with both the Soviets and the West. This documentary provides a look at his policies of denouncing the Soviet crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring, maintaining relations with Israel, and condemning the Soviet war in Afghanistan, while at the same time introducing a repressive police state in Romania, proposing an ultra-communist systematization of villages into agro-industrial cooperatives, and paying off his country's debt by massively exporting consumer goods and leaving his own people in short supply. These policies brought him no mercy in the revolutionary events of December, 1989.

EASTERN EUROPE: BREAKING WITH THE PAST. 1990. Each of the thirteen episodes (51 minutes each) in the series takes viewers on an intimate journey through the events that have made Eastern Europe the focus of worldwide attention. Its fresh perspective — seen through the eyes of the East Europeans themselves — provides a memorable insight into the struggle and endurance of these courageous people. Each episode contains short documentaries on one theme.

VIDEO 1: America's Relations with Eastern Europe, ***(EE #1)*** *Ah America*, a Hungarian film, depicts the arrival and life of early immigrants in America. *The Truth about Communism* is a fascinating documentary made at the height of the cold war in 1962 and is narrated by Ronald Reagan. *Gorbachev-Reagan Summit* is a satirical claymation short from Hungary.

VIDEO 2: Václav Havel: Leadership in Eastern Europe, ***(EE #2)*** *Who is Václav Havel?* documents Havel's lifelong struggle against totalitarianism and his rise to national leadership. *The Other Europe* is an excerpt from a documentary series produced in 1988 and presented by Jacques Rupnik, who interviews Havel and other dissidents about totalitarianism. *Audience* is a recent production of Havel's play. *Havel Animation*, produced by a Czech-American, is an animated tribute to the new leader. *Balance*, the 1989 Academy award-winner for best animated short provides a metaphoric look at the balance of power and the nature of greed.

VIDEO 3: Ceausescu: Eastern Europe's Last Dictator? *(EE #3) A Lesson in Dying* is a Yugoslav poet's clandestine film on the Romanian revolution. *A Day in Bucharest*, made in January 1990, the film documents sculptor Old Maitec's reflections on the December 1989 revolution during which his studio and life's works were destroyed. *The Other Europe* contains excerpts from the documentary series made in 1988 exploring life under Ceausescu. *Rondino* is a disturbing piece of animation examining human's capacity for cruelty.

VIDEO 4: Touched by the Revolution, *(EE #4) Let There Be Peace in this House* was shot clandestinely in a Hungarian village in Romania in the last days of Ceausescu. In *Free Us From Evil*, the film maker returns to the same village to view life after the revolution. *Gravity* is an intriguing piece of Hungarian animation examining the challenges and dangers inherent in breaking with the "system."

VIDEO 5: Tapestry of History, *(EE #5) Cogito Ergo Sum* contains reflections of an Estonian intellectual who refused to be co-opted by communism. *Hitler and Stalin 1939* includes recently released archival footage impounded by the Soviets for 40 years and highlights the Estonian experience in World War II.

VIDEO 6: Memories of Childhood and War, *(EE #6) Gaudiopolis*, an excerpt from a touching Hungarian drama, portrays the heart-wrenching stories of children orphaned by war. *The Man Who Saved the Lives of Children* documents the life of Gabor Stzeiho, the remarkable pastor who founded and ran the same orphanage. *When Were You Born* is Hungarian film maker Gyorgy Szilagy's personal exploration through images, words, and events of a life filled with memory and the experience of war.

VIDEO 7: At the Crossroads: East European Jewry, *(EE #7)* An American film maker uses Jewish folk music as a common theme to examine the lives and recollections of Jews in Eastern Europe today.

VIDEO 8: Theater and the Revolution, *(EE #8) Theater at the End of November* shows the impassioned speeches and commentary made backstage in theaters across Czecho-Slovakia and Poland that had closed in support of the revolution.

VIDEO 9: Germany Reunites, *(EE #9) Klartext - Molbis Poisoned* is an example of the investigative journalism that emerged in East Germany for the first time following the revolution of 1989. It examines the serious pollution problems and decreased life expectancy in the town of Molbis. *Der Spiegel TV* is a bizarre report on the East German Secret Police archives of the body odors of suspected dissidents and a look at the challenges facing East German companies as they prepare to face an open economy.

VIDEO 10: The Polish Experience, *(EE #10) Be Aware* is historical footage from the first Solidarity Congress in 1980. *All that is Alive* takes a frightening look at severe pollution problems in Poland's Silesia region and examines the severe environmental problems that have come to light in all of the East European countries following the 1989 revolutions.

VIDEO 11: A New World of Television, *(EE #11)* This video looks at East European television as a reflection of their values, interests, lifestyles, and opinions. Program formats include commercials, sports, news features, soap operas, variety and game shows, documentaries, comedies, investigative reports, and made-for-TV movies.

VIDEO 12: An Animated Journey, *(EE #12)* This video presents reflections on the culture and personality of the East Europeans through this outstanding form of artistic expression. Selections include award-winning animation from Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, and Czecho-Slovakia. It features a mixture of styles including claymation, line-drawing, oil-painting, photo-montage, and cut-outs.

VIDEO 13: A Generation of Artists, *(EE #13)* This is a portrait of three generations of famous Czech and Slovak artists — their lives, art, and effects of politics on both.

EASTERN EUROPE: CAPTIVE LANDS, (EAS) SPICE 1992. This curriculum guide with accompanying video explores the expansion of Soviet communism in Europe. Features include a contemporary map of Central and Eastern Europe, a look at the division of Europe, documents on the western strategy of containment towards the Soviet Union, and a description of economic plans and how they worked. The video includes a 1962 American-made propaganda film titled *The Truth About Communism*.

EASTERN EUROPE: DISSIDENCE CENSORED, (EAS) SPICE 1992. This curriculum guide with accompanying video examines how the people of Central and Eastern Europe lived with communism and their views on freedom beyond the "iron curtain." The video includes a documentary of Romania prior to Ceausescu's overthrow and a Czech performance of a play written by Václav Havel.

EASTERN EUROPE: THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, (EAS) SPICE 1992. The materials contained in this curriculum guide and accompanying video introduce students to what is behind the changes occurring in Central and Eastern Europe since revolutions swept through in 1989. The video includes a documentary of one of Poland's worst pollution disasters.

EASTERN EUROPE: THE CURTAIN RISES, (EAS) 1991, 18 min. 1989 will stand as one of the pivotal years of European history—one likely to shape events for decades to come. This program helps students understand the recent upheavals in Eastern Europe and how they will affect both Europeans and Americans.

EASTERN EUROPE'S FORGOTTEN ENVIRONMENT, (EAS) 51 min. This video features three short films from Hungary, Poland, and East Germany documenting the effects of four decades of industrial pollution in Eastern Europe. From the EARTHSCOPE Series, winner of the 1991 ACE Award for "Best Educational Series."

THE HOLOCAUST IN MEMORY OF MILLIONS, (HOL) 1994, 60 min. From the halls of the U.S. Holocaust

Memorial Museum, veteran journalist Walter Cronkite chronicles the entire story of the Holocaust—from the rise of the Nazi party and their plan to exterminate the Jewish people to tales of incredible bravery among Holocaust survivors and those who liberated the concentration camps. This Discovery Channel documentary combines original footage and personal photographs with oral histories by those who survived.

LATCHO DROM, (LAT) 1996, 103 mins. French with English subtitles. Written and directed by Tony Gatlif. Hailed as one of the best ten films of the year, *Latcho Drom* is a remarkable travelogue of the Gypsies or the Rom people. More than just a musical documentary, it captures the resilient perseverance of the Gypsies through years persecution and poverty. From the barren desert landscapes of the Rajasthan to the picture-postcard cafes of France, these traveling musicians share the sheer joy of life that invigorated their ancestors.

MASTERS OF ANIMATION VOLUME 3: THE EAST EUROPEANS, (MAS) 1986, 120 minutes. Animation from Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Russia is examined. Works of Ivanov-Vano, Borivoj Dovnikovic, Witold Giersz, and Gyula Macskassy, among others, are highlighted.

THE MOSLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE: THE BALKANS, (MOS) 1977, 27 min. A study of the Moslem populations of Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The program shows the mosques, houses, bridges, and bazaars which reflect the influence of Islamic culture in the Balkans. The spoken narrative provides background about the history and social consequences of the Ottoman empire's domination of the area.

RUSSIAN/CIS FEATURE FILMS:

ADAM'S RIB, (ADA) 1992, 77 min., English subtitles. Directed by Kristofovich. A family of women share a crowded flat made all the more claustrophobic by their chaotic entanglements with men. Grandma is a mute and disabled old woman who must be cared for by her daughter, who in turn must oversee her own two daughters.

AELITA, QUEEN OF MARS, (AEL) 1924, 113 min., Silent. Directed by Yakov Protazanov. A Soviet engineer builds and pilots a space ship to find the alien woman who haunts his dreams.

ALEXANDER NEVSKY, (ALE) 1936, 110 min., English subtitles. Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. Historical drama of Alexander Nevsky's life, his struggle to unite the Russian people, and his triumphs over the invading Germanic tribes. This film includes the famous battle scene on frozen Lake Peipus.

ANDREI ROUBLEV, (AND #1, AND #2) 1965, 185 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. This film is about the horrors the 15th century monk and icon painter—Andrei Roublev—witnesses on his "Dante Like" journey into medieval Russia. This experience breaks his soul and retreats him into a vow of silence. Not until the film's full and glorious end does he realize that he has no excuse not to speak or paint, no matter how repressive the world around him.

ASSA, (ASSA) 1988, Russian with no English subtitles. Directed by S. Solov'ev. A Soviet version of Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, this film is about the Soviet mafia.

AUTUMN MARATHON, (AUT) 1969, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Georgy Danelia. A gentle English translator and university professor living in Leningrad can no longer separate his personal life from his duties and, while he does not wish to harm anyone, his life becomes increasingly muddled by his loving wife, a demanding mistress, a wretched colleague, hounding students and a neighbor who rings his doorbell at dawn every day during the jogging season.

BALLAD OF A SOLDIER, (BAL) 1960, 89 min., English subtitles. Directed by Chukhrai. A classic Russian movie about a soldier on leave in World War II and his attempt to get home to see his mother.

BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN, (BAT) 1925, 66 min., silent, English titles. Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. This Soviet classic portrays the mutiny aboard the Tsarist battleship during the 1905 Revolution. Selected by the British Film Institute in 1972 as one of the three best films ever made.

BED AND SOFA, (BED) 1927, 72 min, silent, English titles, **16MM film**. Directed by Abram Room. Unlike almost any other Soviet silent film, it deals with an atypical situation: a menage-a-trois during a housing shortage in Moscow. That the film could imply an imperfection in the socialist system alone makes it unusual. But it is a landmark primarily because of its incredible humor and naturalism in depicting its characters.

BORIS GODUNOV, (BOR) 1954, 111 min., color, English subtitles. Directed by Vera Stroeva. The Bolshoi Opera presents Mussorgsky's opera, based on Pushkin's play. In 1598, Ivan the Terrible's son is succeeded to the throne by his brother-in-law Boris Godunov, on whom the murder of Dmitri, Ivan's last quasi-religious heir, is pinned. In good times the people support Godunov, but when things get rough, he is once again Boris the Tsarevich-Murderer, and the people greet the first person pretending to be Dmitri as their savior.

BURNT BY THE SUN, (BUR) 1994, 134 min., English subtitles. Directed by Nikita Mikhalkov. This film directed by and starring Nikita Mikhalkov won the Academy Award for best foreign film. Colonel Sergei Kotov is a Red Army hero of the Revolution who is spending the summer in the country with his young daughter, his wife and her eccentric family. When his wife's childhood love suddenly appears, the idyllic summer day takes a surprising turn.

THE CAMERAMAN'S REVENGE AND OTHER FANTASTIC TALES, (CAM) 80 min. Includes Ladislaw Starewicz's *The Cameraman's Revenge* (1912), *The Insect's Christmas* (1913), *Frogland* (1922), *Voice of the Nightingale* (1923), *The Mascot* (1933), and *Winter Carousel* (1958). Starewicz, working in Russia and later in Paris, created some of the most imaginative and loveliest works of puppet animation ever filmed.

CATAFALQUE (KATAFALK), (CAT) 1990, English subtitles. The lives of a village woman and her daughter are disrupted after they take in a stranger found sleeping in their yard.

CHAPAEV, (CHA) 1934, English subtitles. An illiterate Russian serves in the Czar's army, and after the Revolution, forms his own forces and goes to the Red side.

THE CIGARETTE GIRL OF MOSSELPROM, (CIG) 1924, 78 min., English subtitles. Directed by Yuri Zhelyabuzhsky. A street woman finds herself whisked into stardom when she is discovered by a movie producer.

CIRCUS, (CIR) 1936 89 mins. Russian with English Subtitles. Directed by Grigori Alexandrov. Capitalism meets communism in this incredible story of an American circus artist who has a black boy- a daring conceit for 1936. But the only way (and only place) she can possibly find happiness is naturally among the soviet people. Luybov Orlova, the musical comedy mega-star of the 1930's delivers a performance of verve in this daring attempt to import the American comedy form into the Soviet Union.

THE COLOR OF POMEGRANATES (DIRECTOR'S CUT), (COL) 1969, 78 min., Armenian with English subtitles, Sergei Paradjanov's greatest film is a sublime mosaic on the life, art, and spiritual odyssey of the 18th-century Armenian poet Sayat Nova. The film is a collection of images and tableaux that interweave landscapes, villages, costumes, props, and music. This director's cut repositions the shots and images and restores censored footage. On the same program is **HAGOP HOVATANIAN,** Paradjanov's 12-minute short on the Armenian artist.

COME AND SEE, (COM) 1985, 142 min., English subtitles. Directed by Elem Klimov. Set in 1943 German-occupied Byelorussia, the film follows an adolescent boy through the nightmare that is war.

COMMISSAR, (COM) 1988, 105 min., English subtitles. Directed by Alexander Askoldov. Set against the Russian Civil War, a Red Army commander's military career is disrupted by an unwanted pregnancy. Forced to stay with a poor Jewish family until her child is born, she comes face to face with the realities of different cultures. Ultimately she is forced to make the difficult decision to rejoin her troops at the front or stay with her child.

THE CRANES ARE FLYING, (CRA) 1957, 94 min., English subtitles. Directed by Mikhail Kalatozov. Set during World War II, this is the story of two young lovers, Boris and Veronica, whose love is shattered by the war.

CREATION OF ADAM, (CRE) 1993, 93 min., English subtitles. Directed by Yuri Pavlov. Andrey is a young man who fears his marriages may fall apart because his wife thinks he is gay. A series of events confirm these suspicions as Andrey meets Philip, an enterprising businessman who turns his life around. Philip shows Andrey how to love.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT, (CRI #1, CRI #2) 1970, 200 min., English subtitles. Directed by Lev Kulijanov. This film is an adaptation of Dostoevsky's classic novel.

DEFENSE COUNSEL SEDOV, (DEF) 1989, 48 min., English subtitles. Directed by Evgeny Tsimbal. Sedov is a determined, compassionate lawyer with an unyielding sense of principle who takes on the nearly suicidal task of defending accused "enemies of the people." This unsettling film shot in icy black and white mercilessly probes its characters and draws them into an unexpectedly chilling finale.

DOROGAIA ELENA SERGEEVNA (Dear Elena Sergeevna), (DOR) 1988, in Russian with no English subtitles. Directed by E. Riazanov. This film explores the relationships of high school students and their teachers. This psychological drama has an unusually tragic ending for a Soviet film.

EARLY RUSSIAN CINEMA

Volume 1: Beginnings, (EAR #1)(45 mins.) Actualities made by foreign companies, like Pathé's **A Fish Factory in Astrakhan** stimulated a demand for home-produced films which was finally answered by the enterprising Drankov. His **Sten'ka Razin** (1908) enjoyed immense success as the first Russian dramatic film. Pathé responded by increasing production at their Moscow studio, with art films like **Princess Tarakanova** (1910) and the first Chekhov adaptation, **Romance with Double-Bass** (1911).

Volume 2: Folklore and Legend, (EAR #2)(55 mins.) These four films chart the emergence of Russian cinema's leading producer, Aleksandr Khanzhonkov, and the pioneer director Vasilii Goncharov. **Drama in a Gypsy Camp** (1908) and the unreleased **Brigand Brothers** (1912) are lively folklore subjects—the latter includes a superb early performance by Mozzhukhin—while **A 16th Century Russian Wedding** (1909) shows the influence of history painting and **Rusalka** (1910) draws on French-style special effects to realize Pushkin's poetic legend.

Volume 3: Starewicz's Fantasies, (EAR #3) (58 mins.) Now regarded as one of the pioneers of puppet animation, Starewicz achieved his early fame through his insect fables like **The Dragonfly and the Ant** (1913). However, with a ribald Gogol' adaptation, **Christmas Eve** (1913), he was launched on an equally original feature career in fantasy subjects. He also made strong contributions to the war effort, with a string of propaganda shorts typified by **The Lily of Belgium** (1915).

Volume 4: Provincial Variations, (EAR #4) (55 mins.) Although early Russian cinema was centered mainly in Moscow, provincial efforts did contribute some remarkable works. Among these were the Latvian **Wedding Day** (1912), providing an invaluable record of traditional Jewish customs, and the sensational blackmail melodrama **Merchant Bashkirov's Daughter**(1913), set on the Volga.

Volume 5: Chardynin's Pushkin, (EAR #5) (45 mins.) This former touring actor-manager made an early name for himself and gave Russian cinema a distinctly cultured orientation, with Pushkin adaptations such as **The Queen of Spades** (1910), and **The House in Kolomna** (1913).

Volume 6: Class Distinctions, (EAR #6) (95 mins.)

Although strict censorship was imposed to keep inflammatory material from reaching the screen, many early Russian films did achieve candid portrayals of social conditions. Goncharov's **The Peasants' Lot** (1912) depicted the hardship of rural life, and Bauer's early film **Silent Witnesses** (1914) dealt frankly with the views of servants towards their masters in a Moscow mansion.

Volume 7: Evgenii Bauer, (EAR #7) (95 mins.)

In a short five years Bauer achieved mastery in several genres, including the social melodrama **A Child of the Big City** (1913), the erotic comedy **The 1002nd Ruse** (1915), and the psychological melodrama **Daydreams** (1915). Before his early death in 1917, Bauer raised Russian cinema to an unparalleled artistic level.

Volume 8: Iakov Protazanov, (EAR #8)(104 mins.)

Protazanov did not avoid controversy in either of his highly successful pre- or post-modern careers. **The Departure of a Great Man** (1912) depicts the last days of Tolstoi and provoked legal action by the outraged family. **The Queen of Spades**(1916) starred Mozzhukhin in one of his most compelling roles as Pushkin's haunted hero.

Volume 9: High Society, (EAR #9) (100 mins.)

This collection is a panorama of Russian cinema's social impact at the height of its ambition. Fertner's **Antosha Ruined by a Corset** (1916) is a racy, knowing urban comedy; and Bauer's **A Life for a Life** (1916) marked the pinnacle of his ambition to equal lavish foreign production standards. **The Funeral of Vera Kholodnaia** recorded the vast public response to the early death of Russia's greatest star in 1919.

Volume 10: The End of an Era, (EAR #10) (72 mins.)

The Revolutionary reflects the urgent new themes that developed between the February and October revolutions in 1917. Bauer's last film, **For Luck**, is a tragic melodrama; and the poignant fragment **Behind the Screen** shows the stars Mozzukhin and Lisenko on the eve of their departure into exile.

ELIXIR, (ELI) 1995, 75 mins. Directed by Irina Evteeva. Loosely based on tales by E.T.A. Hoffman, *Elixir* is an outstanding visionary animation employing some truly innovative techniques. Evteeva uses a wide range of textures, from paintings on glass to the human face on film, variously live-action, hand-painted, or super-imposed. The captivating result is a wonderland inhabited by fiery salamanders and winged spirits. Good fights evil in search of a life-giving Talisman whose finder will rule the world. *Elixir* is at once a visual mystery-play and a philosophical fairy-tale. Russian with English subtitles.

EUGENE ONEGIN, (EUG) English subtitles. The Bolshoi Opera presents Tchaikovsky's opera based on Pushkin's novel in verse.

FAMINE 33, (FAM) 1991, 95 min., Ukrainian with English subtitles. Directed by Oles Yanchuk. Searing drama of genocide covered for a generation. Based on Vasil Barka's novel "The Yellow Prince".

FEASTS OF BALTHASAR OR ONE NIGHT WITH STALIN, (FEA) 1990, English subtitles. Based on Fazil Iskander's novel "Sandro from Chegen", this movie takes place in Georgia. Sandro, a dancer from Chegem performs at a feast for Stalin.

THE FOOL AND THE FLYING SHIP, (FOO). Robin Williams' menagerie of voices and The Klezmer Conservatory Band's spirited melodies combine hilariously in this wacky retelling of a famous Russian folktale in which a country fool and his crew of superhuman "moujiks" unite to win the hand of the tsar's daughter.

A FORGOTTEN TUNE FOR THE FLUTE, (FOR) 1988, 131 min., English subtitles. Directed by Eldar Ryazanov. A comedy about Lenny, a high-ranking official with the Leisure Time Directorate. Although he lives a privileged lifestyle, married to the daughter of an even higher-ranking official, he falls in love with Lidia, a vivacious nurse who helps him rediscover himself. Unrated but recommended for mature audiences.

FREEZE—DIE—COME TO LIFE, (FRE) 1989, 105 min., English subtitles. Directed by Vitaly Kanevski. Awarded the Best First Film at the 1990 Cannes Film Festival, this autobiography set in the Soviet Far East just after World War II depicts the action in a small mining community where the border between the local gulag and the village proper seems impossible to detect.

THE GIRL WITH THE HAT BOX, (GIR) 1927, 67 min., English subtitles. Directed by Boris Barnet. Patterned after American slapstick, a young woman is caught in a madcap chase for a winning lottery ticket.

THE GUARD, (GUA) 1989, 110 min., English subtitles. Directed by Alexander Rogozhkin. Based on an actual event, this scathing retort to the glossy military fanfare of the Brezhnev era exposes the brutal army practice of hazing first-year conscripts. Shot in gritty black and white, this shocking study in organized sadism captures the psychology of army conscripts enduring the nightmarish conditions as they escort hardened criminals on a high-security train from one prison to the next.

HOUSE BUILT ON SAND, (HOU) 1991, 75 mins. Directed by Niyole Adomenaite. This slice of life among the Russian intelligentsia on the eve of World War II is an elliptical, languorous mood piece. A bored group of friends plays a practical joke on their clique's outcast, sending her a letter from a supposed admirer hopelessly in love with her. Adomenaite paints a Chekhovian portrait of people trapped together, unable to escape their self-imposed cycle of dependency. Closely-observed characterizations distinguish this evocative entertainment. Russian with English subtitles.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS, (INT) 1994, 50 min., English subtitles. An astonishing film by Andrei Zagdansky which uses newsreel and archival footage and commentary based on texts from Sigmund Freud. The writings of Freud, banned in the former USSR until 1989— juxtaposed with actual events—throw into relief such cataclysmic events as the reign of Stalin and the Cold War.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE, PART I, (IVA #1) 1944, 96 min., English subtitles. Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. Stalinist dramatization and interpretation of the life of Tsar Ivan IV. It emphasizes Ivan's struggle to break the power of the Boyars for the good of the Russian people.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE, PART II, (IVA #2) 1946, 82 min., English subtitles. Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. Ivan returns from retirement to fight the Boyars.

IVAN VASIL'EVICH MENIAET PROFESSIIU (Ivan Vasil'evich Changes Professions), (IVA) 1973, English subtitles. A comedy based on Bulgakov's play, *Ivan Vasil'evich*.

IVANOVO DETSTVO (My Name is Ivan), (IVA) 1964, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. This film, based on the Bogomolov story about a young boy deprived of his childhood by war, marks Tarkovsky's debut as an independent director.

KUR'ER, (KUR) 1986, 83 min., Russian with no subtitles, **PAL/SECAM format only**. Directed by K. Shakhnazarov.

THE LADY WITH THE DOG, (LAD) 1960, 89 min., English subtitles. Directed by Josef Heifitz. Anton Chekhov's story of a bored, middle-aged married banker from Moscow who meets a young married woman while on vacation at Yalta comes to life in this Russian film.

LITTLE VERA, (LIT) 1988, 110 min., English subtitles. Directed by Vasily Pichul. This is one of the most controversial films ever produced in the Soviet Union. In addition to being the highest grossing film in Soviet history, this historic film examines such previously taboo subjects as drugs, promiscuity, nudity, and domestic violence. It focuses on working-class life in Gorbachev's new open society and is a daring look at a world of simmering sensuality and brutal candor. Natalya Negoda portrays a sullen, sultry woman who is torn between her brooding lover and her bitter parents in this smoldering drama. The film is recommended for mature audiences.

MADE IN THE USSR (CDELANO V CCCP), (MAD) English subtitles.

THE MIRROR, (MIR) 1964. 106 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. The looking glass is not merely cracked but shattered and we see the jagged, jumbled reflections of its shards, images of Tarkovsky's childhood mixed with fragments of his adult life—a child's wartime exile, a mother's experience with political terror, the breakup of a marriage, life in a country home—all intermingled with slow-motion dream sequences and poetic chunks of stark newsreels.

MOSCOW DOES NOT BELIEVE IN TEARS, (MOS) 1981, 150 minutes, English subtitles. Directed by Vladimir Menshov. Winner of the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film, this is the enchanting drama of three women struggling to establish themselves in Russia's huge and often impersonal capital city. Beneath the film's charming exterior, it is a truthful, moving portrait of the plight of women in Russia, depicted over the span of two decades.

MOSCOW PARADE, (MOS) 1993, 103 mins. Russian with English subtitles. Directed by Ivan Dychovichny. This is the first post-Soviet film about the Stalin era. German actress Uta Lemper stars as a woman married to the chief of the secret police, the man responsible for killing her family. Though she hates the secret police and the forces that destroyed her previous life, she takes advantage of all the luxuries available only to the Soviet elite.

MY CHILDHOOD, (MYC) 1938, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Mark Donskoi. In the opening chapter, the four-year-old Maxim Gorky is placed under the care of his cruel grandfather and his loving grandmother. After experiencing the misery of abuse and poverty with his new family, Gorky is forced into the streets and becomes a wandering beggar.

MY NAME IS IVAN, (MYN) 1964 (1991 video release), 84 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. Set during World War II, twelve-year-old Ivan is bent on revenge after his family is killed by German soldiers. Because of his youthful size and agility, Ivan becomes a spy for his homeland and risks his life as he crosses the German border. He makes a new family out of the Russian soldiers who find his courage to be an inspiration.

OBLOMOV, (OBL) 1981, 145 min., English subtitles. Directed by Nikita Mikhalkov. Winner of the Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Director, and Best Screenplay awards at the Oxford International Film Festival, this film taken from Goncharov's novel of the same name depicts Oblomov, one of the most recognizable characters in Russian literature. Although good-natured, Oblomov is a sloth, and friends and acquaintances find themselves drawn to him while pleading with him to change his ways.

OCTOBER, (OCT) 1927, 102 min., English subtitles. Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. Commissioned by the Soviet Central Committee, this Eisenstein film celebrates the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution of October 1917.

THE OVERCOAT, (OVE) 1959, 73 min., English subtitles. Directed by Alexei Batalov. This adaptation of Nikolai Gogol's short story of the same name depicts a poor, degraded clerk in 18th century Russia.

PETER THE FIRST, (PET #1, PET #2) 1940, Part I: 102 min., Part II: 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by V. Petrov. A two-part dramatization of Peter the Great's life, his struggle to drag Russia towards modern European lifestyles and customs, and the wars with Sweden to gain control of the Baltic Sea.

PIQUE DAME, (PIQ). The Bolshoi Opera presents Tchaikovsky's opera based on Pushkin's short story **THE QUEEN OF SPADES**.

PRINCE IGOR, (PRI) The Kirov Opera presents Borodin's opera of the same name.

PROVERKA NA DOROGAKH (Checkpoints on the Roads), (PRO) 1973, Russian with no English subtitles. Directed by R. Bykov. This World War II film was banned for fifteen years because of its unorthodox image of former prisoners of war.

RASPUTIN (AGONY), (RAS) 1985, 104 min., English subtitles. Directed by Elem Klimov. History's most bizarre madman comes to life in this story of the illiterate "prophet" who brought Russia to its feet and sparked the revolution that toppled the throne. Klimov captures the rise of the monstrous Rasputin, his influence over the royal court, and his lust for power that eventually threatens the House of Romanof and all of Russia.

REPENTANCE, (REP) 1987, 151 min., Georgian with English subtitles. Directed by Tenghize Abdulazze. A breakthrough Soviet film, a surrealist masterpiece. Set in a mysterious, fictional Russian province, where a woman is arrested for repeatedly digging up the body of a despotic local ruler. It is a brutal allegorical satire of Stalinist rule.

ROAD TO LIFE, (ROA) 1931, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Nikolai Ekk. Orphaned youths collect into gangs following the turmoil caused by Russia's Revolutionary and Civil wars. Mustafa leads one band sent to be reformed in an experimental program. Despite a caring teacher, change is complicated by new trades and their inescapable criminal pasts.

THE SACRIFICE, (SAC) 1986, 145 min., Swedish with English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. A dark and complex drama about redemption and nuclear holocaust. When a middle-aged intellectual in retirement on an island in the Baltic Seas witnesses signs of what he believes to be a nuclear holocaust, he offers to make the ultimate sacrifice in return for the salvation of humankind.

SAKHAROV, (SAK) 1984, 118 min. Andrei Sakharov, a nuclear physicist and father of Russia's hydrogen bomb, enjoys a privileged status in the Soviet Union until he and his wife challenge the system that controls them. In the midst of personal heartbreak and internal exile, Sakharov receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

THE SEA GULL, (SEA) 1971, 99 min., English subtitles. Directed by Yuli Karasik. A sensitive, exquisitely acted version of Chekhov's great play set in provincial Russia. It is a penetrating study of the languid melancholia of the residents of an isolated country estate.

SECOND CIRCLE, (SEC) 1990, 90 min., English subtitles. Directed by Alexander Sokurov. A man confronts his father's death in a society cut off from spiritual values.

SIBERIADE, (SIB) 1979, 190 min., English subtitles. Russian history over six decades is revealed through the eyes of two opposing families in this epic film. One proletarian family yearns for change, while the aristocratic family desperately clings to its privileged past. These opposing views finally climax in a battle over oil in Siberia. Winner of the 1979 Jury Prize at Cannes.

SIDEBURNS, (SID) 1990, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Yuri Mamin. A wild and woolly satire that pits a clique of young Russian rightists called "The Pushkin Club" against an anti-establishment rock group. While the rebellious rockers are downright vulgar, the seemingly respectable "Pushkinists" represent the real danger to society, recalling the early Nazis in their militaristic mindset and xenophobic attitudes.

A SLAVE OF LOVE, (SLA) 1978, 94 min., English subtitles. Directed by Nikita Mikhalkov. It is 1918 and the Bolshevik Revolution has just taken place. In southern Russia a film crew is attempting to finish a romantic melodrama, oblivious to the tide of change about to engulf them. Only the beautiful leading lady is able to recognize the political realities, as she falls in love with a Bolshevik cameraman and finds herself caught up in the forces of transformation.

SOLARIS, (SOL) 1971, 167 min., English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. From a futuristic orbiting space station come reports of strange behavior and unexplained hallucinations from the cosmonauts who inhabit it. The mindbending images and altered consciousness surrounding the film seem to emanate from the planet itself as it communicates with its visitors, creating a psychological thriller.

THE SORCERER'S BOY, (SOR) 1984, 15 min. (Teletales, No. 11). In this Russian tale, a sorcerer, masquerading as a teacher, turns Peter into a toad, a dove, and a horse. Suitable for lower elementary.

STALKER, (STA) 1979, in Russian with no English subtitles. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. Tarkovsky ventures on a Dante-esque journey into a mysterious region known as the "Zone." Sealed off by troops and barbed wire, the Zone is a hybrid of industrial wasteland and primeval forest, where mirages and mind-bending traps await the unwary traveler. Special guides, the Stalkers, have powers that enable them to penetrate the Zone.

THE STONE FLOWER, (STO) 1990, 107 min. Performed by the Bolshoi Ballet, this ballet was Prokofiev's last. Drawing on the rich heritage of Russian folk culture, the ballet recounts the story of the young stonecutter, Danila, betrothed to Katerina but obsessed with creating the perfect malachite object. When the spirit of stone appears to him as the enticing Mistress of the Copper Mountain, he must decide between artistic perfection and the simple love of his village sweetheart.

STORM OVER ASIA, (STO) 1928, 73 min., silent, English titles, **16MM film**. Directed by Vsevolod I. Pudovkin. This last silent film by Pudovkin (Mother, End of St. Petersburg), is one of his finest achievements. It tells of the Mongolian uprising against British occupation forces during the Civil War.

TAXI BLUES, (TAX) 1990, 110 min., English subtitles. Pavel Lounguine's first feature is a harsh critique of contemporary Soviet society, captured through the bleak and paternalistic relationship of a hard-drinking, fascist, anti-Semitic taxi driver and a dependent, alcoholic Jewish saxophonist. With a brilliant jazz score.

THE THEME, (THE) 1979, 98 min., English subtitles. Glen Panfilov's daring, emotionally complicated work about artistic self-expression and freedom was banned by Soviet authorities for eight years. Esenin, a government-approved playwright and functionary, visits his native village for some artistic rejuvenation and falls for a dynamic and brilliant yet uncompromising young artist, Sasa, who rejects his overtures. Winner of the 1987 Golden Bear award at the Berlin Film Festival.

THREE SONGS OF LENIN, (THR) 1934, 62 min., English subtitles. Directed by Dziga Vertov. Three short films pay homage to the life of Russia's charismatic leader.

UNFINISHED PIECE FOR PLAYER PIANO, (UNF) 1977, 100 min., English subtitles. Directed by Nikita Mikhalkov. A bittersweet, humorous tapestry of human folly and lost dreams, this film, loosely based on Chekhov's play *Platonov*, chronicles the interlocking events on a warm summer day at the decaying estate of an aging widow.

WINDOW TO PARIS, (WIN) 1995, 92 mins. Russian with English subtitles. A wildly-inventive comedy that alternates romance with outrageous slapstick. *Window to Paris* is the story of a young musician who discovers a magic window which takes him from his rundown Russian apartment to the streets of Paris.

WINGS, (WIN) 1966, 90 mins. Directed by Larisa Shepitko. A fascinating portrait of a once-famous female fighter pilot, a loyal Stalinist, who cannot adjust to peacetime life. Regarded as Sheptiko's most controversial film, *Wings*, like Tarkovsky's *The Mirror*, addresses how Stalinism had permeated every aspect of daily life. Nadezhda Petrovna, a 41-year-old provincial school mistress and unmarried guardian of an adopted daughter, is forced to deal with the painful defenses she has developed against a generation of students who appear to be blind to the political passions that inspired youth in her time and made her a national hero. Russian with English subtitles.

DOCUMENTARIES ON RUSSIA AND THE CIS:

ALL THE BEST FROM RUSSIA, (ALL) 1977, 52 min. The best in ballet, folk-dancing, and all-round entertainment from inside Russia. Includes the Bolshoi Ballet, Don Cossack dancers, the Armenian Folk Ensemble, and the incomparable treasures in the fabulous Hermitage Museum.

A.R.M. AROUND MOSCOW, (ARM) 1994, 75 mins. Directed and Edited by Jeanne C. Finley and Gretchen Stoeltje. Four times a year Los Angeles businessman Ron Rollband, owner of American-Russian Matchmaking (A.R.M), brings 15 American men to Moscow to meet over 500 potential Russian brides. *A.R.M Around Moscow* explores what happens when mutual fantasy collides with the reality of post cold-war, cross cultural marriage.

THE AVANT-GARDE IN RUSSIA, (AVA) 1993, 89 mins. Through painting, architecture, sculpture, theatre, film, and fashion, the avant-garde of the arts in Russia explored primitivism, cubo-futurism, and productivism. The optimism and vitality of Russia's artists were quickly crushed by Social Realism, the official style of Soviet Message Art. This program presents examples of art produced before and after the controls and restrictions were placed on creative artists, and explores the effects and impact of state-controlled art.

THE AVANT-GARDE IN RUSSIA: THE ARTS, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY IN REVOLUTION, (AVA) 1982, 4 hours. Tapes of a symposium on the Russian avant-garde held at the Indianapolis Museum of Art and cosponsored by the Russian and East European Institute in conjunction with the exhibition of the George Costakis Collection. Sessions address the themes "Modernism in Russian Art and Culture" and "Politics and the Arts in Revolutionary Russia." The program features talks of John Bowlt (University of Texas at Austin), Paul Schmidt (Dia Art Foundation), Robert C. Williams (Washington University), and S. Frederick Starr (Oberlin College). Includes a performance of Igor Stravinsky's "l'Histoire du Soldat" by the Indiana University School of Music Chamber Ensemble.

BABYN YAR, (BAB). Ukrainian without subtitles.

THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA: 1905 JAPAN ENTERS THE WORLD SCENE, (BAT) 1991, 41 mins. This program traces the opening of Japan imposed by the shoguns, the arrival of Commodore Perry, and the modernist attitudes of the Meji Emperor. It covers Japan's declaration of war on China in 1894; the Treaty of Shimonosaki, which granted Japan huge reparations, the island of Formosa, Port Arthur in Manchuria, and a kind of protectorate in Korea; and the resulting alliance between Russia and China, which would set the stage for the confrontation between Russia and Japan. The program sets the stage in St. Petersburg as well as on the seas, as the tempests that would batter the twentieth century were set in motion.

THE BIRTH OF SOVIET CINEMA, (BIR) 1996, 49 mins. The Communist government attracted some of the most brilliant and innovative writers-directors-producers in the history of cinema, who used this new medium to stage plots centered on the Party line: the heroism of the people, the cruelty of the upper classes, the joys of communal action and service to Mother Russia. This program presents an anthology of scenes from the most striking and famous of these films, including Eisenstein's *Strike, Potemkin* and *October;* Pudovkin's *Mother, End of St. Petersburg* and *Storm over Asia;* and Dovzhenko's *Arsenal* and *Earth*.

THE BLACK TULIP, (BLA) 27 min. Understanding the impact of the Afghan War on Soviet society is essential to an understanding of glasnost and perestroika. Even though Soviet troops have been withdrawn, that is not the end of the story. Just as the Vietnam War changed American society, so too has the Afghan war changed Soviet society. This is a remarkable look at the human impact of the war on the citizens of the Soviet Union. The soldiers' words are reminiscent of Vietnam. These scenes are followed by visits to a Soviet cemetery, where many of the soldiers who died in Afghanistan were buried.

BUSINESS IN RUSSIA, (BUS), 1994, 42 min. Russian with no subtitles (third-year college Russian level). University of Kentucky Language Labs production features the adventures of Kevin and Katie, two young Americans who have decided to do business in the new Russia. Shot on location in Vladimir, Russia.

CHEKHOV, (CHE) 1996, 53 mins. Russian with English subtitles. A superb documentary of the life, thoughts and the great scenes that made Chekhov the man and the artist. This new program is also a superb Russian film. Set in Moscow in 1914-ten years after Chekhov's death, this program gives us Chekhov through the eyes of those who worked with him and loved him, using superb Russian documentary footage to make both the playwright and his time come to life.

CHILDREN OF THE SOVIET UNION, (CHI) 1988, 22 min. This documentary explores the life of Alyosha, a twelve year old boy living in the Soviet Union. The video introduces the viewer to the many facets of Soviet society and culture, presented against a rich backdrop of the Soviet Union's colorful history and geography.

THE COLD WAR REMEMBERED I. 1995. Thirteen 30-min programs (separate video cassettes) follow an informal discussion format, emphasizing the memories, stories, and analyses of participants representing all perspectives of the conflict. Each program covers a particular period of the Cold War years, with historical footage followed by reminiscences of the participants:

The Beginning: World War II Allies to Cold Warriors (COL101) Trace to 1917: Workers of the World, Unite; Yalta 1945; George Kennan's Containment; Marshall Plan Rebuilds Europe

The Early Years (COL102) Truman Doctrine; Czech Coup 1948; Berlin Blockade and Airlift 1948-49; Germany is Split; "Who Lost China?" 1949; NSC-68; USSR Tests its First Bomb 1949

Cold War Crises (COL103) Formation of NATO 1950; Korean War 1950-52; Red Scare: Senator McCarthy and House Un-American Activities Committee; Stalin's Death and Malenkov's "new course"; Federal Republic of Germany Admitted to NATO 1953-54

Krushchev's Push and De-Stalinization, 1955-57 (COL104) Hungarian Revolution 1956; First Outward signs of Sino-Soviet Split; Suez Crisis; Sputnik; Krushchev Shakes Up Leadership

Cold War Heats Up (COL105) U2 Shoot-Down 1960; Berlin Wall 1961; Bay of Pigs 1961; Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Space Race (COL106) Krushchev Replaced by Kosygin and Brezhnev 1964; Prague Spring 1968; the Brezhnev Doctrine 1968

The 1970's: The Coming and Going of Detente (COL107) Nixon Goes to China 1971; SALT 1972; Vietnam and the Proxy Wars; Yom Kippur War 1973; "The Gulag Archipelago"; SALT II; Helsinki 1975; Brezhnev Invades Afghanistan 1979

The Final Years of the Old Guard (COL108) Olympic Boycott 1980; Deployment of Cruise and Perishing Missiles in Europe; Reagan Declares "Evil Empire" and the American Military Build-Up; KAL 007 Downing 1983; SDI; Drift: Brezhnev to Andropov to Chernenko to Gorbachev

Gorbachev's Reforms (COL109) Glasnost and Perestroika; New Era in Arms Control; Reagan-Gorbachev Sumits: Geneva 1985, Iceland 1986

Signs of Unraveling (COL110) Price of Reform for Gorbachev; Privatization and the End of Price Controls; Hard-liners Hold On

The Break-Up of the USSR (COL111) Decline: Baltic Revolts 1988; Fall of the Berlin Wall 1989; Failed Coup; Yeltsin Takes the Helm; A New Eastern Europe

Retrospective: KGB vs. CIA (COL112) Spies and Counter Spies; Intelligence War; Terrorism; Industrial Espionage

Where Do We Go From Here? (COL113) Post WWII Dream of Peace Long Delayed; Defining the New World Order; United States as Lone Superpower; Russia Struggles to Recover; American Role in Strengthening Russia; Future of NATO; Ethnic Strife; New Economic and Political Freedom in Eastern Europe

THE COLD WAR REMEMBERED II. 1995, thirteen 30-min programs (separate video cassettes) investigate the less visible side of the Cold War found in the discreet battles between the CIA and the KGB. Traces the two intelligence organizations from their seminal development through 1989. Same roundtable discussion format as the first series, with journalists, authors, scholars, and former intelligence personnel recounting their experiences and knowledge.

The Revolution and the Rise of Soviet Intelligence (COL201) CHEKA; NKVD

Soviet Intelligence and WWII (COL202) Soviet Intelligence and the "Great War"; KGB

WWII, The Cold War, and the Rise of the Security State in America (COL203) OSS; 1947: The National Security Act; DOD; CIA; NSC

Role of the KGB in Post-WWII Soviet Politics (COL204) Quieting Dissent; Running the Gulags; Influence on Foreign Policy

Role of National Security Establishments in American Politics (COL205) NSC Directives; Domestic Activities; Influence on Foreign Policy

Intelligence Explosion (COL206) How Central is the Central Intelligence Agency?; Conflict with the FBI; DIA and the Other Agencies within the Armed Forces; The National Reconnaissance Administration; Conflicts within the Intelligence Community

The KGB and CIA in Eastern Europe: The Central Front (COL207) Hungary 1956; Prague 1968; East Germany; Poland

The Technology Race (COL208) The A-Bomb; The U2; Satellites

Vietnam (COL209) CIA Role in Vietnam; The War's Effect on the CIA; KGB Involvement; Congress: Pulling in the Reins on the CIA (Church Committee)

The Great Conspiracies (COL210) The Kennedy Assassination; Allende; The CIA and the Mafia; The CIA and Drugs; The CIA and Iran-Contra

Before the Fall: What Both Sides Knew Before Communism Imploded (COL211) Was There an

Intelligence Failure on Both Sides?; Did the CIA or KGB Do Anything to Encourage or Discourage the Fall of Communism?; Why Was the Intelligence Community Caught Off Guard?

The Future of Intelligence in the Post-Cold War World (Part I) (COL212) CIA's Role in the New World Order; The KGB and the End of the Soviet System

The Future of Intelligence in the Post-Cold War World (Part II) (COL213) Common Enemies; Will the KGB-CIA Rivalry Continue?

CROSSROADS OF CONTINENTS: CULTURES OF SIBERIA AND ALASKA, (CRO) 1990. From the Smithsonian exhibition. Includes an instructional guide and map for teaching about the peoples and cultures of the North Pacific Rim. Part 1 of the videotape (11 minutes), "Cultures of Siberia and Alaska," introduces the peoples of the Crossroads exhibition through a history of the North Pacific Rim and anthropological research there. Part 2 (22 minutes), "Contemporary Peoples," focuses on the peoples of the Crossroads region in the 20th century—the changes and continuities in their lives and the issues that affect them most today.

CZARIST RUSSIA: THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, (CZA) 1979, 22 min. Providing a background to the Russian revolution, this video uses stills of artwork to show life under the czars and the growing restlessness of the workers as liberated ideas infiltrate the autocratic and rigidly constructed society. Emphasis is on events leading to the government overthrow, emergence of Russian communism, industrial growth, and expansionist activities.

DATELINE: 1985, MOSCOW, (DAT 1985) 1991, 23 min. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in the Soviet Union, inheriting a war in Afghanistan, poor relations with the West, and a legacy of corruption, repression, bureaucracy, and a faltering economic system. This documentary traces the roots of the legacy which General Secretary Gorbachev inherited and examines the results of his policy of "glasnost"—openness, including a more open and critical Soviet media, the release of long-held political prisoners, a new age of detente with the West, and cessation of the war in Afghanistan.

DATELINE: 1987, THE SUMMIT, (DAT 1987) 1991, 23 min. This documentary traces the history of past US-Soviet summit meetings, from the first Big Four summit in Geneva in 1955 to the 1987 Washington, DC summit meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

DATELINE MOSCOW (INS) and **INSIDE THE USSR (INS).** 1983, 30 min. each. This two-part INSIDE STORY series analyzes the difficulties journalists have experienced in covering the Moscow beat since World War II. Current coverage of the Soviet Union by both American and other correspondents is viewed.

DISCOVER RUSSIA, (DIS) 1990, 30 min. Produced by the National Geographic Society, this video is a film journey through the old and new, from palaces of the tsars and the countryside of yesterday to vibrant city life under glasnost. Places visited include Leningrad, Moscow, Zagorsk, and Rostov-Veliki.

EARLY RUSSIA, (EAR) 1979, 22 min. A collage of artwork traces the development of Russia as a nation from its origins of loosely allied Viking trading posts through the reign of Peter the Great and the beginnings of Russia's modern history. Russian art and architecture are significant themes in portraying the early influence of Byzantium and the adoption of Eastern or Orthodox Christianity and the later influence of West European culture.

EAST MEETS WEST: THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE, (EAS) 120 min. videotape plus activity workbook and world atlas. This kit addresses the imminent prospect of a United Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. It contains sections on history, geography, demography, politics, and strategic studies based on an all-European conception.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, SERIES (1990, 5 Videos).

SETTING THE MOLD, (ENC) 28 min. After a wartime alliance, an adversarial relationship developed between the United States and the Soviet Union in the years immediately following World War II. This video chronicles this relationship from 1945 to 1953 using archival film, newsreels, and interviews with American and Soviet journalists, historians, and newsmakers of the period.

CRACKING THE MOLD, (ENC) 29 min. This video explores the circumstances surrounding President Dwight Eisenhower's decision in 1955 to hold the first post-World War II meetings with Soviet leaders after a decade of Cold War hostility.

THE MOLD BROKEN, (ENC) 28 min. This video surveys the period from the end of World War II to the end of 1989 from the point of view of residents of Eastern Europe.

RECASTING THE MOLD, (ENC) 30 min. This video describes the rise of nationalism in the 1960s among the postcolonial states of the Third World, and how these emerging countries challenged the superpowers in new ways, forcing them to redefine their relationships in order to avoid nuclear conflict.

BREAKING THE MOLD, (ENC) 30 min. This video examines the fluctuations in U.S.-Soviet relations in the decade and a half following Watergate and the Vietnam War, with focus on the roles played by American leaders Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan and Soviet leaders Leonid Brezhnev and Mikhail Gorbachev.

THE FALL OF THE ROMANOV DYNASTY, (FAL) 1927, 90 min., English subtitles. A daring and innovative documentary portraying the fall of the Czarist regime and the rise of Communist rule.

FILMFAIR COMMUNICATIONS. A series of documentaries examining Russian literature and history. (Films are shelved under the individual title.)

ALEXANDER BLOK, (ALE) 1991, 25 min. The *Poet of Joy*, Blok employed the theme of hope and will overcoming barriers to freedom as he decried the working class poverty of Petersburg that surrounded him.

ALEXANDER PUSHKIN, (ALE) 1991, 25 min. Born into a life of ease, Pushkin gave a spirited voice to calls for reform, inspired the citizenry, and incurred the wrath of the Czar.

ANTON CHEKHOV, (ANT) 1991, 25 min. Living in the years between periods of great political upheaval from 1848 to 1905, Chekhov wrote about the pain, irony and curious workings of everyday Russian life.

BORIS PASTERNAK, (BOR) 1991, 25 min. The 1957 publication of Pasternak's novel **Dr. Zhivago** in Italy and the award of the Nobel Prize in Literature led to the dismissal from the Soviet Writer's Union of this famous poet and novelist. In 1988, his expulsion from the union was cancelled, posthumously, and the novel published in the USSR.

FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY, (FYO) 1991, 25 min. Caught up in the revolutionary fervor that swept Europe in 1848, Dostoevsky gave voice to the call for political change. Arrested, he survived a sentence of death only to endure ten years of prison and military servitude, from which came the motif so prominent in his works: the delicate intertwining of good and evil.

LEO TOLSTOY, (LEO) 1991, 25 min. Born into a life of wealth, Tolstoy's interest in writing flourished during his military service; where he also fell victim to a struggle that would mark the rest of his life: the conflict between the wealth he enjoyed and the poverty of the masses.

MAXIM GORKY, (MAX) 1991, 25 min. Perhaps foremost amongst his peers in his avowed love for the Russian people, Gorky lived and wrote his belief that society must be motivated by active, courageous people. Arrested in the revolution of 1905, he left Russia vowing not to return until it had achieved a new constitution. As friend and confident to Lenin, he did return, triumphantly.

VLADIMIR MAIAKOVSKY, (VLA) 1991, 25 min. In 1917, Maiakovsky worked tirelessly as the revolution's premiere sloganeer. However, with the Bolsheviks in power, he devoted himself to journalism and candid appraisals of the waste and brutality he witnessed.

FRONTLINE: AFTER GORBACHEV'S USSR, (FRO) 1992, 60 min. In this program, Hedrick Smith investigates what has happened to the people and institutions of the USSR since 1989.

FRONTLINE: LOOSE NUKES, (FRO) 1992, 57 mins. Distributed by PBS video. This program examines the new nuclear threat that has arisen in the post-Cold War era. Even though the fear of nuclear annihilation has diminished, hundreds of tons of nuclear material have disappeared inside the former Soviet Union to create a new danger. The program explores the perilous state of nuclear security in an area already rife with political upheaval and uncertainty.

FRONTLINE: The Struggle for Russia, (FRO) 1994, 2 hours. FRONTLINE presents an in-depth look at Boris Yeltsin's presidency, exploring Russia's economic and social chaos and examining what went wrong with Yeltsin's "shock therapy" economic reforms. The program looks at the battle between Yeltsin and his political opponents and documents how the resulting power vacuum was skillfully exploited by the ultranationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovsky.

GLASNOST & ECOLOGY, (GLA) 51 min. In this documentary a team of German scientists joins a team of Soviet environmentalists to assess three major sites of environmental devastation—Leningrad, Lake Baikal, and Chernobyl. From the EARTHSCOPE Series, winner of the 1991 ACE Award for "Best Educational Series."

THE GLASNOST FILM FESTIVAL. This is a selection of 22 Soviet documentary films produced or released in the Soviet Union in the first years of the glasnost era, 1986-88. The Festival was brought to the United States in 1989 by the Citizen Exchange Council and the American-Soviet Film Initiative (Moscow). The documentaries were chosen to represent a variety of Soviet film styles and studios as well as a diverse range of current Soviet concerns.

VIDEO 1: Against the Current. (GLA #1) 27 min. This is a film about ecological crime and how the residents of Kirishi educate themselves to the meaning of citizenship. They are called extremists and "greenies," but they continue to organize protests of a major synthetic protein plant.
The Wood Goblin: Confessions of an Old Man. 19 min. For 15 years he has lived alone in the woods with a cat and two dogs. He commanded a tank company during World War II, was a local Communist party chief, and was fired after a smear campaign. He then "joined the party of the green world" which he now defends against resourceful poachers and woodcutters.

VIDEO 2: The Temple. (GLA #2) 59 min. A strikingly beautiful film about the 1000th anniversary of Christianity and the role of religion in Soviet society, both past and present.

VIDEO 3: The Tailor. (GLA #3) 50 min. This is a sobering look at the spiritual void and disillusionment of the current generation of middle-aged adults. They entered life with faith in their talent, in their destiny, and in love. By the dawn of the Brezhnev years they were aged before their time, having lost their preferred work and the opportunity for creative self-realization.
Early On a Sunday. 16 min. On a winter morning several old village women go to the forest to gather wood. They chop down some pine trees, build a fire, banter about life, and finally go home. Their observations evoke feelings of compassion, bursts of laughter, and respect for the dignity and patience of these women who are unaware of their own worth.

VIDEO 4: Chernobyl: Chronicle of Difficult Weeks. (GLA #4) 54 min. Vladimir Shevchenko's film crew was the first in the disaster zone following the meltdown of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in 1986. They shot continuously for more than three months. A lifeless city.

Empty villages. A dead forest. Various agencies blocked its wider release. Filmgoers in the Soviet Union saw it only after the director's death.
The BAM Zone: Permanent Residents. 19 min. The Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM) railroad in Siberia is called the longest monument to the stagnation of the Brezhnev years. Behind the marches, songs, and delegations, equipment was breaking down, lives were broken, and souls were calloused. "The track lies there and is of no use."

VIDEO 5: Scenes at a Fountain. (GLA #5) 28 min. The ironic title refers to a powerful, rumbling column of fire — the world's largest natural gas fire that burned over one year on the shores of the Caspian Sea. The film dramatically documents the courageous firemen who risked their lives to cap the howling 600 feet high blaze.
The Limit. 15 min. "This is a shout of horror about how the terrible catastrophe of drinking condemns a human being," said one Soviet critic. Families are divided, homes sit neglected, and kids go hungry.

VIDEO 6: And the Past Seems But a Dream. (GLA #6) 67 min. In 1937 a group of children wrote an idealistic book called We Are From Igarka. The filmmaker planned to film their touching reunion 50 years later. But another childhood was revealed quite different from the book. It's a film about the collapse of faith, first faith in God, then Stalin. It's about the slavish need for an idol and the complicated attitudes of people to Stalinism.
Theater Square. 26 min. On 1 June 1988 a hunger strike was staged in Erevan over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region, populated mainly by Armenians but part of the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. The film portrays this event without any commentary or interviews.

VIDEO 7: Black Square. (GLA #7) 57 min. This tells the story of Russia's artistic avant-garde from the 1950s to the 1970s when artists were confronted by semi-official, ideological art. It is a cinematic appreciation of works only recently allowed to be exhibited and a story about artists forced to leave their own country.
Dialogues. 29 min. A bacchanal of rock-jazz and a carnival of punk music erupt in an abandoned Leningrad palace. Collective singing, dancing, and playing make this group of people a community and an ensemble, not just a crowd.

VIDEO 8: This is How We Live. (GLA #8) 30 min. A shocking look at the alienation and moral depravity of young people. The ugliest of them are homegrown fascists who wear swastikas on their sleeves. They happily introduce us to their program for reconstructing society through sterilization and selection.
Homecoming. 17 min. Veterans of the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan returned home from the battlefield with unresolved feelings about a demoralizing and unpopular war. A veteran comments in this film, "All the ones who have come back, you can see it from the look on their faces. They have anguish in their eyes. The war hurts your body, and even more your soul."

VIDEO 9: Marshal Blucher: A Portrait Against the Background of an Epic. (GLA #9) 70 min. The film tries to unlock the riddle of the dramatic 1930s in the Soviet Union, studying the fate of the entire country through the biography of one hero. Marshal Vasily Konstantinovich Blucher was one of the best Red Army commanders, yet in 1938 he was declared an "enemy of the people" and perished in Stalin's torture chambers. Rare archival footage illustrates the excesses of the Stalin era.

VIDEO 10: The Trial — II. (GLA #10) 55 min. This dramatically chronicles the awakening of contemporary civil identity. The word "trial" here has two meanings: the Stalinist trials of the 1930s and 1940s and a court of conscience, putting the epoch of the Stalin personality cult on trial. The "Testament" of Bolshevik theoretician Nikolai Bukharin, who was executed by Stalin, is revealed for the first time by his wife.
Adonis XIV. 9 min. Its horns ornamented with little bells, a "Judas" goat serenely leads a herd of sheep, cows, and horses to the slaughterhouse. Censors discovered the resemblance between reality and this documentary parable, and the film was shelved for 9 years. A director stated, "Everyone who sees this short story should look around and ask himself, 'Why did I survive?'"

VIDEO 11: Final Verdict. (GLA #11) 66 min. A handsome student shoots a woman and her guest. The director and killer try to understand the motive behind this tragedy. During twenty painful months alone on death row, the killer discovers he is no longer the person he once was. The film argues that the death sentence doesn't remove the guilt of the killer but puts it on us.
The Evening Sacrifice. 18 min. The director tried to capture the spirit of a crowd. "He placed the camera in the right place and turned it on at the right moment." His colleagues praise him as an underground artist.

VIDEO 12: Are you Going to the Ball? (GLA #12) 29 min. What is the price young athletes pay for their fleeting celebrity? This film takes a look at one of the Soviet Union's most sacred institutions: its world famous women's gymnastic team. Featured are Olympic champions Olga Korbut and Lyudmila Turischeva.
Tomorrow is a Holiday. 19 min. With indifferent and mechanical movements, women workers stuff chickens into metal containers. The workers' dorms are not homes but rather utilitarian lodgings. The women, enraged by their abnormal living conditions, "keep singing songs to avoid crying or swearing." 19 minutes.

GREAT DECISIONS TELEVISION SERIES, VOL. I, (GRE)1995. Russia and Its Neighbors: US Policy Choices is program #3 of 4. With William Hyland, Professor, Georgetown University and Ambassador Thomas W. Simons, Jr., Coordinator of US Assistance to the New Independent States. Also included on this cassette are **The United Nations at Fifty: Reaching Out or Overreaching?; Nuclear Proliferation: Can it be Capped?;** and **Middle East: Lasting Steps to Peace.** Each program is 30 min.

GREAT DECISIONS 1993, (GRE#1) and (GRE#2) 30 min. each. Tape #1 includes program on Central Asia. Tape #2 includes program on the United Nations.

GREAT DESERTS OF THE WORLD: CENTRAL ASIA, THE DESERT OF TAMERLANE, (GRE) 16 min. From Mongolia to the Caspian Sea, the deserts of Turkestan are, paradoxically, some of the driest and some of the most fertile areas on earth. These inland deserts are pierced by great rivers, along which oases became the sites of great trading centers like Samarkand and Bokara. Successive invasions of Persians, Greeks, Arabs, and Mongols created a remarkable mingling of cultures which endures today.

THE HERMITAGE: A RUSSIAN ODYSSEY. 1994, 3 videos.

Video 1: Catherine the Great: A Lust for Art, (HER1) 54 min. With stunning art and dramatic readings from Catherine the Great's diaries, this intriguing program investigates a self-professed "glutton for beauty," who feasted daily on Rembrandts, Rubenses, and Brueghels.

Video 2: Tyrants and Heroes: The Nineteenth Century Czars, (HER2) 53 min. Marked by dramatic contrasts, this fascinating program depicts both the wrenching violence of the 19th century and the resplendent art of Russian royalty collected during the turbulent era. Rod MacLeish puts remarkable paintings, statues, and end-of-the-century photographs in their historical contexts.

Video 3: From Czars to Commissars: A Museum Survives, (HER3) 55 min. In this moving final program, vintage film illustrating the horrors of revolution and war plays counterpoint to breathtaking works by Matisse, Renoir, and Picasso.

HOMAGE TO CHAGALL, (HOM) 1977, Canadian, 90 min., in English. A study of the life and works of the great Russian artist, superbly filmed in color, and with narration by James Mason. Included is rare footage of Chagall and Madame Chagall.

INSIDE GORBACHEV'S USSR SERIES (1990, 4 videotapes, 58 minutes each).

Part I: The Taste of Democracy. (INS #1) From emotion-charged sessions at the Congress of People's Deputies to defiant meetings of neighborhood councils, ordinary citizens are confronting powerful institutions in ways novel to Soviet society.

Part II: Comfortable Lies, Bitter Truths. (INS #2) Gorbachev fights a powerful bureaucracy as he tries to replace party slogans with fresh thinking. Teachers and media, enjoying a new freedom of the press, expose historical lies in an effort to stimulate independent thought; hard-liners resist change.

Part III: Looking for Perestroika. (INS #3) Plans for economic reform are stymied by fear of taking risks or losing power. Visits a coal mine, a state farm, a private enterprise, and the economic ministry in the Kremlin. How restructuring has affected the standard of living and new private business.

Part IV: Coming Apart. (INS #4) A resurgence of religious movements, ethnic rivalries, and demands for independence are bringing the USSR to the verge of implosion. Focuses on Uzbekistan, Armenia, and Lithuania.

INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION. This rich series is being made available through a special arrangement with the Society for Cultural Relations, US/USSR. Made during the years that the Iron Curtain was most impenetrable, these films provide a real and rare opportunity to explore the mindset of the Soviet people at a time when speech, thought, and lifestyles were systematized and controlled. These are propaganda films in a pure and tragic sense; they promote and inspire belief in a system that ultimately could not work.

LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKS. (INS) 60 min. Two profiles of the revolutionary leader and hero of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

SOVIET WAR STORIES FROM WW II. (INS) 115 min. Four short programs that explore mixed memories of World War II, from a variety of Soviet perspectives.

OUR SOVIET ALLIES/WW II. (INS) 50 min. Four historical programs combine authentic World War II footage with recollections of misty-eyed veterans to document the great Soviet victories of World War II.

NAZI WAR CRIMES: BABI-YAR. (INS) 50 min. Babi-Yar was occupied by the Nazis in 1941 and used for extermination. Graphic film and testimonies of escaped victims are incorporated.

OPIATES OF THE MASSES—RELIGION IN THE USSR. (INS) 105 min. The battle between church and state was never more profound than in the Soviet block.

FUN IN THE USSR. (INS) 95 min. A collection of five short, whimsical and bizarre films of how the Soviets spend their weekends and vacations.

THEATER OF THE IRON CURTAIN. (INS) 55 min. This film provides a behind-the-scenes look at legitimate theater in the Soviet Union.

SOVIET BEDTIME STORIES: FILMS FOR CHILDREN. (INS) 60 min. Some of the best Soviet films for children are represented in this collection.

AN INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN LITERATURE, (INT) 1975, 56 min. This video examines Russian history from the early nineteenth century to the present through the eyes of some of its major writers, including Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Pasternak, Blok, Akhmatova, and Solzhenitsyn.

IF THE PEOPLE WILL LEAD, (IF) 1992, 58 min. A lively exploration of the evolution of freedom in the former Soviet Union and the critical role played by the media in furthering those freedoms. Leading Soviet print and television journalists describe their first steps to freedom and their later battles against renewed censorship prior to and during the 1991 coup.

I WAS STALIN'S BODYGUARD, (I WAS) 1990, 73 min., English subtitles. Directed by Semeon Aranovitch. Having found the last surviving personal bodyguard of Josef Stalin, who had begun working for the leader in the 1930's, Aranovitch weaves together unprecedented, first-hand testimony with rare film footage, including Stalin's home movies.

IS IT EASY TO BE YOUNG? (IS) 1987, 90 min., Latvian with English subtitles. This controversial Soviet documentary by filmmaker Yuri Podniek captures members of the punk rock subculture cavorting at a concert, being dragged into court for smashing up a train, and telling the camera about the tender hopes and the drab realities of their lives as hospital orderlies, morticians, and drug-addicted, disillusioned Afghanistan veterans.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOSEF STALIN, (LIF) 1993, 58 mins. This is the documentary story of the man who subverted the Russian Revolution. Suppressing Lenin's dying wish that Stalin be replaced, he became Lenin's heir. The program follows the struggles and betrayals of the '20's, the atrocities of the '30's, the carnage of the war, the sleight of hand by which Stalin imposed his conditions on Roosevelt and Churchill, and the end of this demented man.

LIFTING THE YOKE: UKRAINE, (LIF) 1994, 50 min. This program examines the effects of establishing an independent Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Emotional and divisive issues accompanying this endeavor include: the legacy of Stalin, conflicts and competing interests between the Church and the nationalists, and the question of to what degree the language should be imposed.

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED; MACNEIL LEHRER NEWSHOUR, (LIG) 1992, 85 min. George Kenan, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Robert Conquest and other experts discuss how and why communism failed in the Soviet Union. In a series of interviews, they examine the past role of communism, the events and ideas that lead to its collapse, and the current economical and political climates in the Soviet Union; in particular, war-torn Yugoslavia.

LEO TOLSTOY, (LEO) 1984, 103 min., English subtitles. This film traces the turbulent life of Leo Tolstoy, one of the greatest writers of the nineteenth century, from childhood through his stormy marriage to his death.

THE LOSS OF AN ENEMY, (LOS) 1992, 28 min. This program looks back at the origins of the Cold War and what its end means to the United States. Extensive use of archival footage illustrates the major milestones of the era. Includes commentary by Hedrick Smith, Strobe Talbott, and Alexei Arbatov. Aired on public television.

LUCKY TO BE BORN IN RUSSIA, (LUC).

THE MAGIC OF THE BOLSHOI BALLET, (MAG) 1987, 60 min. This rare collection of the most historic performances by the leading dancers of the famed Bolshoi Ballet Company features highlights from favorite ballets as they were performed from the 1930's to the present.

MARINA TSVETAYEVA, (MAR) 1994, 56 mins. This docudrama includes archival footage of the times and places that provided the backdrop of Tsvetayeva's life, readings in Russian and in English of her poems, diaries and letters, dramatized scenes and interviews with key writers, biographers, and translations of her work.

MASTERPIECES OF THE HERMITAGE Series of 30-min programs.

The Museum's Majestic Architecture, (MAS1) A walk-through tour of the Hermitage museum, paying attention to the architecture of the palaces and to the history of the Emperors living in them.

Russia in the Age of Peter the Great, (MAS6) A view of seventeenth century St. Petersburg, as it looked before Peter began the process of transformation from swampland into an urban center dominated by European architecture.

THE MIGHTY FISTFUL, (MIG) 1990, 60 mins. Until the 19th century, fashionable Russian audiences preferred Western music. Then came Glinka, Balakirev, Mussorgski, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, Scriabin, Tchaikovsky. The program covers the distance from folk tradition to the founding of the Russian style of music by Glinka. Performers include James Galway, sosipov's Balalaika Orchestra, the Kirov, Bolshoi and Royal Ballets. Included are excerpts from Glinka's *Russlan and Ludmilla Overture*; Tcheshnikov's *Let Us Give Prayer*; Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, Coronation Scene; Borodin's *Quartet No. 2 in D Major;* Rimsky-Korsakov's *Flight of the Bumblebee, A Bride to the Czar;* Tchaikovsky's *Violin Concerto, Swan Lake, Symphony No. 6 (Pathetique);* Scriabin's *Prometheus*; Stravinsky's *The Firebird.*

MODEST MUSSORGSKY, (MOD) 1993, 78 mins. This program filmed entirely on location in Russia on the 150th anniversary of his birth, aims to discover the true Mussorgsky and reveal The radicalism of the man and his music. The music in the program is performed by some of Russia's greatest talents: the conductor Gennadi Rozhdestvensky and the Ministry of Culture Symphony Orchestra, the pianists Nicolai Petrov and Viktoria Postnikova, the soloists and chorus of the Bolshoi Theatre and Tallin State Opera, Estonia.

MONSTER: A PORTRAIT OF STALIN IN BLOOD, (MON 1-6) 1992. This six-tape series, produced by Alexandre Ivankin at Contact Studio, Moscow, uses never before released films from the Russian archives and personal interviews to tell the true story of the annihilation of approximately 40 million Russians by Stalin.

Episode 1: Stalin and Mind Control. 46 min. Stalin anticipates Germany's Joseph Goebbels in his marshalling of Soviet media to manipulate the minds of his population. All organs of communication are taken under Stalin's control, including painting, sculpture, poetry, theater, cinema and architecture—even opera and ballet.

Episode 2: Stalin's Secret Police. 46 min. Stalin's rise to power is attributed largely to his control of the vast secret police complex, known first as the Cheka and eventually as the KGB. At Stalin's direction the secret police becomes the bludgeon with which Stalin enforces his political and personal will, liquidating party rivals, purging the Red Army, and creating in his "gulags" the largest slave labor force since the Pharaohs.

Episode 3: Stalin and the War. 46 min. Prior to the start of WWII, Stalin signs a nonaggression pact with Hitler, hoping to buy time and build up his armed forces. His plan backfires when Hitler launches surprise attack "Barbarossa" against the Soviet Union, and his panzers sweep to within 10 kilometers of Moscow. When Stalin issues disastrous orders, the Soviet people, with enormous effort and sacrifice, beat back the German Wehrmacht and, in spite of Stalin's blundering, win a great victory.

Episode 4: The Private Life of Joseph Stalin. 46 min. Stalin is born of doubtful parenthood and grows up a Marxist and a revolutionary, organizing riots and robbing banks to fund party activities. While Stalin is twice-married, both wives die suspicious deaths, the first of "typhoid" after being kicked in the stomach while pregnant, and the second of an "appendicitis" after committing suicide. Stalin then systematically murders or imprisons his many inlaws. Witnesses to these events furnish the horrid details.

Episode 5: Stalin's Enslavement of Rural Russia. 46 min. Russia's 40 million farmers resist Stalin's attempt to seize their lands and collectivize Soviet farming. The result is a virtual war that lasts for years and results in the deaths of 20 million farmers and their families through execution, deliberate starvation and death in the labor camps.

Episode 6: Stalin...The Last Empire. 46 min. Stalin is largely responsible for subverting the idealism of the Bolshevik Revolution, which preached a peoples' democracy to a power-hungry system of elitism which ignores the peoples' needs and rewards only the party aristocracy. "Stalinism" does not die with him in 1953 but remains a political legacy that is finally toppled by a determined Soviet people in August 1991.

MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD: THE CROWN JEWELS OF RUSSIA, (MOS) 1990, 50 min. The history and culture of Russia are revealed in this program as viewers tour the Kremlin and Lenin's tomb, watch the pageantry of Red Square, see St. Basil's Cathedral, and enjoy the Bolshoi Theater and the Moscow Circus. Then, in Leningrad, viewers visit the Winter Palace, the Alexander Column, and the extravagant Palace of Petrodvorets.

MY RUSSIAN FRIENDS, (MYR) 1988, 58 min. This video is an unprecedented portrait of a people in transition. Director Stephen Schecter (see **BACK IN THE USSR**) mixes a verite camera style with first person narration to create an unusually intimate film that confronts political, ideological, and religious issues head on. His Soviet friends talk candidly about the effect of perestroika and glasnost on their lives and country.

THE NEW RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, (NEW) 1991, 47 min. Made by CNN, this video document focuses on the failed 1991 hardline coup in the Soviet Union that temporarily imprisoned President Mikhail Gorbachev and thrust Boris Yeltsin into the world spotlight.

PATH TO AGREEMENT: RUSSIA AND UKRAINE, (PAT) 1992, 38 min., English and Russian versions. A co-production of Ostankino and Common Ground Productions, this program begins with background on the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, including an interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk. The program then shows a "search for common ground" between Alexandr Lavrinovich, Vice President of the Ukrainian nationalist party Rukh, and Sergei Baburin, leader of the Russian parliamentary faction Rossiya. The video presents an easily accessible picture of the ethnic conflict of the former USSR.

THE PERSONAL FILE OF ANNA AKHMATOVA, (PER) 1991, 63 min. This film vividly portrays the life and struggles of this celebrated poet, who was persecuted by the Soviet state throughout her literary career. Based on excerpts from her biography and the memoirs of writer Lidiya Chukovskaya, the film is itself a haunting and lyrical visual poem.

POST-SOVIET RUSSIA: PROMISES DEFERRED, (POS) 1997, 55 mins. This program examines how the Russian city of Gorky has adapted to a free-enterprise system. We see public reaction to the auction of government property, and the opening of private markets. Class divisions became apparent in interviews with the Russian nouveau riche, the Mafia, and average citizens. Ordinary people, tired of waiting for economic benefits promised through privatization, support Communist political candidates who promise renewed state control and a return to traditional Russian values. The city is shown as being torn apart by violent tensions and antagonisms that exist between the advocates of reform and Neo-Communists.

POWER OF PLACE: WORLD REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY: RUSSIA'S FRACTURING FEDERATION, (POW) 1996, 30 min. each part. #7: "Facing Ethnic and Environmental Diversity." Case studies include the question of independence in the ethnically mixed Republic of Dagestan in the face of the current devolutionary process and the uncertainties of a harsh climate and poor infrastructure in the Russian countryside around Volgoda. #8: "Central and Remote Economic Development." Case studies include the effects of the shift to a market economy on real estate values in St. Petersburg and the difficulties of industrial production in Bratsk, Siberia.

RED EMPIRE. (RED 1-7) 1990, 54 min. each. Series presented by Dr. Robert Conquest.

Volume 1: Revolutionaries. Nicholas and Alexandra rule a massive empire spanning one sixth of the world's land mass and encompassing 150 million people of 100 different nationalities. Life is hard and the workers are discontent. Moisei Muravnik, now 99 years old, recalls the Siberian goldfields strike of 1912 that ignites the workers' movement.

Volume 2: Winners and Losers. War with Germany leads to civil war in Russia. Among the first casualties are the Tsar and his family. As the Reds and the Whites fight for control of the empire, those who suffer most are the people, victims of battle and famine. The Communist Party, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, gains control.

Volume 3: Class Warriors. Communism continues to draw the attention and praise of people throughout the world. One reason is the rhetoric of Joseph Stalin, who calls for a world order based on the rights and contributions of all workers. But, in fact, Stalin is a brutal and ruthless dictator, and when the peasants do not accept his plan for collective farms, he viciously starves them by the millions.

Volume 4: Enemies of the People. Why does a child denounce his parents, demanding their execution? When Stalin's five year plans fail to turn the Soviet Union into a super-power, he blames secret traitors and urges the people to find them. Today they still comb the forests for hidden graves where millions of innocent people were executed. Ultimately, Stalin does create the Red Empire, but the cost in terms of human lives is almost incomprehensible.

Volume 5: Patriots. Confusion reigns in the Soviet Union over whom the people should support in World War II. But Hitler forces their decision when he invades in 1941. The Soviets are no match for the Nazis, who destroy everything on their way to Moscow. In the end, however, the harsh Russian winter defeats the Germans, who are soon pushed back, leaving the infamous Joseph Stalin a hero and the unlikely ally of America and Britain.

Volume 6: Survivors. Victory in World War II is replaced with the Cold War, as the Communists reject all Western influences as decadence. Truth is redefined as the radio and airplane are said to be invented by Russians, not Westerners. But the Soviets do make great advances, including the first space flight. When Stalin dies, the future of the Red Empire is again uncertain until Nikita Khrushchev takes control.

Volume 7: Prisoners of the Past. Lenin's ideal of individual rights has still not materialized and the people are restless. Freedom lives in their hearts even as Khrushchev's successor, Leonid Brezhnev, crushes rebellion and invades Czechoslovakia. The old guard fails; Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko all die within a three year period. That sets the stage for Mikhail Gorbachev, a youthful, vigorous leader who promises hope and change.

REFLECTIONS OF TERROR: Life in the Gulag, (REF) 1990, 30 min., Ukrainian without subtitles. Originally entitled *Voni stoiat' peredi mnoiu* (They Stand in Front of Us), this film was produced and directed by the Ukrainian writer Anatol Kostenko, a former Zek. Kostenko interviews survivors of Soviet labor camps and commemorates those who perished.

REJOICING IN THE DARK, (REJ) 1990, 78 min., English subtitles. Directed by Ekaterina Pravdina, Svetlana Rezhushkina, and Alexander Koniashov. A film about Russian poets and Russia. Marquis de Custine wrote prophetically in the mid-nineteenth century that "when the Sun of openness rose above Russia, it would throw light on such abominations and such awful outrages that the whole world would shudder." There are no outrages in the film; rather, this is a story of some people who practiced the art of surviving without conforming or betraying their inner "self."

REVEALING RUSSIA, (REV 1-4) 1992-1993, Russian with English narration and subtitles. Film series by Marina Goldovskaya.

Video 1: The Shattered Mirror. 58 min. Goldovskaya's personal journey through ordinary Russian life at a time of great change. Includes meetings with the filmmaker's friends and acquaintances, as well as personal scenes of her own wedding and the death of her mother.

Video 2: The House With Knights. 58 min. Built in the early 1900's, this grand apartment building on the Arbat at first was the residence of privileged families. After the revolution, it was turned into a collective housing unit. Through historical footage and the reminiscences of former residents, the incredible story of the House of Knights comes alive.

Video 3: A Taste of Freedom. 46 min. "A Taste of Freedom" follows six weeks in the lives of Sasha and Anya Politikovsky, whose daily existence reflects the turmoil and uncertainty of the time. Sasha is a prominent television journalist who tests the limits of the new freedom afforded Russian reporters. Anya, his wife, is deeply concerned for his safety as he covers stories such as the riots in Baku and the Chernobyl disaster.

Video 4: Solovky Power. 93 min. A harrowing documentary about the first Soviet prison camp, established in a 15th century monastery on a remote White Sea island in 1923. The camp became the model for the dreaded gulags that followed. Aging survivors of the prison camp offer a devastating account of the brutality and injustice prisoners endured.

Video 5: Lucky to be Born in Russia. 58 min. Sequel to **Shattered Mirror** that relates the human story behind the October 1993 armed confrontation in Moscow, when the future of the Russian nation hung in the balance. Goldvskaya boldly takes her camera into the streets to film dramatic street demonstrations and the attempted rebel seizure of a television station where she worked for many years.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, (RIS) 1991, 60 min. From a humble peasant childhood to the pinnacle of power, the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev reveals one of the century's great success stories. And with his fall, we watch him become the only Soviet leader to survive a coup…and then lose it all. This program is an intriguing drama played on the world stage, against a backdrop of sweeping global change.

RUSSIA FOR SALE, (RUS) 1993, 58 min. Tells the compelling stories of three Russians against the backdrop of the former Soviet Union's breakup and historic transition from communism to capitalism. Through their own eyes, a steel worker, a Moscow police chief, and a daring new entrepreneur show how the psychology and historical roots of decades of communism influence daily life and economic and democratic reform today.

RUSSIA THAT WE LOST, (RUS) 1992, Russian without subtitles. This film was produced by Stanislav Govorukhin. Its theme is the disaster of Communist rule. Much of the footage is taken from pre-1917 film showing a high level of industrial development in Russia before the revolution, and showing such achievements as the building of the trans-Siberian railroad. The film is highly nationalistic and romanticizes prerevolutionary Russia.

RUSSIA TODAY: DAILY LIFE, (RUS) 1995, 15 min. This video is intended to acquaint students in grades 5-8 with life in the "new Russia." The program introduces the country once known as the Soviet Union through the eyes of four teenagers from Moscow, Kiev (Ukraine), and St. Petersburg.

RUSSIA UNDER THE TSARS: THE SEARCH FOR A VOICE, (RUS) 1989, 53 mins. The Russian-ness of Russian music derives from the folk song and the music of the Orthodox Church: the characteristic modes, the sounds of bells, the unison *a cappella* voices of the Russian liturgy-sources not mined until Glinka laid down the foundations of a Russian school of music, almost single-handedly. The program traces the cultural history of Russia from the 17th century, covering the cultural role the tsars, the building of St. Petersburg, the enthusiasm for France cut short by the Napoleonic invasion, the role of Pushkin and, above all, of Glinka. This program includes sections of Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar, Kamarinskaya, Cherubimskaya*; and the so-called *Rostov Action*.

RUSSIA UNDER THE TSARS: MUSIC FOR A NATION, (RUS) 1989, 53 mins. "The Search for a Voice" covered the origins of Russian music and proceeded through the work of Glinka; this program begins in 1881, the year in which Tsar Alexander II was assassinated and Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto premiered. The program covers the introduction of the Mighty Fistful, and focuses on the life and works of Tchaikovsky. Includes sections of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto, First String Quartet, *Eugene Onegin, Swan Lake*, the Symphonie Pathetique; Balakirev's "Islamei"; Borodin's "In Central Asia", Second String Quartet; and Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*.

THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION: A NATION IN TRANSITION, (RUS) 1995, 22 mins. Produced by New Leaf Media. This video-based program is designed to acquaint students in grades 9-12 with life in the "New Russia." The program introduces the Russian Federation and its largest neighbor, Ukraine, through the eyes of four teenagers from Moscow, Kiev and St. Petersburg. Topics include: geography and weather, food, housing, family life, entertainment, school, the variety of people, politics, economics, friendships and an uncertain future. Also comes with a teacher's guide.

A RUSSIAN JOURNEY, (RUS) 1989, 60 min. This tour of Russia takes viewers to the golden fountains and statuary in Leningrad, through Red Square and Lenin's tomb, and on a ride on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. It also shows life in a Russian village and visits the home of a typical Russian family.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE ARTS: Recently transferred from 3/4" video to VHS

Part I: Years of Turmoil, 1860-1917, and Years of Revolution, 1917-1920. (RUS)

Part II: Years of Innovation, 1920-1930, and Years of Control, 1930-1940. (RUS) 1977, 28 min., Indiana University. This program depicts the relationship between art and society in Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The turmoil of tsarist Russia's modernization and revolution was paralleled in the works of the Wanderers, the World of Art movement, and the avant-garde artists of the revolutionary period. The experimental and innovative arts of the 1920s are contrasted to the products of officially sanctioned socialist realism in the 1930s. The program considers artistic developments in painting, sculpture, graphic arts, film, theater, poetry, music and architecture. Narrated by John Thompson.

THE RUSSIANS ARE HERE, (RUS) 1983, 58 min. FRONTLINE investigates a community of Russian immigrants who have recently arrived in the United States, including writers, a stockbroker, a tour operator, shopkeepers and radio producers. Emigres discuss freedom, money, security and their own efforts to adjust to American society. By showing what emigres miss about the USSR, the filmmakers are able to highlight differences between American and Soviet societies. PBS special.

SASHA LITVIN OF RUSSIA, (SAS) 1995, 15 min. A portrait of nine year-old Sasha who goes to a special school for the performing arts in St. Petersburg. This film follows Sasha in his daily activities, from the time he gets up in the morning, through his day at school and including sights of his city. An introduction to the geography and culture of St. Petersburg as shown through the life of a school boy.

THE SECOND RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. This seven-part series chronicles the rise and fall of Mikhail Gorbachev and his role and impact on the changes seen in the Soviet Union over the last six years.

Enter Gorbachev (SEC) 1991, 46 min. This cassette traces Gorbachev's rise to power from his early days as a party apparatchik in Stavropol to his appointment as Secretary of Agriculture in the Central Committee and his position on the politburo. The deaths of General Secretaries Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko are highlighted as providing Gorbachev with the entré that eventually allowed him to become General Secretary himself.

The Battle for Glasnost (SEC) 1991, 46 min. This documentary traces Gorbachev's difficulties in implementing his policies of glasnost and perestroika in the face of opposition from both the conservative Soviet bureaucracy and the country's people.

The Yeltsin File (SEC) 1991, 46 min. This video traces the recent past of Russia's president and most controversial leader today. It begins with his position as Moscow Party chief and subsequent row with Gorbachev and dressing down, and proceeds to his often open conflicts with Party hardliners, and concludes with his own ambitions for political power, culminating in his election as Russian President.

Revolution from Below (SEC) 1991, 46 min. In this episode, Gorbachev's policy of perestroika bears fruit by providing the Soviet people with an open forum for discussing their discontent. This culminated in the first-ever genuine parliamentary elections in May 1989, forcing Soviet leaders to be held accountable for their actions and accede to the demands of the people.

Breaking Ranks (SEC) 1991, 46 min. This video discusses Gorbachev's hands-off policy towards changes in the communist regimes of Eastern Europe and growing nationalist movements in the Soviet Union, leading to the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Empire.

The End of the Beginning (SEC) 1991, 69 min. This episode highlights the antecedents of the August 1991 attempted coup against Gorbachev. These include the bitterness of the hardliners and reactionaries and the growing nationalist unrest in the Soviet republics.

Anatomy of a Coup (SEC) 1991, 50 min. This cassette traces the self-destruction of the Soviet Communist system through the attempted 1991 coup against the reformist President Mikhail S. Gorbachev. It features participants from both sides of the barricades during the days of the anti-coup, pro-democracy movement.

THE SECRET LIFE OF SERGEI EISENSTEIN, (SEC) 1985, 60 min. This film by Gian Carlo Bertilli follows Eisenstein from his origins and early career in Russia through his work and travels in the politically shifting climates of Europe, the U.S., and Mexico, and back to the Soviet Union. The film is based on Eisenstein's memoirs as well as on materials from archives around the world. Memorable scenes from his most famous films are interwoven with his sketchbooks and production notes to form an intimate portrait of this master of cinema and his body of work.

SEX IN THE SOVIET UNION, (SEX) 1990, 60 min. THE KOPPEL REPORT takes a fascinating look at the Soviets, accustomed to living in a puritanical society which has never taught sex education or produced adequate supplies of birth control devices, now grappling with old morals and remarkable new freedom.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ANDROPOV REGIME: SESSION I. (SOV) 120 min. **SESSION II. (SOV)** 20 min. Conference at Indiana University, 1983.

STALIN IS WITH US? (STA) 1989, 75 min. By cleverly weaving together interviews with contemporary Stalinists and chilling newsreels of Stalin, Hitler, and Mao, director Tofik Shakhverdiev observes the residue of totalitarianism seeping out of the past and warns that the roots of intolerance may still be lurking within us all.

STEREOTYPES, (STE) 1990, 25 min. This first U.S.-Soviet animated co-production blends full-cell animation and live action in a witty parody of the superpowers' traditional views of one another. In the style of a TV game show, a cartoon rivalry escalates into a full-blown battle with a prophetic conclusion. It is the first collaborative film of its kind to celebrate the end of the cold war.

UKRAINE - THE INDEPENDENT LAND, (UKR) 1993, 47 min. Historical retrospect traces Ukraine's sovereign aspirations from the times of the Rurik dynasty to the present.

UKRAINE: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE, (UKR) 1992, 55 min. See Ukraine as it has never been seen before, in all of its seeming contradictions. The footage in this documentary, taken in cities closed to western travellers for nearly a century, presents a full spectrum of the country and the people, with pictures of villages, cities, traditional farming techniques, crafts, churches, fortresses, and monasteries.

UKRAINE: THIRD JOURNEY TO INDEPENDENCE, (UKR) 1992, 62 min. In 1991, a series of political events leading up to the Moscow coup sent shock-waves throughout the then-Soviet Union. Ukraine responded to the collapse of the coup by declaring its independence on August 24th, marking the dawn of a new age. This compelling documentary tells the dramatic story of the Ukrainian people's century-long struggle for self-determination and sheds new light on this previously "hidden nation" of the Czarist and Communist empires.

UNDER THE BANNER OF MISERY (PID ZNAKOM BIDI), (UND) 1992, 45 min. In Ukrainian without subtitles. This jarring documentary depicts one of the worst human tragedies of this century—Russia's forced collectivization order and the resultant man-made Ukrainian famine of 1932-33.

THE UNKNOWN HOLOCAUST, (UNK) 1983, 30 min. Documentary film by Taras Hukalo for Radio Quebec combines archival footage, eyewitness accounts, and interviews with scholars to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Soviet perpetuated famine that took the lives of 10 million Ukrainians.

VIDEO FROM RUSSIA—VLADIMIR VYSOTSKY. (VID) 1988, 60 min. The premature death in 1980 of this legendary figure at the age of 42 aroused feelings of loss and grief among Russians that has been unequaled in modern times. Produced by Danmarks Radio.

THE WALL COMES DOWN, (WAL) 1990. 25 min. This video and accompanying booklet examines the roll of the media in covering the events in Berlin and surrounding events during 1989.

THE WEEK THAT SHOOK THE WORLD: THE SOVIET COUP, (WEE) 1991, 65 min. A chronicle that utilizes ABC news' extensive coverage of the attempted Soviet Union coup from August 19-25, 1991.

WHY WE FIGHT: BATTLE OF RUSSIA, (WHY) 1943, 83 mins. This film is part of a seven-part series produced for the U.S. War Department designed to convince the American public that WW II deserved their support. *Battle of Russia* details the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and, in particular, the battle of Stalingrad.

THE WORLD AT WAR, (WOR) 1980, 52 min., English. **Barbarossa: June-December 1941** is volume five in the series claiming to be "the definitive film about World War II, made using the most dramatic documentary footage ever seen, including action at the fronts and in the war rooms around the world, penetrating interviews with statesmen and military leaders of the time, and the experiences of ordinary men and women who lived and fought through the most momentous conflict in world history." Volume five chronicles the German advance into Russia and the fatal delay that ultimately brought defeat.

VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY: TALKING WITH DAVID FROST, (ZHI) 1994, 60 min. Zhirinovsky's interview with David Frost from PBS Video. Mr. Zhirinovsky represents the Russian ultranationalist Liberal Democratic Party that opposes Boris Yeltsin in Russia's new parliament.

ZHIRINOVSKY, (ZHI) Russian without translation, 1992, 83 min (60 min. of speech, 23 min. of answering questions). From the Hoover Institute, Stanford University Collection. "The borders of the Russian empire should be the borders of the former Soviet Union." So proclaims Vladimir Zhirinovsky in this speech in Ivangorod, July 11, 1992. The speech, made at an open air meeting, lays down the basic ideas of his Liberal Democratic Party.

ZYUGANOV LECTURE AT INDIANA UNIVERSITY, (ZYU), taped on location 8 April 1994. In Russian with translator. Videotape of lecture "Misconceptions of Communism in Russia in the 1990's" by Russia's current head of the communist party, Gennadi Zyuganov.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE IU POLISH STUDIES CENTER

(812) 855-1507

VIDEOTAPES

BEZ MIŁOŚCI (Without Love). 1985 film by Janusz Zaorski (104 min., English subtitles).

BO WOLNOŚĆ GENERAŁ ANDERSA I JEGO ŻOŁNIERZE KRZYŻAMI SIĘ MIERZY... (As Crosses are a Measure of Freedom...General Anders and his soldiers). A film by Krzysztof Szmagier (80 min.).

BILANS KWARTALNY (Balance-Sheet). 1974 film by Krzysztof Zanussi. A straight-forward, non-passionate look at a woman who has left her husband for another man, who rejects her. (English subtitles).

BRZEZINA (The Birch Woods). 1970 film by Andrzej Wajda (English subtitles)

CHŁOPI (The Peasants). Film by Jan Rybkowski (English subtitles)

Part I: "Boryna" (96 min.)

Part II: "Jagna" (88 min.)

CITIZENS. 1987 documentary by Richard W. Adams. (57 min., English)

CRACOW AND ITS UNIVERSITY, 27 min.

CZESŁAW MIŁOSZ: AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND WORK: AN INTERVIEW, (CZE) 1980, 50 min., in Polish without subtitles. An interview conducted with Czesłlaw Miłosz in 1980, in honor of his receiving the Nobel Prize for literature in which he discusses living as an emigrant in the United States and the persistance of Wilno in his poetic consciousness.

CZŁOWIEK MARMURU (Man of Marble). 1977 film by Andrzej Wajda (160 min., English subtitles).

DZIADY (Forefathers' Eve). Based on the play by Adam Mickiewicz.

GŁUCHY TELEFON (Crossed Lines). 1990 film by Piotr Milkulicki (81 min., English subtitles).

JACEK FEDOROWICZ. 1988 montage of the Polish satirist's commentary on contemporary Poland (100 min., in Polish)

JACEK FEDOROWICZ: O TEATRZE BIM-BOM I POKOLENIU PAŻADZIERNIKA. 1987 lecture by the Polish satirist, includes archival footage from 1955-60 (120 min., in Polish)

GORĄCZKA (Fever). 1980 film directed by Agnieszka Holland (94 min., Polish).

JANOSIK. 1973 directed by Jerzy Passendorfer. Story of the legendary hero of the Tatra Mountains (132 min., color, English subtitles).

KANA (Canal). 1957 film by Andrej Wajda about the retreat of the Home Army fighters to the sewers during the final months of World War II (97 min., English subtitles)

KATYN...SLAUGHTER AND SILENCE. PBS program, 57 min.

KAZIMIERZ WIELKI (Casimir the Great) film by Ewa and Czesław Petelski (83 min., English subtitles)

KOBIETA I KOBIETA (A Woman and a Woman). 1980 film by Ryszard Bugajski (99min., English subtitles).

KOBIETA SAMOTNA (Woman Alone) 1981 film by Agnieszka Holland (94 min., in Polish)

KRZYŻACY (The Knights of the Teutonic Order). Based on the novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, Nobel prize winner.

KUCHNIA POLSKA (La Cuisine Polonaise). 1991 film by Jacek Bromski (108 min., in Polish).

KUNG-FU. 1979 film by Janusz Kijowski about a group of young people to fight to bring justice to a victimized nonconformist.

LALKA (The Doll). 1968 film by Wojciech J. Has, based on Bolesław Prus' nineteenth century novel (165 min., English subtitles)

MATKA KRÓLÓW (Mother of the Kings) 1982 film by Janusz Zaorski (126 min., English subtitles)

MISTRZ I MAŁGORZATA (Master and Margarita) 1990 four-part (each part approx 90 mins) theater presentation of Mikhail Bulgalkov's classic. An impressive cast of top Polish actors. (English subtitles).

NÓŻ W WODZIE (Knife in the Water). 1962 film by Roman Polanski (92 min., English subtitles)

OD LEGIONÓW NA WAWEL, by Marszałek Józef Piłsudski, 40 min.

PAN WOŁODYJOWSKI (Colonel Wolodyjowski). 1969 film by Jerzy Hoffman. The third part of Sienkiewicz's Trilogy (160 min., English subtitles).

PANNY Z WILKA (The Maids of Wilko). 1979 film by Andrzej Wajda (111 min., English subtitles).

POLAND: 1000 YEARS OF HISTORY AND CULTURE (3/4" u-matic or 1/2" VHS)

- Part I: Piast dynasty
- Part II: Jagiellonian Dynasty
- Part III: Gentry Commonwealth
- Part IV: Romantic and Modern Poland

POLAND: A PROUD HERITAGE (90 minutes) Travelog history of Poland.

POLSKA ŚMIERĆ (Polish Death). A film by Waldemar Krzystek, 88 min.

POPIÓŁ I DIAMENT (Ashes and Diamonds). 1958 film by Andrzej Wajda (106 min., English subtitles)

POSZUKIWANY, POSZUKIWANA (Man/Woman Wanted) 1989 by Stanisław Bareja about a small painting that disappears from a local museum and the search for the thieves (89 min. English subtitles).

POTOP (The Deluge). 1974. The second part of Henryk Sienkiewicz's Trilogy directed by Jerzy Hoffman, depicting the seventeenth century Swedish invasion (180 min., two tapes, English subtitles).

PRZEPRASZAM CZY TU BIJĄ (Foul Play) 1976 film by Marek Piwowski (98 min., English subtitles)

PRZESŁUCHANIE (Interrogation). 1981 film by Ryszard Bugajski (118 min., English subtitles)

PRZYPADEK (Blind Chance). 1982 film by Krzysztof Kieślowski (122 min., English subtitles)

PSY (The Pigs). The 1992 winner of the Film Festival Gdynia Award. A post-communist era film showing the process of change taking place in a police force in an attempt to get by under the new system.

RECĘ DO GÓRY (Hands Up). Directed by Jerzy Skolimowski (78 min., English subtitles)

ROŚLINY TRUJĄCE (Poisonous Plants). 1985 film by Robert Gilinski (70 min., English subtitles).

SEKRET ENIGMY (The Enigma Secret). A war thriller by Roman Cionczek (158 min., English subtitles).

SEKSMISJA (Sex Mission). A futuristic comedy about two men who are frozen and wake up in the 21st century to find that they are the only men alive on a planet of women.

SO MANY MIRACLES. PBS video shown 4/93.

STANISŁAW BARAŃCZAK: Poetry Reading at Indiana University. 26 March 1984.

TABOO. 1987 film by Andrzej Barański (108 min., English subtitles).

TOP DOG. A contemporary social satire directed by Feliks Falk (115 min., in Polish).

TRÓJKĄT BERMUDZKI (Bermuda Triangle) 1989 by Wojciech Wójcik. This film follows the joint schemes of a doctor, a lawyer, and a car mechanic and explores their relationship to each other (99 min. English subtitles).

W STARYM DWORKU (In an Old Manor House) 1984 film directed by Andrzej Kotkowski. Based on Stanislaw Ignacy Witkiewicz's novella. (98 min., English subtitles)

W ZAWIESZENIU (Suspended) 1986 film directed by Waldemar Krzystek (92 min., English subtitles)

WELCOME TO POLAND, 55 min.

WESELE (The Wedding). A film by Andrzej Wajda based on Stanisław Wyspiański's play (100 min., English subtitles).

WESTERPLATTE. 1967 film by Stanisław Różewicz (80 min., in Polish).

ZIEMIA OBIECANA (Land of Promise). 1974 film by Andzej Wajda, based on the Nobel winning author Władysław Reymont's novel. It depicts the industrial development in 19th century Łódz and the combined influences of the Germans, Russians and Jews.

ZNACHOR (The Quack) 1981 film directed by Jerzy Hoffman (132 min., English subtitles)

SLIDE PROGRAMS

Scenes of Gdansk

Scenes of Katowice

Scenes of Krynica

Scenes of Łancut

Scenes of the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie - Nowy Gmach

Scenes of the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie - Sukiennice

Scenes of Państwowe Muzea

Scenes of Polish Skansen Museums

Scenes of Poznań

Scenes of the Tatra Mountains

Scenes of Toruń

Scenes of Tourist Showplaces in Poland

Scenes of Warsaw

Scenes of Warsaw University

Scenes of Wawel Cathedral

Scenes of Wilanów

Scenes from Wybrzeze Szczecinskie

Scenes from Ziemia Kłodzka

Slides of Aushwitz/Oświęcim

Slides of Theater Productions directed by Kazimierz Braun

Slides of Frederich Chopin

Slides of Polish Jews in WWII (Tomaszewski Collection)

Slides of Mikołaj Kopernik

Slides of Panorama Raclawicka (historical mural)

Slides of Polish Children

Slides of Polish Folk Art

Slides of Polish Political Posters

Slides of Polish Women

Slides of Traditional Polish Costumes

Slides of War Atrocities (Tomaszewski Collection)

Slides of World War II in Poland — 1939-1945 (Tomaszewski Collection)

Slides of Youth in Poland

Polish Art History in Nineteen Parts (with descriptive notes in Polish)

> Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Enlightenment, Classicism and Romanticism, Realism in 19th Century Painting, Impressionism, Art Noveau-Moda Polska, Formism and Rhythm-Interwar, Sculpture at the Turn of the Century, Graphics 1900-1945, Post WWII Painting, Post WWII Sculpture, Post WWII Graphics, Post WWII Architecture, Contemporary Glass Ceramics and Weaving.

For a complete listing of audio tapes, records, and other materials, contact the IU Polish Studies Center, W002 Memorial Hall, Bloomington, Indiana 47405. (812) 855-8119.

SLIDE PROGRAMS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE IU RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN INSTITUTE

REEI slide programs come in standard carousels with explanatory texts that may be used during slide presentations.

EASTERN EUROPE:

CONTEMPORARY YUGOSLAV PAINTING 35 slides
This program describes the main trends in postwar Yugoslav painting. It stresses the impact on the arts of the proclamation of freedom of theoretical work in 1951 that made possible a continuation of creative impulses of the avant-garde artists of the interwar period. The slides portray a significant widening of the range of styles during the 1960s.

HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA 35 slides
Yugoslavia's historical and cultural monuments occupy a special place among those of the world. Quite apart from their inherent value and interest, they are a unique record of the art that emerged in the turbulent borderlands between the East and West. Ancient Greece and Rome, Byzantine Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism—each successive dichotomy led to antagonisms that left their traces in Yugoslavia. The program depicts numerous South Slavic cultural relics from classical times through the Turkish occupation.

YUGOSLAVIA'S ADRIATIC COAST 80 slides
The Yugoslav Adriatic littoral is one of the most interesting in the world. The northwestern and southeastern extremities are separated by a distance of 370 miles; in between stretches almost ten times that length of indented coastline, with more than a thousand islands and reefs of various kinds. A rich diversity of geological formations exist: the high sheer cliffs of Krk Island and the sandy beaches of the Montenegrin coast; the deep fiord of the Bay of Kotor and charming small coves and inlets of the Istrian Peninsula. In addition to portraying the coast's scenic beaches, this program also presents numerous cultural and historical monuments, several dating back to Roman times.

CROATIAN SCULPTOR: IVAN MESTROVIC 54 slides
Report by Cindy Mercer followed by notes to accompany the slide program.

SCENES FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA 60 slides
This program features various historical sites in Czechoslovakia. The collection is divided into five parts, each focusing on a particular area. Scenes from medieval castles and an ancient monastery are combined with the slides depicting architectural monuments of Prague.

RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET SUCCESSOR STATES:

THE ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION: SOCIALIST REALISM IN THE USSR AND CHINA
160 slides with dialogue
As a presentation of "Socialist Realism" and its sociopolitical function, this visual representation of ideological themes has been found to be very useful for classes in comparative communism and international education as well as for history, political science, art history, and language and literature courses on modern China or the USSR. The module is divided into two parts of twenty-two minutes accompanied by 80 slides. Part I is concerned with the direct application of art in the service of revolutionary martyrs, the class struggle, world revolution, national and patriotic appeals, and the image of the leader. Part II deals with the new social and cultural values this art attempted to propagate: industrialization, collectivization, the apotheosis and cultural elevation of the proletariat, youth as the revolutionary successors, the "new" woman, national minorities, and intellectuals.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN THE SOVIET UNION 80 slides
The lives of Soviet citizens are examined through the use of slides shot mostly by American visitors who traveled in the USSR from 1975 to 1980. Among topics considered are domestic and family life, housing and transportation, national holidays, education, religion, recreation, and business and industry. The focus is on urban life in Moscow and Leningrad, but some slides of rural settings and of non-Russian areas of the USSR (Estonia, Central Asia, Siberia) are included.

MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD: TWO FACES OF RUSSIA 80 slides
Prepared by Janet McLouth and Sue Factor in 1976 and 1977. Slides focus on landmarks and notes contain historical information. Includes slides of the 60th anniversary parade in Moscow.

RUSSIAN ICONS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE 80 slides
A panorama of Russian religious icons from the acceptance of Christianity in Russia to the eighteenth century, this program traces the evolution of an art form rich in cultural significance. The program is divided according to the various schools of Russian icon painting; the supplementary text contains explanations of these schools as well as descriptions of the technique of icon painting.

RUSSIAN LIFE TODAY, 1988-1990 77 slides
Slide program and text prepared by James Downey in summer 1993. This is an updated version of the Contemporary Soviet Life program. The collection includes scenes of family life, remaining communist monuments, new political protests, and economic change. The slides were taken in Moscow and Rostov Velikii.

RUSSIAN PAINTINGS 80 slides
A collection of Russian paintings from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century, this series examines the various periods of Russian art. Included are works of Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, the Wanderers, the Fathers of Russian Modernism, Neo-Nationalism, the World of Art Movement, Russian Modernism, and Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Russia.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS OF 1917 80 slides
A survey of the tumultuous events of 1917, this program views the social and military conditions of the country in World War I, the February Revolution and the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, the July Days, the Kornilov affair, and the October Revolution that brought the Bolshevik party to power. Illustrations include social scenes, portraits of political leaders, and examples of revolutionary art.

RUSSKAIA ZHIVOPIS' XVIII VEKA (RUSSIAN PAINTINGS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY). 36 slides (not in carousel)
This slide collection is accompanied by a Russian reader with notes for students of Russian language.

SCENES FROM UZBEKISTAN: LIFE AND CULTURE 99 slides
This program depicts the people and culture of modern Uzbekistan. Included are pictures of children and families, bazaars, people at work, scenery, and wedding, funeral, and circumcision festivities, as well as several slides of other areas in Central Asia.

SOVIET UNION'S FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL IN WORLD WAR II: FROM BARBAROSSA TO STALINGRAD 80 slides
This program portrays the events of the Second World War in the Soviet Union from the German invasion of 22 June 1941 to what many historians consider to be the turning point of the entire European theater of the war—the Battle for Stalingrad. The program examines both the military strategy of the armies and the social and economic conditions of the populace, including scenes from the battles for Bryansk, Moscow, and Stalingrad as well as the blockade of Leningrad.

THE STRANGE SCIENCE OF KREMLINOLOGY 45 slides (not in carousel)
This is a brief description of the problems involved in Kremlinology and what questions are asked and answered by the practitioners of the science. This program is based on the rapid change of leaders that occurred in the Soviet Union when Yuri Andropov died and was quickly succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko and then Mikhail Gorbachev.

BOOKS AND TEACHING AIDS AVAILABLE THROUGH THE IU RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN INSTITUTE

MAPS AND POSTERS

Classroom Atlas: 1994 Edition. Published by Rand McNally. Completely revised and accurate as of 1994.

Commonwealth of Independent States. Folded general map with political divisions. Index of places and names. Published by Hallwag for 1993/94.

Europe Today: An Atlas of Reproducible Pages. World Eagle, Inc., 1990. This resource guide is composed of 122 pages of illustrative maps, tables, and graphs depicting various aspects of Europe, including size, population, resources, cities, energy, industries, agriculture, and the national governments, and 34 pages of individual country maps produced by United Nations and the U.S. Department of State.

Europe Today: Reproducible Atlas 1993 edition, 156 pp. The atlas is printed in reproducible black and white, 8 1/2" x 11". Most pages contain size-comparison maps, a blank outline map of the continent or region, tables and graphics depicting the respective continent's or regions size, population, resources, commodities, trade, cities, food and agriculture, health, schools, jobs, energy, industry, and demographic statistics.

Kazimir Malevich: A Box. This set contains a postcard retrospective of 32 images spanning the Soviet artist's entire career; a poster of *The Carpenter*; six color slides of his work; an essay on Malevich's art and its origins; and an edited translation of *On New Systems in Art.* 1990.

Newsweek Maps.

Eastern Europe: Satellites in Orbit. This wall map highlights Warsaw Pact countries that renounced communism during 1989. A time-line presents a history of Eastern Europe's long struggle for independence, and charts and graphs illustrate the economic challenges facing the region.

The Role of the United Nations in a Changing World Order. This map displays the countries of the world with the members of the U.N. Security Council and the 18 current U.N. peacekeeping missions highlighted. Inset maps of Bosnia, Somalia and the Middle East show different stages in the conflicts in each region.

The Second Russian Revolution. The republics of the old Soviet Union are displayed, including the placement of various military installations throughout the country; smaller inset maps indicate the boundaries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1877, 1914, 1921, and 1986. Also included are key facts about each of the 15 republics and a time line with important events in Soviet history from 1918 to 1991.

Poster Series of Leaders of the Soviet Union. This collection consists of seven posters, each depicting one of the leaders of the Soviet Union (from V.I. Lenin to Mikhail Gorbachev), dates of birth and death, and terms of office.

Russia and the Post-Soviet Republics. Laminated roll-up map of administrative and territorial divisions of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Approximately 40"x26". 1992.

Timeline of Russian History. 20X28 laminated poster. For grades 6-10. A humorous approach to Russian history from 1156 A.D. to the 1990's. Lesson plans include breaking into groups of four and creating a memorable board game about Russian history.

Ukraine. Laminated roll-up map in Ukrainian. Approximately 20"x30". 1992.

100 Photos. Series of 8"x 10" photographs of the Soviet Union with accompanying text (1978)

BOOKS AND CLASSROOM KITS

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEVEL

Bay Area Global Education Program Theme Guide to K-12 Curricular Resources, Activities,and Processes. Three topics: Understanding Our Cultural Diversity (1983), World Cultures (1984), and World Literature (1983).

Cheese and Honey: Folk Tale Selections From the Slavic Center. Four Slavic folk tales including Chukchi, Latvian, Polish and Czech tales. Published by the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, 1992, 28 pp.

Children's Books. This is a set of over twenty children's books and readers in the Russian language from the Soviet Union. Titles include **Volshebnoe slovo (The Magic Word)** and **Zhavoronok (Skylark)**. Please specify number of books wanted; we will provide an assortment.

Gde Nakhodiatsia Dikie Zveri. (Where The Wild Things Are). This favorite children's book has been translated into Russian for a slightly different flavor

Our Connections to Europe. A teaching unit for 5th or 6th grades, by Myriam Revel-Wood. A unit devoted to American grass-roots connections to Europe. Comes with a collection of maps, activities, and teaching lessons.

Russian National Sayings and Tongue-Twisters. Sixteen reproducible drawings with Russian tongue-twisters (in Russian with English translations on the first page). Suitable for elementary school children for coloring.

The Soviet Union. Good Apple, 1991, 60pp. Updated to reflect the breakup of the former USSR, this reproducible activity book is designed to acquaint students with the 15 constituent republics of that once powerful nation and their varied historical, geographic, and cultural backgrounds. Additional activities introduce students to holidays, the traditional foods of each republic, the buying power of the ruble, and the history and significance of Faberge eggs. Grades 4-8.

HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL

Activities for Teaching Russian and Soviet Studies in the High School. Edited by Robert A. Cole and Janet G. Vaillant, Social Science Education Consortium, Boulder, CO, 1990. An educational unit based primarily on literary and historical aspects of Russia and the Soviet Union. Uses excerpts from Russian and Soviet literary masters and information on Russian and Soviet history, society and culture as the bases for discussions.

After the Cold War: The U.S. Role in Europe's Transition involves students in considering how the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union affect U.S. interests in Europe. The unit reviews European history since 1914, placing special emphasis on developments in Eastern Europe. By Choices for the 21st Century, October 1993, 103 pp.

Arab World Almanac 1993 by Amideast. Includes lesson on "Central Asia, Past and Present." 1993, 85 pp.

Atlas of Russian History, by Martin Gilbert. In this unusual volume, 161 detailed black-and-white maps bring key events spanning more than 2000 years in Russian history into sharp focus. Each map is accompanied by a short but insightful paragraph of important historical background and interpretation. Grades 9 and up. Oxford, 1993, 196 pp.

CASID Reports. Outreach materials from the Center for Advanced Study of International Development at Michigan State University. Topics include economic development, development assistance, international travel, cultural pluralism, and migration. 1992-93.

Changes in the Former Soviet Union: Debating U.S. Aid puts students in a position to judge the role of U.S. aid in shaping the future of the FSU. The unit assesses economic and political reforms in the region, and surveys the economic chaos and ethnic conflicts that threaten to undermine the reform process and feed global instability. By Choices for the 21st Century, April 1993, 55 pp.

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era reproducible unit for grades 9-12 draws students into the debate on Russia's identity. Instead of looking from a U.S. perspective, this unit asks students to see the world through Russian eyes and to contemplate Russian choices in the areas of economic development, political organization, and foreign policy. By Choices for the 21st Century, January 1994, 43 pp.

The CIS—Eleven States, A Hundred Nations: Understanding Global Issues. A colorful, informative poster supported by a 12-page booklet full of incisive analysis summarizes the challenges facing the unstable nations born in the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The poster maps the 11 nations and 38 autonomous republics, regions, and areas; locates crisis flashpoints in the Caucasus; diagrams economic and ethnic information; and indicates new regional spheres of influence. Grades 9-12, 32"x46", 1992.

The Collapse of Communism. Edited by Bernard Gwertzman and Michael T. Kaufman. An anthology of reports on the revolutionary events of 1989 in the Communist world as recorded by correspondents of the New York Times. Unprecedented Soviet elections began an accelerating process of unforeseeable change: Tiananmen Square, Solidarity prime minister, the breach of the Berlin Wall, and the rapid "reverse domino" collapse of hard-line regimes throughout the Eastern bloc. 1990.

Collapse of a Multinational State: The Case of Yugoslavia. Published by SPICE, this unit, designed for world history and contemporary issues courses, explores the concept of nationalism within a European context by examining the dynamics of nationalistic sentiments in the former Yugoslavia. A reader's theater, mapping exercises and primary source materials will help students gain a better understanding of the concept of nationalism and the dynamics occuring within the former Yugoslavia.

The Collective Legacy: A Teachers' Resource and Activity Guide to Past and Present Issues in Central and Eastern Europe. Developed by Adrian Chan, 1992. This mini-unit covers selected moments in Central and Eastern Europe's last 40 years. Intended to provide historical, political, social, economic, and geographic contexts for the study of Central and Eastern Europe, this guide consists of lesson plans, handouts, activity suggestions, and various other resources.

Communism: Its Rise and Fall in the 20th Century. From the pages of the Christian Science Monitor, edited by Richard E. Ralston. A book covering the history of communism in the Soviet Union and to a lesser extent in Eastern Europe and the world at large. Complete with pictures from the Monitor's own photographers and color reporting by the Monitor's on-the-scene reporters.

Current Events Update, Spring 1993. Published by Macmillan/McGraw-Hill, this update contains articles on the Bosnian Civil War, Reform in Russia and the Czech-Slovak Split.

A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union. Collins Publishers, 1987. Based on the photo album "A Day in the Life of America," this is a photo album of life in the Soviet Union as photographed by 100 of the world's leading photojournalists on 15 May 1987.

Development of European Culture: A Topical Approach. By Ruth Hagen Mowry and Gary R. VanCour, J. Weston Walch, Publisher, 1989. This instructional guide presents a thematic approach to Western civilization by examining political systems, economic systems, major Western values, revolutions (including the Russian revolution), and the twentieth century. Includes reproducible materials.

Eastern Europe and the USSR: The Challenge of Freedom. By Giles Merritt, European Communities, 1991. Written with the co-operation and support of the European Commission, the book sets out to identify the key policy areas where a new partnership is being forged between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe, and offers a privileged insight into the current thinking of European Community officials, politicians, and industrial leaders.

Eastern Europe: A Resource Guide for Teachers. A brief guide to resource materials on East European topics. Divided by individual countries and common topics, this guide provides a useful bibliography and list of available audio-visual materials and of East European outreach centers around the USA.

Free to Choose: A Teacher's Guide to Revolution and Reform in Eastern Europe. Developed by Adrian Chan for SPICE, 30 pp. This resource guide for grades 9-12 combines resource materials and activity suggestions on Eastern Europe on topics and themes of interest to the senior high teacher and student. These activities on post-war Eastern Europe are for use in senior high social studies classrooms and are appropriate for economics as well as world history and US history courses.

From Nyet to Da: Understanding the Russians. By Yale Richmond, Intercultural Press, 1992. This book includes a basic overview of the Russian psyche including sections on geography and culture, culture and character, state and society, personal encounters, and negotiations.

The Glasnost Reader. Edited and compiled by Jonathan Elsen. What does the Soviet citizenry think of the recent changes under perestroika and glasnost? This book contains the writings of Soviet citizens ranging from the person behind the wheel of a combine in the Ukraine to dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Roy Medvedev. For advanced high school students. 1990.

Global Issues for the '90s. By Heidi Hursh and Jonathan Fore, The Center for Teaching International Relations, University of Denver, Social Science Education Consortium, 1993, 149 pp. Composed of ten chapters including The Cold War, Post-Cold War Issues, World Trade, The Global Environment, and Food and Development. Includes handouts.

Global Studies: Russia, the Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe. Written and edited by Dr. Minton F. Goldman, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1994. Composed of maps, country reports, and articles from the world press, this study guide examines various topics including history, politics, boundary problems, economics, religion, and the environment.

Global Studies: Commonwealth of Independent States and Central/Eastern Europe. Written and edited by Dr. Minton F. Goldman, The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1992.

Great Decisions 1990. Put out by the Foreign Policy Association, this publication discusses major issues of contemporary foreign policy.

Great Decisions 1991.

Great Decisions 1991 Activity Book.

Great Decisions 1992. Includes *Breakup of the Soviet Union: U.S. Dilemmas.*

Guide to Teaching Post Soviet Eurasia. Published by Rand McNally, this document includes recent information, teaching suggestions, and an outline map of Post-Soviet Eurasia for use in the classroom. May be duplicated.

Handbook on Teaching Social Issues ed. by Ronald W. Evans and David Warren Saxe, published by National Council for the Social Studies, 1996. This book seeks to offer a definition of issues-centered education that is broad and inclusive enough to be helpful for a diverse group of educational professionals and concerned citizens. The main intent of issues-centered education is to encourage students to actively participate in the improvement of society instead of stressing the recall of information. Rather than focusing on the memorization of facts presented, this approach measures success by the degree to which student performance reflects intellectual capacity to address public issues. Issues addressed in the book are: definition and rationale, reflective teaching strategies, cultural diversity, historical topics and themes, geography, global studies and the environment, social sciences, an issues-centered curriculum, teacher education and supervision, future-oriented issue-centered education, materials and resources.

In Harm's Way: When should we risk American Lives in World Conflict? Study program. Includes four sessions on uses of military force, responses to putting American lives in harm's way, current case studies (Somalia, Haiti, Korean peninsula, Bosnia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Baltics), and who is responsible for dealing with global conflicts. 1994, 40 pp.

Land of the Firebird. By Suzanne Massie, Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1980. This volume presents the history of the culture of pre-Revolutionary Russia, focusing on art and architecture, literature, music, and the legendary stories of the rulers who shaped this culture.

Lessons From History: Essential Understandings and Historical Perspectives Students Should Acquire by the National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA. This volume by the center's historians, curriculum leaders and classroom teachers examines the case for history in the schools; identifies the great themes and "habits of the mind" that unify the study of history, grades K-12; and sets forth the essential understandings and historical perspectives in U.S. and world history that students should have the opportunity to acquire by graduation from high school. Organized chronologically by major eras in U.S. and world history, this volume provides an important resource for teachers' use in lesson planning as well as an indispensable resource for curriculum planning, standards setting, and assessment in history at local, state, and national levels. 1993, 314 pp.

A Map History of Russia. By Brian Catchpole, 1974, 122 pp. This book aims to tell the history of the Russian people by means of maps and diagrams related directly to the text. Each self-contained page of narrative faces illustrations and source material designed to contribute to the understanding and further study of a specific topic.

National Geographic

March 1990 issue devoted to the Soviet Union. Includes stories on "Siberia: In from the Cold" and "Last Days of the Gulag?"

August 1990 issue with cover story on "Yugoslavia: A House Much Divided."

November 1990 issue with cover story on "The Baltic Nations: Estonia, Lativia and Lithuania Struggle Toward Independence."

March 1993 issue with cover story on "A Broken Empire" including story on Russia, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. With fold out map of "Communism to Capitalism: the Economic Evolution of the Former Soviet Union" and "Russia and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union." Also large map of Russia and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union.

Nationalism and Identity in a European Context is a curriculum unit for world history classes that explores the concept of nationalism in a European context. Students will use primary source materials to learn about expressions of nationalism in recent years as well as its historical development. This unit uses interactive, cooperative learning strategies such as a simulation on identity, a political cartoon analysis, and a readers' theater introducing students to various ethnic conflicts and national sentiments. From Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), 135 pp., cassette of Boris Gudonov, grades 9 - adult.

Nationalism: Opposing Viewpoints. By Bruno Leone, Greenhaven Press, 1986. Part of the **ISMS SERIES**, this book introduces students to the development and influence of nationalism on modern European and world civilizations. Includes diverse materials taken from newspapers, magazines, journals, and books, as well as statements and positions papers from individuals, organizations, and governments.

The Newly Independent States of Eurasia: Handbook of Former Soviet Republics. By Stephen K. Baltalden & Sandra L. Bataldan. 2nd. ed. (1997). This text provides concise information about the distinct histories and cultures as well as the enduring Soviet legacies of the countries of the former Soviet Union. The book is divided into four parts: Part One for the Russian Federation, Part Two for the non-Russian republics in Europe, Part Three for Transcaucasia, and Part Four for Central Asia. Each portion is introduced by a narrative section, a list of suggestions for additional reading, and a map of the region. A statistical profile of the featured republic is also offered, which highlights major demographic, governmental, educational, socioeconomic and physical data.

Newsweek Focus Units. (Available individually or as a complete set).

THE MIDDLE EAST: TUG OF WAR. Composed of four visuals for overhead projection or reproduction, thirteen reproducible readings, and a teacher's guide with lesson plans, this study guide discusses the Arab-Israeli conflict through an historical survey of the roots of the conflict, portraits of the people and leaders involved, and an examination of the role played by the United States.

REALIGNING EASTERN EUROPE. Accompanied by 17 reproducible readings, three visuals, and a teacher's guide with instructional modules, this study guide examines how the history of Eastern Europe, especially current activity, might help explain factors leading to the recent realignment.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM. This study guide explains the emergence and spread of Islam, the characteristics of the prophet and the holy book, and major divisions within the religion, as well as the evolution of the Islamic world and its relationship to the Western world.

1992: EUROPE UNITES. This instructional guide discusses the European Community, past and present, and examines its implications, possible results, and relations with the rest of the world.

Newsweek NewsSource Russia: From Revolution to Revolution by Phyllis Hersh Keaton. A teacher's guide and classroom kit for grades 7 to 12. It is designed to help students understand the causes of the Russian revolutions of 1917 and 1991, evaluate the effects of each revolution on the contemporary international scene, and analyze the problems besetting the new Commonwealth. It includes nine readings, four visuals illustrating points of comparison, and learning activities. 28 pp., 1992.

Odessa. This delightful picture-book takes readers on a fascinating tour through the Black Sea town of Odessa. In Ukrainian, Russian, and English.

Origins of the Cold War by the National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA. Students analyze the cultural, political, historical, military, and economic factors contributing to the Cold War as well as its effects. Documents include U.S. Senate Committee findings, Henry L. Stimson's appeal for atomic talks with Russia, George F. Kennan's "Long Telegram," Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, Henry Wallace's questioning of the "Get Tough" policies, the Soviet Union's U.N. delegate's attack on U.S. policy, and the "Truman Doctrine" of 1947. Grades 10-12, 60 pp., 1993.

The Penguin Historical Atlas of Russia by John Channon and Robert Hudson, published by the Penguin Group, 1995. 144 pp. This atlas follows the fortunes of what is yet the world's largest land-based empire, from Kievan Rus to Yeltsin's Russia. It takes in the rise of Muscovy, the creation of the new capital of St. Petersburg, territorial expansion under Catherine the Great, the ordeal of 1812, the exploration of the "Wild East", the liberation of the serfs and the revolution of 1917. Includes over 60 full colour maps, over 80 illustrations in colour and black and white and other special features and time lines.

People and Power: Russia 1914-1941. Standard Grade History by David Armstrong, junior high level, 80 pp., 1993. This book examines the Russian revolutions of 1917 and the turbulent years that followed through the motives and personalities not only of the Tsar and the revolutionary leaders, but also of many of the ordinary people whose lives were affected by this period of upheaval. The text is supplemented by an engaging range of source material, and exercises including role play and group work are designed to provide a variety of learning experiences.

The Role of the United States in a Changing World. This unit is designed to lead students to consider seriously our country's role in the world. At the core of this unit is a framework of choices for U.S. foreign policy. These choices, or Futures, should be thought of as a vehicle for guiding students through the process involved in developing a reasoned opinion on the U.S. role in our changing world. By Choices for the 21st Century, 1991, 20 pp., with reproducible worksheets.

Russia: Teacher's Guide. By Marilyn Chase, 1974. This guide contains 12 prepared full-color transparencies and 12 duplicating masters for either testing or additional student exercises. The transparencies cover topics such as the roots of Russian civilization, the legacy of Peter the Great, Russian expansion in the 19th century and Russian Art.

Russia: 1917-1945. By Nigel Kelly. This workbook contains sixteen photocopiable complete coursework-type exercises on the topic of Russian history from 1917-45. It has ideal coverage of the topic for modern world history syllabi.

Russia and the Commonwealth: Regional Studies Series. This 1993 textbook includes maps, graphs, chronologies, and end-of-chapter questions to help students understand the complex history and political tradition of Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Russia in Revolution. By Graham Bearman and Peter Lee, 1975. Contains 24 reproducible lessons on topics ranging from Russia at the turn of the century, the February Revolution, the economy from 1918-1924, and various aspects of the October Revolution.

Russia/Soviet Union: A Guide to Print Materials for Teachers. Compiled and edited by Elizabeth Talbot and Janet G. Vaillant. An easy to use guide to book reviews, background readings, reference books, Russian and Soviet literature, maps and atlases, articles, and sources of additional information. Includes book reviews on listed sources.

The Russian Federation: A Nation in Transition, (RUS) 1995, 22 mins. Produced by New Leaf Media. This video-based program is designed to acquaint students in grades 9-12 with life in the "New Russia." The program introduces the Russian Federation and its largest neighbor, Ukraine, through the eyes of four teenagers from Moscow, Kiev and St. Petersburg. Topics include: geography and weather, food, housing, family life, entertainment, school, the variety of people, politics, economics, friendships and an uncertain future. Also comes with a teacher's guide.

Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy. Reproducible unit that allows students and teachers to step back from the day-to-day turmoil in Russia to consider the issues that most deeply affect Americans. At the core of the unit are four distinct options for U.S. policy. Each option contains a different perspective on the threats and opportunities presented by conditions in Russia. Produced by Choices for the 21st Century, 1994. Includes 46 pp. unit and 25 pp. Teacher's Resource Book.

Socialism: Opposing Viewpoints. By Bruno Leone, Greenhaven Press, 1986. Part of the **ISMS SERIES**, this book introduces students to the development and influence of Socialism on modern European and world civilizations. Includes diverse materials taken from newspapers, magazines, journals, and books, as well as statements and position papers from individuals, organizations, and governments.

Soviet-American Relations: Cold War to New Thinking. Designed for grades 9-12, this workbook presents the ideological, political and military policy of the US and USSR during the Cold War. This workbook introduces students to many Cold War issues, such as nuclear buildup, national and international security, arms control and detente. The book concludes with a section examining the foundations of Soviet-American relations in light of the developments of the late 1980s.

Soviet Successor States: A Teachers Guide and Resource. Materials prepared by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies for Grades 9 - 12. This guide includes suggested activities, handouts, readings and audio-video materials. It is current through 1992.

The Soviet Threat: Myth or Reality? This tabloid includes editorial opinions and cartoons that present counterpoints and ideas in conflict on the question of the Soviet threat to the United States. Offers analysis and commentary from the political left and right. Study guides focus on recognizing an author's point of view and interpreting editorial cartoons.

The Soviet Successor States and Eastern Europe: A Teacher's Guide. This guide provides K-12 teachers and preservice teachers with basic material on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including geography, education, lifestyle, government, religion, history chronologies, maps, statistics, and suggestions for classroom exercises and research projects. It is designed to permit teachers to incorporate Soviet or East European information into the daily curriculum or through special units and projects devoted to the world area. Indiana University Russian & East European Institute, April 1993.

The Soviet Union Today. Published by the National Geographic Society. A 270-page book full of glossy photos and edifying descriptions as only National Geographic can produce. The book is divided geographically by the different regions of the Soviet Union, with pictures and articles about each area. This is a companion guide to the video series **Discover Russia.**

The Struggle for Peace in Bosnia: Considering U.S. Options. Created by the Brown University Center for Foreign Policy Development, this Choices for the 21st Century curriculum unit consists of four divergent options for the U.S. towards the Bosnia conflict, a brief account of Yugoslavia's history, and an introduction to events of the 20th century contributing to the current situation.

Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics. A collection of opposing views on a variety of issues from the future of the New Europe and the Soviet Union's role in the New Europe to problems of economics and the global system and environment. Also included is an instructor's manual.

Teacher Study Kit on Bosnia. Created by Olga M. Bonfiglio for the Center for the Advanced Study of International Development at Michigan State University. This kit is designed to enhance teachers' knowledge on the topic so that they may help students understand issues and problems. The kit includes articles from American newspapers (which tend to be pro-Bosnian Muslim) and those distributed by the Serbian-American Affairs Office in Washington (which present the Serbian point of view). Also included is a map, a short history of the area, a synopsis of the situation in Bosnia as of May 1993, and two human interest stories about how the war is affecting the people. Duplication is permitted.

Teaching About Rapid Change in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Materials from the Indiana Consortium for International Programs Teaching Strategies Conference April 1990. Includes article by Alfred Bloch "The New Europe Begins to Take Shape: Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany" and policy statement from Secretary Baker "From Revolution to Democracy: Central and Eastern Europe in the New Europe."

Teaching About the Former Soviet Union: History, Language, Culture, Art. By Patricia Winpenny, Louise Cadwell, and Katherine Weeks Cadwell. This unique activity book introduces students to the geographic, demographic, and cultural diversity of the land known until 1992 as the Soviet Union. Suggested teaching activities include an introduction, objectives, suggested grade levels, time frames, materials, procedures, follow-up, and reproducible student handouts. Includes a set of twenty slides and an audiocassette with Russian music and elementary language lessons. Grades 4-9. Center for Teaching International Relations, 200pp., 1994.

Western Europe: A Resource Guide to Teachers. This SPICE publication presents a guide to resource materials in the field of Western Europe, with an emphasis on Western European integration and German reunification.

Whither the "New World Order" in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union? This collection of articles and guide to resources comes from the March 12, 1993 University of Michigan Center for Russian and East European Studies Seminar for Teachers.

COLLEGE LEVEL

The ACCESS Issue Packet on Bosnia-Herzegovina Approx. 100 pp., March 1996. A desktop reference guide to the situation in the Balkans. Explains the root causes of the conflict, provides information on the major players, and summarizes international attempts to resolve the conflict. Contains excerpts from official documents, including the Dayton Peace Accord, biographies, maps, information on the Implementation Force (IFOR), on-line sources of information, and a survey of non-governmental organizations working on this region.

The ACCESS Guide to Ethnic Conflicts in Europe and the Soviet Union. Desk top reference includes profiles of conflict in Europe (Basques, Cyprus, Northern Ireland), Former Yugoslavia, Former Soviet Union (Abkhazia, Baltics, Crimea, Dniester, Nagorno-Karabakh, North and South Ossetia), and Transnational Conflicts (Anti-semitism, gypsies, xenophobia). Also includes documents, maps, suggested readings, and a guide to contacts for further information. 1994, 165 pp.

Cultural Atlas of Russia and the Soviet Union. Illustrated with over 200 maps and photographs, this insightful volume surveys Russian civilization from prehistory to the present day. By interrelating geography, history, archaeology, anthropology, and the arts, this collection covers key aspects of Russian culture, including the crucial role of geography in shaping Russian history and the powerful influence of politics. 1989.

Czechoslovakia: A Selection of Teaching Materials. Education for Democracy Project: AFL-CIO AFT, Spring 1990. A packet of teaching materials with information about Czechoslovakia, with special emphasis on the events of the last 40 years and those of the 1980s that led to the Velvet Revolution of 1989. Comes with maps, interviews with intellectuals, dissidents, and political leaders, and useful and concise timelines.

From Glasnost to Freedom of Speech: Russian Openness and International Relations, by David Wedgwood Benn, 1992, 90 pp. A detailed look at glasnost's role in the collapse of communism and its continuing impact on the post-Soviet states and the West.

Geographic and Global Issues Quarterly. Spring 1994, vol. 4, no. 1. Published by the U.S. Department of State, this issue contains a special map insert of the Caucasus region.

The Inner Circle: An Inside View of Soviet Life Under Stalin by Andrei Konchalovsky and Alexander Lipkov, 1991. Companion to the Columbia Pictures feature film about the man who was Stalin's personal movie projectionist from 1935 to 1953.

Moi Krai, Zadumchivyi i Nezhnyi. A collection of Esenin's poems are highlighted against beautiful pictures of the Russian countryside. In Russian.

Peizazhi Podmoskov'ia. Moskovskii Rabochii, 1983. In Russian. This picture book explores the beauty of nature around Moscow. Scenes of streams, forests, flowers,and wildlife are accompanied by poetry.

Report on Eastern Europe. Toward Democracy in Eastern Europe. A publication of RFE/RL Research Institute devoted to coverage of the first free elections to take place in East European countries in 45 years.

Report on Eastern Europe. 1989: A Year of Upheaval.A publication of RFE/RL Research Institute concerning the sweeping changes which occurred in Eastern Europe in 1989.

Report on Eastern Europe. 1990: Democracy in Year One. A publication of RFE/RL Research Institute. An look back over the first year in power of democratically elected regimes in East European countries and the problems facing these new democracies.

The Soviet Union. Revised Fourth Edition. Vadim Medish, Prentice Hall 1991. This new edition includes sections on Stagnation, Perestroika, Glasnost, Party Reform, Economic Reforms, Gorbachev's Quest, Cultural Revolution, Transition, Gorbachev's New Thinking, and USA -USSR Confrontation. College level.

The Traveler's Yellow Pages and Handbook for Saint Petersburg. 1994 edition. A must for travelers to St. Petersburg on business and pleasure, this guide contains more than 4000 phone and fax numbers and addresses to selected shops, hotels, restaurants, galleries, museums, tour guides, churches, pharmacies, food markets, department stores, auto services, and more than 400 other categories. Also included is practical information such as transportation, postal rates, sizes, holidays, customs, and a Metro map.

Witty World. International Cartoon Magazine. Winter/Spring 1991. This issue is devoted to the portrayal of communism and the death of communism in political cartoons.

LANGUAGE LEARNING

Books and Teaching Materials

Davai. Russian language periodical includes brief articles and Western cartoons translated into Russian. Suitable for elementary-intermediate language classes.

Russian Face to Face Workbook A level one Russian language workbook published in cooperation with the American Council of Teachers of Russian. 150pp., 1993.

RussianAlive! An Introduction to Russian. By Samuel D. Cioran, 1992, 400 pp. Complete workbook and exercises for beginning Russian through comparatives, conjunctions and the subjunctive. Includes grammar table and dictionaries.

The Russian's World: Life and Language. By Genevra Gerhart, 1974, 256 pp. Written for travelers, students and instructors, this book explains how the Russian world differs from ours, including the world of nature and objects and language.

Teach Me Russian and Teach Me Russsian Guide By Judy Mahoney, 1991, 18 pp. Workbook and cassette tape. Introduction to Russian language and culture for elementary school children. Uses familiar children's songs and pictures for coloring. Also **Teach Me More Russian** ordered for fall 1996.

Video Materials

BUSINESS IN RUSSIA, (BUS) 1994, 42 min. Russian with no subtitles (third-year college Russian level). University of

Kentucky Language Labs production features the adventures of Kevin and Katie, two young Americans who have decided to do business in the new Russia. Shot on location in Vladimir, Russia.

THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE, (RUS) 1993, 90 min. videotape, audio tape soundtrack of the film, and book. This intensive video course was produced by top Russian linguists in collaboration with the Documentary Film Studio in St. Petersburg. The dramatic length video immerses you in those situations you are most likely to encounter when you first step on Russian soil through the experiences of a fictional American businessman, Ibiscus Green. Includes speaking, reading, writing, and grammar.

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE, (RUS), 1983, 5 tapes, twenty 25-minute programs, Levels 1-20. Meets the needs of the beginner by combining an introduction to the language with a fascinating journey into Russian daily life. Documentary footage of Moscow and Leningrad, Soviet films and television programs, and a dramatic serial filmed in the U.S.S.R. emphasize understanding Russian, both written and spoken forms. Learning the Russian alphabet becomes easy through visuals of common words. Each program presents key language structures in everyday situations as it explores the lives and culture of the Russian people.

CD-ROM MATERIALS

Transparent Languages: Russian Now! Russian language instruction package includes several titles: "Gooseberries/Крыжовник," 32 min., 3275 words; "A Conversation Title - A Trip to Moscow," 50 min., 4640 words; "Chechnya: the Fight for Freedom," 23 min., 2606 words; "Beginner's Prose and Poetry" and "Side Streets of the World: Odessa, Ukraine." Grammar/vocabulary at about 3rd or 4th-year level. No pictures to accompany stories, but has games to learn grammar and word order, and possibility to turn on sound and hear native speaker pronounce each word or entire text.

The Hermitage Developed in close cooperation with the staff of the Hermitage, this series offers a look both at the collection and the fascinating history of one of the world's premier museums. The series has three parts: "An Introduction" gives an overview of the museum's six departments; "The Winter Palace" tours the magnificent structure which served as the center of the Russian Empire for more than 150 years; and "Treasures of the Tsars" examines the stunning royal jewelry collection. Includes an online text (can be viewed in either English or Russian) that covers the history of Tsarist Russia, a comprehensive glossary, maps, and architectural overviews (1994).

The Russian Revolution Provides an overview of the causes, events, and aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Learn about Russia's political [illegible] economic saga from its early history of Mongol invasions to the increasing regimentation of the people by the state under Peter the Great. Discover the wretched conditions that led workers and peasants to revolt, the tensions in Russian society, the attractions of Marxism, and the main events of the revolution and its aftermath. Can be viewed as a presentation with quizzes to follow each section, or interactively with queries. World History CD-ROM series at advanced high school or undergraduate level. 34 min.

The Constitution of the Czech Republic

Preamble

We, the citizens of the Czech Republic in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, at the time of the renewal of an independent Czech state, being loyal to all good traditions of the ancient statehood of Czech Crown's Lands and the Czechoslovak State, resolved to build, protect and develop the Czech Republic in the spirit of the inviolable values of human dignity and freedom, as the home of equal and free citizens who are conscious of their duties towards others and their responsibility towards the whole, as a free and democratic state based on the respect for human rights and the principles of civic society, as part of the family of European and world democracies, resolved to jointly protect and develop the inherited natural and cultural, material and spiritual wealth, resolved to abide by all time-tried principles of a law-observing state, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution of the Czech Republic.

CHAPTER I [Basic Provisions]

Article 1 [State]

The Czech Republic is a sovereign, unified, and democratic law-observing state, based on the respect for the rights and freedoms of the individual and citizen.

Article 2 [Power]

(1) All state power derives from the people; they exercise this power by means of their legislative, executive, and judicial bodies.

(2) A constitutional law may stipulate the cases when the people exercise state power directly.

(3) The state power serves all citizens and can be exercised only in cases and within the scope stipulated by law, and by means specified by law.

(4) Every citizen may do whatever is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do what the law does not enjoin.

Article 3 [Constitutional Order]

Part of the constitutional order of the Czech Republic is the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms.

Article 4 [Judiciary's Protection]

The fundamental rights and freedoms enjoy the protection of the Judiciary.

Article 5 [Political System]

The political system is based on the free and voluntary foundation and free competition of political parties respecting fundamental democratic principles and rejecting force as a means for asserting their interests.

Article 6 [Majority Rule]

Political decisions shall derive from the will of the majority expressed through free voting. Minorities shall be protected by the majority in decision-making.

Article 7 [Natural Resources]

The state shall see to it that natural resources are used economically and natural wealth is protected.

Article 8 [Autonomy]

The autonomy of units of territorial self-administration shall be guaranteed.

Article 9 [Constitutional Laws]

(1) The Constitution may be amended or altered solely by constitutional laws.

(2) Any change of fundamental attributes of the democratic law-observing state is inadmissible.

(3) Legal norms cannot be interpreted as warranting the removal or threatening of the foundations of the democratic state.

Article 10 [Human Rights Treaties]

Ratified and promulgated international accords on human rights and fundamental freedoms, to which the Czech Republic has committed itself, are immediately binding and are superior to law.

Article 11 [Territory]

The territory of the Czech Republic encompasses an indivisible whole whose state border may be altered exclusively by constitutional laws.

Article 12 [Citizenship]

(1) Procedures binding for the acquisition and loss of Czech citizenship are stipulated by law.

(2) No one can be stripped of his or her citizenship against his or her will.

Article 13 [Capital]

The capital of the Czech Republic is Prague.

Article 14 [State Symbols]

(1) The State Symbols of the Czech Republic are the Large and Small State Emblems, the State Colors, the State Flag, the Banner of the President of the Republic, the State Seal, and the State Anthem.

(2) The state symbols and their use are determined by law.

CHAPTER II [Legislative Power]

Part 1 [Establishment]

Article 15 [Parliament]

(1) Legislative power in the Czech Republic shall be vested in Parliament.

(2) Parliament is composed of two Chambers, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Article 16 [Chambers]

(1) The Chamber of Deputies has 200 deputies, elected for a term of four years.

(2) The Senate has 81 Senators, elected for a term of six years. One third of the Senators is elected every second year.

Article 17 [Elections]

(1) Elections to both Chambers shall be held in a period of time starting the thirtieth day before the expiration of the electoral term and ending on the day of its expiration.

(2) If the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, elections shall take place within sixty days of its dissolution.

Article 18 [Suffrage]

(1) Elections to the Chamber of Deputies shall be held on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot, according to the principles of proportional representation.

(2) Elections to the Senate shall take place on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot, on the basis of the majority system.

(3) Every citizen of the Czech Republic, on reaching the age of 18, has the right to vote.

Article 19 [Eligibility]

(1) Every citizen of the Czech Republic who is eligible to vote and has reached the age of 21 may be elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

(2) Every citizen who is eligible to vote and has reached the age of 40 may be elected to the Senate.

(3) The mandate of a Deputy or a Senator shall be effective upon his or her election.

Article 20 [Conditions]

Additional conditions for the exercise of suffrage, the organization of elections, and the scope of

Article 21 [Chamber Incompatibility]

No one may simultaneously be a member of both Chambers of Parliament.

Article 22 [Incompatibilities]

(1) The exercise of the office of the President of the Republic, the office of judges, and other functions, set forth by law, are incompatible with the post of Deputy or Senator.

(2) A Deputy's or a Senator's mandate expires the day he or she enters upon the office of the President of the Republic, or the day he or she assumes a judgeship or another post incompatible with the post of Deputy or Senator.

Article 23 [Oaths]

(1) A Deputy shall take the oath at the first session of the Chamber of Deputies which he or she attends.

(2) A Senator shall take the oath at the first session of the Senate which he or she attends.

(3) The oath of a Deputy or a Senator is worded as follows:

"I pledge allegiance to the Czech Republic. I pledge to uphold its Constitution and laws. I pledge on my honor to exercise my mandate in the interest of the people and in accordance with my best conviction and conscience."

Article 24 [Resignation]

A Deputy or a Senator may surrender his or her mandate by a declaration made personally at a session of the Chamber of which he or she is a member. If he or she is prevented from doing so by serious circumstances, he or she may do so by a method set forth by law.

Article 25 [Expiration]

A Deputy's or a Senator's mandate expires upon

a) refusing to take the oath or taking the oath with reservations,

b) the expiration of the term of office,

c) the resignation,

d) the loss of eligibility,

e) the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, in the case of deputies

f) the incompatibility of the functions specified in Article 22.

Part 2 **[Organization]**

Article 26 [Independence]

Deputies and Senators shall exercise their mandates personally in accordance with their oath and shall not be bound by any directions.

Article 27 [Indemnity, Immunity]

(1) A Deputy or a Senator may not be prosecuted for voting in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate or their bodies.

(2) A Deputy or a Senator may not be prosecuted for statements made in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate or their bodies. A Deputy or a Senator is only accountable to the disciplinary authority of the Chamber of which he or she is a member.

(3) A Deputy or a Senator shall be accountable for his or her misdemeanor only to the disciplinary authority of the Chamber of which he or she is a member, unless determined otherwise by law.

(4) A Deputy or a Senator may not be criminally prosecuted without consent of the Chamber of which he or she is a member. If the respective Chamber declines its consent, criminal proceedings are rendered impossible forever.

(5) A Deputy or a Senator may be taken into custody only if caught while committing a criminal offense or immediately thereafter. The responsible body is obliged to immediately notify of the detention the Chairman of the Chamber of which the detainee is a member; if the Chamber's Chairman fails to give his or her consent to handing the detainee over to court within 24 hours of the detention, the responsible body is obliged to set him or her free. The Chamber shall decide with final authority about the admissibility of the prosecution at its first following session.

Article 28 [Secrecy]

A Deputy or a Senator is entitled to withhold testimony about matters of which he or she learned in connection with the exercise of his or her mandate, even after he or she ceased to be a Deputy or a Senator.

Article 29 [Chairmen]

(1) The Chamber of Deputies elects and dismisses the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies.

(2) The Senate elects and dismisses the Chairman and Vice Chairmen of the Senate.

Article 30 [Investigatory Commission]

(1) The Chamber of Deputies may set up an investigatory commission for the investigation of an affair of public interest if this is suggested by at last one fifth of deputies.

(2) Proceedings before the commission shall be determined by law.

Article 31 [Committees]

(1) The Chambers establish committees and commissions as their bodies.

(2) The activities of committees and commissions shall be determined by law.

Article 32 [Governmental Incompatibility]

A Deputy or a Senator who is a member of the Government may not be the Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate, or a member of Parliamentary committees, investigatory commission, or commissions.

Part 3 [Procedures]

Article 33 [Legislation]

(1) If the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, the Senate shall be responsible for adopting legislative measures in matters which cannot be postponed and which would otherwise require the adoption of a law.

(2) The Senate, however, cannot adopt legislative measures on matters of the Constitution, the state budget, the state annual account, the election law, and international agreements according to Article 10.

(3) Only the Government may propose legislative measures to the Senate.

(4) The Chairman of the Senate, the President of the Republic and the Premier shall sign legislative measures of the Senate these measures are promulgated like laws.

(5) A legislative measure of the Senate must be approved by the Chamber of Deputies at its first session. If the Chamber of Deputies does not approve it, the measure loses further validity.

Article 34 [Sessions]

(1) The Chambers are continually in session. A session of the Chamber of Deputies is called by the President of the Republic so that it be started no later than the thirtieth day after the election day. If he fails to do so, the Chamber of Deputies shall meet on the thirtieth day after the election day.

(2) A session of a Chamber may be adjourned by resolution. The total period for which a session may be adjourned shall not exceed 120 days in one year.

(3) During the period of adjournment, the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies or of the Senate may convene a session of the respective Chamber before the scheduled date. He shall always do so if requested by the President of the Republic, the Government or at least one fifth of deputies of the respective Chamber.

(4) A session of the Chamber of Deputies ends with the expiration of its election term or with its dissolution.

Article 35 [Dissolution]

(1) The President of the Republic can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies if:

a) the Chamber of Deputies passes a vote of non-confidence in a newly appointed Government whose Premier was appointed by the President of the Republic on the suggestion of the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies,

b) the Chamber of Deputies fails to decide within three months on a Government bill with the discussion of which the Government links the question of confidence,

c) a session of the Chamber of Deputies is adjourned for a longer period than admissible,

d) the Chamber of Deputies has not reached a quorum for a period longer than three months, although its session was not adjourned and although it was repeatedly called to session during this period.

(2) The Chamber of Deputies cannot be dissolved three months before the expiration of its election term.

Article 36 [Publicity]

Sessions of both chambers are open to public. The public can be excluded solely under conditions stipulated by law.

Article 37 [Joint Sessions]

(1) A joint session of both Chambers is called by the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

(2) The proceedings of a joint session of both Chambers are governed by the rules of procedure of the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 38 [Government Attendance]

(1) A member of the Government has the right to attend sessions of both Chambers, their committees, and commissions. He shall be given the floor any time he requests it.

(2) A member of the Government is obliged to attend personally a session of the Chamber of Deputies upon the basis of its resolution. This also applies to a session of a committee, commission, or investigatory commission, where, however, a member of the Government may have himself be represented by his deputy or any other member of the cabinet, if his or her personal presence is not expressly requested.

Article 39 [Quorum, Majorities]

(1) The Chambers constitute a quorum if at least one third of their members are present.

(2) The passage of a resolution of the respective Chamber requires consent of an absolute majority of deputies or Senators present, if not prescribed otherwise by the Constitution.

(3) The passage of a resolution on the declaration of the state of war and a resolution approving the presence of foreign troops on the territory of the Czech Republic requires consent of an absolute majority of all deputies and of all Senators.

(4) The passage of a constitutional law and the approval of an international agreement under Article 10 shall require consent of a three-fifths majority of all deputies and a three-fifths majority of all Senators present.

Article 40 [Election and Procedure Laws]

The passage of an election law and the legislation on the principles of deliberations and contacts between both Chambers as well as external contacts, and the law on the rules of procedure of the Senate shall necessitate its approval by both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Article 41 [Initiative]

(1) Draft laws shall be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies.

(2) A draft law may be submitted by deputies, groups of deputies, the Senate, the Government, and representatives of a higher territorial self-governing entity.

Article 42 [Budget]

(1) A draft law on the state budget and a draft state annual account are presented by the Government.

(2) These draft proposals are discussed and decided on only by the Chamber of Deputies at a public session.

Article 43 [War]

(1) Parliament decides on a declaration of the state of war in the event that the Czech Republic is attacked or if it is necessary to meet international treaty obligations concerning joint defense against aggression.

(2) Armed forces can be sent outside the territory of the Czech Republic only with the consent of both Chambers.

Article 44 [Deliberation]

(1) The Government has the right to comment on all draft laws.

(2) If the Government fails to express its opinion within thirty days of the receipt of a draft law, it is assumed that it has expressed itself positively.

(3) The Government has the right to demand that the Chamber of Deputies complete discussing a Government draft law within three months of its submission, as long as the Government links with it a request for a vote of confidence.

Article 45 [Approval to Senate]

The Chamber of Deputies shall advance a draft law with which it expressed its approval to the Senate without unnecessary delay.

Article 46 [Resolution of Senate]

(1) The Senate shall discuss a draft law and decide upon it within a period of thirty days of its advancement.

(2) With its resolution, the Senate approves the draft law or turns it down, or returns it to the Chamber of Deputies with draft amendments, or expresses its intention not to concern itself with it.

(3) If the Senate fails to express its resolution in a time limit given in Paragraph (1), it is assumed that the draft law was passed.

Article 47 [Rejection by Senate]

(1) If the Senate rejects a draft law, the Chamber of Deputies shall vote on it again. A draft law is passed if it is approved by an absolute majority of all deputies.

(2) If the Senate returns a draft law to the Chamber of Deputies with draft amendments, the Chamber of Deputies shall vote on the wording approved by the Senate. With its resolution, the draft law is passed.

(3) If the Chamber of Deputies fails to pass a draft law in the wording approved by the Senate, it shall vote once again on the version of the draft law advanced to the Senate. A draft law is passed if it is approved by an absolute majority of all deputies.

(4) In discussion of a rejected or returned draft law in the Chamber of Deputies draft amendments are inadmissible.

Article 48 [Inactivity]

If the Senate expresses its intention not to concern itself with a draft law, it is passed with this resolution.

Article 49 [International Accords]

(1) International accords requiring consent from Parliament are passed by Parliament in the same way as draft laws.

(2) Accords on human rights and fundamental freedoms, political agreements, and economic agreements of a general nature, as well as agreements on the implementation of which a law must be passed, require consent from Parliament.

Article 50 [Rejection by President]

(1) The President of the Republic has the right to return an adopted law, except a constitutional law, giving explanation within fifteen days of the day of its advancement.

(2) The Chamber of Deputies shall vote on the rejected law once again. Draft amendments are inadmissible. If the Chamber of Deputies re-approves the returned law by an absolute majority of all deputies, the law is promulgated. Otherwise it is assumed that the law was not passed.

Article 51 [Signatures]

Adopted laws are signed by the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, the President of the Republic, and the Premier.

Article 52 [Promulgation]

A law becomes effective upon its promulgation. The method of promulgation is stipulated by law. The same applies to international treaties approved by Parliament.

Article 53 [Interpellation]

(1) Every Deputy has the right to interpellate the Government or its members in matters falling under their jurisdiction.

(2) Interpellated members of Government shall be obliged to respond to the interpellation within a period of thirty days from the day of its notification.

CHAPTER III [Executive Power]

Part 1 [The President of the Republic]

Article 54 [Head of State]

(1) The President of the Republic is the Head of State.

(2) The President of the Republic is elected by Parliament at a joint session of both Chambers.

(3) The President of the Republic is not accountable for the discharge of his office.

Article 55 [Oath, Term]

The President of the Republic enters upon his office by taking an oath. The term of office of the President of the Republic is five ears and begins on the day of taking the oath.

Article 56 [Election]

The election takes place within the last thirty days of the term of office of the incumbent President of the Republic. If the office of the President of the Republic becomes vacant, the election takes place within thirty days.

Article 57 [Eligibility]

(1) A citizen eligible to the Senate may be elected President of the Republic.

(2) No one can be elected for more than two consecutive terms of office.

Article 58 [Candidates]

(1) No less than ten deputies or ten Senators are entitled to nominate a candidate.

(2) A candidate who received an absolute majority of votes of all deputies and an absolute majority of votes of all Senators is elected President of the Republic.

(3) If no candidate succeeds in receiving an absolute majority of votes of all deputies and of all Senators, the second round of election shall be held within fourteen days.

(4) The candidate with the highest number of votes in the Chamber of Deputies and the candidate with the highest number of votes in the Senate advances to the second round.

(5) If there are more candidates who receive the same highest number of votes in the Chamber of Deputies or if there are more candidates who receive the same highest number of votes in the Senate, votes they received in both Chambers are summed up, and a candidate who in this way receives the highest number of votes advances to the second round.

(6) A candidate who received an absolute majority of votes of deputies present as well as an absolute majority of votes of Senators present is elected.

(7) If a President of the Republic is not elected in the second round, the third round of election takes place within fourteen days, in which that candidate from the second round is elected who receives an absolute majority of votes of deputies and Senators present.

(8) If a President of the Republic is not elected in the third round, new elections take place.

Article 59 [Oath]

(1) The President of the Republic takes the oath before the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies at a joint session of both chambers.

(2) The President's oath has the following wording:"I pledge allegiance to the Czech Republic. I pledge to uphold its Constitution and laws. I pledge on my honor to discharge my office in the interest of the people and in accordance with my best conviction and conscience."

Article 60 [No Reservations]

If the President of the Republic refuses to take the oath or if he takes it with reservations, he is considered not to have been elected.

Article 61 [Resignation]

The President of the Republic may surrender his office into the hands of the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 62 [Functions]

The President of the Republic:

a) appoints and dismisses the Premier and other members of the Government and accepts their resignation, dismisses the Government and accepts its resignation,

b) convenes sessions of the Chamber of Deputies,

c) dissolves the Chamber of Deputies,

d) entrusts the Government whose resignation he has accepted or which he has dismissed with discharging its functions temporarily until a new Government is appointed,

e) appoints judges of the Constitutional Court, its Chairman and Deputy Chairmen,

f) appoints from judges the Chairman and Deputy Chairmen of the Supreme Court,

g) pardons and mitigates penalties imposed by penal courts, orders that criminal proceedings be not opened, and if they have been, orders their discontinuation, and expunges previous sentences,

h) has the right to return to Parliament adopted laws with the exception of constitutional laws,

I) signs laws,

j) appoints the President and Vice President of the Supreme Inspection Office,

k) appoints members of the Bank Council of the Czech National Bank.

Article 63 [Powers]

(1) The President of the Republic further:

a) represents the state in external affairs,

b) negotiates and ratifies international treaties; he may transfer the negotiation of international agreements to the Government or, with its approval, to its individual members,

c) is commander-in-chief of the armed forces

d) receives heads of diplomatic missions,

e) accredits and recalls heads of diplomatic missions,

f) calls elections to the Chamber of Deputies and to the Senate,

g) appoints and promotes generals,

h) confers and awards state distinctions, unless he authorizes another body to do so,

i) appoints judges,

j) has the right to grant amnesty.

(2) The President of the Republic is also entitled to exercise powers which are not expressly specified in the constitutional law, if it is stipulated so by law.

(3) Decisions of the President of the Republic issued in accordance with Paragraphs (1) and (2) require a signature of the Premier, or a member of the Government entrusted by the Premier, to come into effect.

(4) The Government is responsible for decisions of the President of the Republic which require the signature of the Premier or a member of the Government authorized by the Premier.

Article 64 [Attendance]

(1) The President of the Republic has the right to take part in sessions of both Chambers of Parliament, their committees, and commissions. He shall be given the floor any time he requests it.

(2) The President of the Republic has the right to take part in sessions of the Government, request reports from the Government and its members and discuss with the Government or with its members issues falling under their jurisdiction.

Article 65 [Immunity]

(1) The President of the Republic cannot be detained, exposed to criminal prosecution, or prosecuted for a misdemeanor or other administrative offence.

(2) The President of the Republic can be prosecuted for high treason before the Constitutional Court on the basis of an indictment by the Senate. Punishment can be the loss of Presidential office and of the qualification to hold it again.

(3) Criminal prosecution for criminal acts committed while discharging the office of the President of the Republic is rendered impossible forever.

Article 66 [President]

If the office of the President of the Republic becomes vacant and a new President of the Republic is not yet elected or has not yet been sworn in, and also if the President of the Republic is unable to discharge his office for serious reasons and the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate resolves so, the exercise of functions specified in Article 63 (1) a)-e), h), i), and j), and Article 63 (2) falls to the Premier. During the period in which the Premier is discharging the specified functions of the President of the Republic, the exercise of functions of the President of the Republic according to Article 62 Subparagraphs a)-e) and k) falls to the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies; if the office of the President of the Republic becomes vacant at the time when the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, the exercise of these functions falls to the Chairman of the Senate.

Article 67 [Executive Power]

(1) The Government is the supreme body of executive power.

(2) The Government is composed of the Premier, the Deputy Premiers, and the Ministers.

Article 68 [Appointment]

(1) The Government is accountable to the Chamber of Deputies.

(2) The President of the Republic appoints the Premier and, on his suggestion, appoints other members of the Government and entrusts them with managing the ministries or other bodies.

(3) The Government shall appear before the Chamber of Deputies within thirty days of its appointment and request of it a vote of confidence.

(4) If the newly appointed Government fails to obtain the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies, the procedure advances in accordance with Paragraphs (2) and (3). If even the Government, appointed in this way, fails to obtain the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies, the President of the Republic shall appoint the Premier upon the suggestion of the Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

(5) In other cases, the President of the Republic appoints and dismisses, upon the suggestion of the Premier, other members of the cabinet and entrusts them with managing the ministries or other bodies.

Article 69 [Oath]

(1) A member of the Government swears in before the President of the Republic.

(2) The oath of a member of the Government has the following wording:

"I pledge allegiance to the Czech Republic. I pledge to uphold its Constitution and laws and introduce them into life. I pledge on my honor that I will conscientiously hold my office and will not abuse my position."

Article 70 [Incompatibility]

A member of the Government must not pursue activities whose nature is in conflict with the exercise of his function. Details are stipulated by law.

Article 71 [Vote of Confidence]

The Government is entitled to submit to the Chamber of Deputies a request for a vote of confidence.

Article 72 [Confidence Initiative]

(1) The Chamber of Deputies may pass a vote of no confidence in the Government.

(2) The Chamber of Deputies shall discuss a proposal for a vote of no confidence in the Government only if it is submitted in writing by no less than 50 deputies. Passing the proposal requires the consent of an absolute majority of all deputies.

Article 73 [Resignation]

(1) The Premier offers his resignation to the President of the Republic. Other members of the Government offer their resignations to the President of the Republic through the Premier.

(2) The Government shall offer its resignation if the Chamber of Deputies rejects its request for a vote of confidence or if it passes a vote of no confidence in it. The Government shall always offer its resignation after the constituent session of a newly elected Chamber of Deputies.

(3) If the Government offers its resignation according to Paragraph (2), the President of the Republic shall accept it.

Article 74 [Dismissal of Ministers]

The President of the Republic shall dismiss a Member of the Government, if this is proposed by the Premier.

Article 75 [Dismissal of Government]

The President of the Republic shall dismiss a Government which did not offer its resignation although it was obliged to offer it.

Article 76 [Resolutions]

(1) The Government makes decisions as a body.

(2) The passage of a resolution of the Government requires the consent of an absolute majority of all its members.

Article 77 [Premier]

(1) The Premier organizes the activities of the Government, chairs its meetings, acts in its name, and executes further activities entrusted to him by the Constitution or by other laws.

(2) The Premier is represented by a Deputy Premier or another authorized member of the Government.

Article 78 [Decrees]

For the execution of a law and within its limits, the Government is entitled to issue decrees. Decrees are signed by the Premier and a respective member of the Government.

Article 79 [Regulations]

(1) Ministries and other administrative bodies can be established and their powers defined only by law.

(2) The legal relations of state employees in the ministries and other administrative bodies are determined by law.

(3) The ministries, other administrative offices, and bodies of territorial self-administration may issue legal regulations on the basis of and within the limits of law, if authorized so by law.

Article 80 [Prosecutor's Office]

(1) A public prosecutor's office represents public prosecution in criminal proceedings; it also executes other tasks, if the law so stipulates.

(2) The status and jurisdiction of the public prosecutor's office are defined by law.

CHAPTER IV [Judicial Power]

Part 1 [General Provisions]

Article 81 [Independent Courts]

Judicial power is exercised by independent courts on behalf of the Republic

Article 82 [Judges]

(1) Judges are independent in the execution of their function. Their impartiality must not be threatened by anyone.

(2) A judge cannot be dismissed or transferred to another court against his or her will; exceptions, primarily in disciplinary responsibility, are stipulated by law.

(3) The discharge of the function of a judge is incompatible with the office of the President of the Republic, member of Parliament, or any other function in public administration; other activities incompatible with the discharge of the function of a judge are determined by law.

Part 2 [Constitutional Court]

Article 83

The Constitutional Court is a judicial body for the protection of constitutionality.

Article 84 [Composition]

(1) The Constitutional Court is composed of 15 judges appointed for a term of ten years.

(2) The judges of the Constitutional Court are appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the Senate.

(3) Any citizen of integrity, eligible for election to the Senate, having a university education in law and at least ten years of experience in legal profession may be appointed a judge of the Constitutional Court.

Article 85 [Oath]

(1) A judge of the Constitutional Court assumes his or her function upon taking an oath before the President of the Republic.

(2) A judge of the Constitutional Court takes the following oath:

"I pledge on my honor and conscience that I will protect the inviolability of the natural rights of the individual and the rights of any citizen, abide by constitutional laws, and make decisions according to my best conviction, independently, and impartially."

(3) If a judge refuses to take the oath or if he or she takes it with reservations, he or she is regarded as not appointed.

Article 86 [Immunity]

(1) A judge of the Constitutional Court cannot be criminally prosecuted without the consent of the Senate. If the Senate declines to give its consent, criminal prosecution is rendered impossible forever.

(2) A judge of the Constitutional Court may be detained only if caught while committing a criminal act or immediately thereafter. The respective authority is obliged to immediately notify the Chairman of the Senate of the detention. If the Chairman or the Senate fails to give his consent to passing the detainee to court within 24 hours, the respective authority is obliged to release him. The Senate shall make a definitive decision about whether or not criminal prosecution is admissible at its first following session.

(3) A judge of the Constitutional Court has the right to deny testimony on matters about which he or she learnt while discharging his or her function, and, as well, after he or she ceased to be a judge of the Constitutional Court.

Article 87 [Competencies]

(1) The Constitutional Court resolves:

a) the nullification of laws or their individual provisions if they are in contradiction with a constitutional law or an international agreement under Article 10,

b) the nullification of other legal regulations or their individual provisions if they are in contradiction with a constitutional law, legislation, or international agreement under Article 10,

c) constitutional complaints by bodies of territorial self-administration against unlawful interference by the state,

d) constitutional complaints against authorized decisions and other interference by bodies of public power with fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution,

e) legal remedies against decisions on matters of the verification of election of a Deputy or a Senator,

f) doubts concerning a loss of eligibility of a Deputy or a Senator and incompatibility of the discharge of his or her function according to Article 25,

g) a constitutional indictment by the Senate against the President of the Republic according to Article 6

h) a proposal by the President of the Republic to repeal a resolution by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate according to Article 66,

i) measures necessary to effect a decision by an international court which is binding for the Czech Republic, if it cannot be effected otherwise,

j) the congruency of a decision to dissolve a political party or other decisions concerning the activities of a political party with constitutional laws and other acts,

k) controversies on the scope of powers of state bodies and bodies of territorial self-administration, if, according to law, these do not fall under the jurisdiction of another body.

(2) The law may stipulate that instead of the Constitutional Court the Supreme Administrative Court shall pass decisions on:

a) the annulment of legal regulations or their individual provisions, if they are at variance with law,

b) controversies concerning the scope of powers of state bodies and bodies of territorial self-administration, if, according to law, these do not fall under the jurisdiction of another body.

Article 88 [Initiative, Independence]

(1) The law specifies who and under what conditions is entitled to table a proposal to initiate proceedings and other rules on proceedings before the Constitutional Court.

(2) In decision-making, judges of the Constitutional Court are bound only by constitutional laws and international agreements under Article 10 and by laws under Paragraph (1).

Article 89 [Binding Effect]

(1) A decision of the Constitutional Court becomes executable as soon as it is promulgated in the manner determined by law if the Constitutional Court did not decide about its execution otherwise.

(2) Executable decisions of the Constitutional Court are binding for all bodies and persons.

***Part 3* [Courts]**

Article 90 [Purpose]

The task of courts is above all to provide protection to rights in the manner determined by law. Only a court can decide on the guilt and penalty for criminal acts.

Article 91 [Court Hierarchy]

(1) The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Administrative Court, high, regional, and district courts. Legislation may determine other terms for them.

(2) The jurisdiction and organization of courts is stipulated by law.

Article 92 [Highest Court]

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body in matters falling under the jurisdiction of courts with the exception of matters decided by the Constitutional Court or the Supreme Administrative Court.

Article 93 [Appointment of Judges]

(1) Judges are appointed by the President of the Republic for an unlimited term. They assume the office on taking an oath.

(2) Any citizen of integrity, having a university education in law, can be appointed judge. Other requirements and procedures are stipulated by law.

Article 94 [Bench]

(1) The law stipulates cases in which judges decide as a bench and the composition of the bench. In other cases they decide as single judges.

(2) The law may stipulate in which matters and in what manner also other citizens, in addition to judges, participate in court decision-making.

Article 95 [Courts Bound By Law]

(1) In decision-making, judges are bound by law; they are entitled to judge congruency of another legal regulation with the law.

(2) If a court arrives at the conclusion that a law which is to be applied in decision-making is in contradiction with a constitutional act, it shall pass the matter to the Constitutional Court.

Article 96 [Equality Before Court, Publicity]

(1) All parties in legal proceedings have equal rights before the court.

(2) Proceedings in the court are verbal and open to public; exceptions are specified by law. The verdict of the court is always publicly declared.

CHAPTER V [The Supreme Inspection Office]

Article 97 [Supreme Inspection Office]

(1) The Supreme Inspection Office is an independent body. It executes inspection of the management of state property and the fulfillment of the state budget.

(2) The President and Vice President of the Supreme Inspection Office are appointed by the President of the Republic upon the suggestion of the Chamber of Deputies.

(3) The status, jurisdiction, organizational structure and other details are set down by law.

CHAPTER VI [The Czech National Bank]

Article 98 [Czech National Bank]

(1) The Czech National Bank is the central bank of the State. Its activities are primarily oriented towards currency stability; it is possible to interfere with its activities exclusively on the basis of law.

(2) The status, jurisdiction, and other details are set down by law.

CHAPTER VII [Territorial Self-Administration]

Article 99 [Lands, Regions, Municipalities]

The Czech Republic is divided into municipalities which are the basic units of territorial self-administration. Higher units of territorial self-administration are lands and regions.

Article 100 [Right to Self-Administration]

(1) The units of territorial self-administration are territorial communities of citizens, which have the right to self-administration. The law determines when they are administrative districts.

(2) A municipality is always part of a higher unit of territorial self-administration.

(3) A higher unit of territorial self-administration may be established or dissolved solely by a constitutional law.

Article 101 [Board of Representatives]

(1) A municipality is independently administrated by a board of representatives.

(2) A higher unit of territorial self-administration is independently administrated by a board of representatives.

(3) Units of territorial self-administration are public law corporations which may have their own property and may engage in management according to their own budgets.

(4) The state may interfere in the activities of units of territorial self-administration only if it is necessary for the protection of law and solely by means specified by law.

Article 102 [Elections]

(1) Members of the board of representatives are elected by secret ballot on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage.

(2) The term of office of the board of representatives is four years. The law stipulates under what conditions new elections to the board of representatives shall be called before the expiration of its term of office.

Article 103 [Names]

The name of a higher unit of territorial self-administration shall be decided by its board.

Article 104 [Jurisdiction, Decrees]

(1) The powers of the board of representatives may be set down solely by law.

(2) The board of representatives resolves matters of self-administration, unless these are entrusted by law to the board of representatives of a higher unit of territorial self-administration.

(3) Boards of Representatives may issue generally binding decrees within the limits of their jurisdiction.

Article 105 [Bound by Law]

The exercise of state administration may be entrusted to bodies of self-administration only when determined so by law.

CHAPTER VIII [Temporary and Final Provisions]

Article 106 [Provisional Senate]

(1) On the day this Constitution comes into effect, the Czech National Council becomes the Chamber of Deputies whose election term expires on 6 June 1996.

(2) Until the Senate is elected according to the Constitution, the functions of the Senate shall be discharged by the Provisional Senate. The Provisional Senate shall be constituted in the manner determined by constitutional law. The Chamber of Deputies shall execute the functions of the Senate until this law becomes effective.

(3) The Chamber of Deputies cannot be dissolved as long as it discharges the function of the Senate according to Paragraph (2).

(4) Until laws on the rules of procedure of the Chambers are passed, the individual Chambers shall proceed according to the rules of procedure of the Czech National Council.

Article 107 [Senate Elections]

(1) The law on elections to the Senate sets down the way in which one third of Senators whose election term will be two years, and one third of Senators whose election term will be four years will be determined in the first elections to the Senate.

(2) The President of the Republic shall call a session of the Senate so that it may begin no later than the thirtieth day after the election day; if he fails to do so, the Senate shall meet on the thirtieth day after the election day.

Article 108 [1992 Government]

The Government of the Czech Republic appointed after the 1992 elections and executing its function on the day when the Constitution comes into effect is considered a Government appointed according to this Constitution.

Article 109 [State Prosecutor's Functions]

Until the State Prosecutor's Office is established, its functions shall be exercised by the Prosecutor's Office of the Czech Republic.

Article 110 [Military Courts]

Until 31 Dec 1993, the judiciary shall also include military courts.

Article 111 [Judges]

Judges of all courts of the Czech Republic, exercising the function of judge on the day on which this Constitution comes into effect, are considered judges appointed according to the Constitution of the Czech Republic.

Article 112 [Constitutional Order]

(1) The constitutional order of the Czech Republic comprises this Constitution, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, constitutional laws adopted in accordance with this Constitution, and constitutional laws of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the Czech National Council, which define the state borders of the Czech Republic, and constitutional laws of the Czech National Council adopted after 6 June 1992.

(2) Annulled are the present Constitution, the Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak Federation, constitutional laws which amended them, and the Constitutional Act of the Czech National Council No. 67/1990 Digest of Laws, on the State Symbols of the Czech Republic.

(3) Other constitutional laws valid on the territory of the Czech Republic shall have the power of a law on the day this Constitution comes into effect.

Article 113

This Constitution takes effect as of 1 Jan 1993.

The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary

In order to facilitate peaceful political transition into a constitutional state ready to realize a multiparty system, introduce parliamentary democracy, and promote conversion to a socially alert market economy, Parliament submits the following text as the authorized version - until the ratification of its replacement - of the Constitution of Hungary.

Chapter I [General Provisions]

Article 1 [Republic]

Hungary is a Republic.

Article 2 [Democracy, Rule of Law, Sovereignty]

(1) The Republic of Hungary is an independent and democratic constitutional state.

(2) In the Republic of Hungary all power belongs to the people. The people exercise their sovereignty through elected representatives or directly.

(3) In this country no activity, whether of a social or state organization, and no endeavour of any citizen, may be aimed at securing or exercising power by means of force, or at the exclusive possession of power. Anyone has the right and the duty to take action against such endeavours in any lawful manner.

Article 3 [Parties]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary, political parties may be freely founded and may act in freedom provided they show respect for the Constitution and the statutes of constitutional law.

(2) The parties are involved in registering and expressing the will of the people.

(3) The parties may not exercise public power directly. Accordingly, no party may control or direct any State organ. In order to ensure the effective separation of the parties from State power, the law determines the social and public offices that cannot be filled by any member or officer of any party.

Article 4 [Unions]

The trade unions and other interest organizations protect and represent the interests of employees, cooperative members, and of entrepreneurs.

Article 5 [State Goals]

The State of the Republic of Hungary safeguards the freedom and power of the people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, and the boundaries registered in international treaties.

Article 6 [Peace]

(1) The Republic of Hungary repudiates war as a means of dealing with conflicts between nations and refrains from the use of force against the independence or territorial integrity of other states. It also refrains from making threats implying recourse to force.

(2) The Republic of Hungary is working for cooperation with all the peoples and countries of the world.

(3) The Republic of Hungary bears a sense of responsibility for what happens to Hungarians living outside of its borders and promotes the fostering of their relations with Hungary.

Article 7 [International Law]

(1) The legal system of the Republic of Hungary accepts the universally recognized rules and regulations of international law, and harmonizes the internal laws and statutes of the country with the obligations assumed under international law.

(2) The law regulates legislative procedures. The votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament present are required for passing new legislation.

Article 8 [Fundamental Rights]

(1) The Republic of Hungary recognizes the inviolable and inalienable rights of persons. Ensuring respect and protection for these rights is a primary obligation of the State.

(2) In the Republic of Hungary the law contains rules on fundamental rights and obligations, but must not impose any limitations on the essential contents and meaning of fundamental rights.

(3) Repealed

(4) In times of emergency, national crises, or extreme danger, the observation of fundamental rights may be suspended or their exercise curtailed -except for the fundamental rights specified in Articles 54 through 56, paragraphs (2) through (4) in Article 57, Articles 60, 66 through 69, and Article 70/E.

Article 9 [Economy, Public and Private Property, Economic Neutrality]

(1) Hungary has a market economy in which public and private property are to receive equal consideration and protection under the law.

(2) The Republic of Hungary recognizes and supports the right to enterprise and the freedom of economic competition.

Article 10 [National Property]

(1) Any property of the Hungarian State is part of the country's national wealth.

(2) The full range of exclusive ownership by, and of the exclusive economic activities of, the State is determined by the law.

Article 11 [Autonomous State Organizations]

State-owned companies and economic units operate independently in the manner and with the responsibility defined by the law.

Article 12 [Cooperative]

(1) The State supports cooperatives based on voluntary association and recognizes their autonomy.

(2) The State respects the assets and property of local governments.

Article 13 [Private Property, Compensation]

(1) The Republic of Hungary guarantees the right to property.

(2) Property may be expropriated only exceptionally when this is a matter of public interest, and only in the cases and in the manner regulated by law, under terms of full, unconditional and immediate indemnification.

Article 14 [Inheritance]

The Constitution guarantees the right of inheritance.

Article 15 [Family, Marriage]

The Republic of Hungary protects the institution of marriage and the family.

Article 16 [Youths]

The Republic of Hungary pays special attention to the secure existence, education and training of young people and protects the interests of youth.

Article 17 [Social Security]

The Republic of Hungary sees to the wants of the needy through a long line of social measures.

Article 18 [Healthy Environment]

The Republic of Hungary recognizes and implements everyone's right to a healthy environment.

Chapter II [Parliament]

Article 19

(1) Parliament is the supreme organ of State power and popular representation in the Republic of Hungary.

(2) Exercising its rights deriving from the sovereignty of the people, Parliament ensures the constitutional order of society, and determines the organization, orientation and conditions of government.

(3) Within this competence, parliament

a) enacts the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary;

b) frames laws;

c) defines the social and economic objectives of the country;

d) checks the balance of State finances and approves the Budget and its implementation;

e) decides about the adoption of the Government programme;

f) ratifies the international treaties that are of outstanding significance for the external relations of the Republic of Hungary;

g) decides on the declaration of a state of war and the questions of concluding peace;

h) in case of a state of war or of the immediate threat of armed attack by a foreign power (the danger of war) it proclaims a state of emergency and sets up the National Defense Council;

i) In case of armed action aiming to overthrow the constitutional order to gain absolute power, in cases of acts of violence committed with arms or by armed units that jeopardize the lives and material security of citizens on a mass scale, of natural disasters or serious industrial accidents (hereinafter: emergency) it declares a state of emergency;

j) decides on the use of the armed forces outside or inside the country;

k) elects the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the members of the Constitutional Court, the ombudsmen to deal with the observation of civil rights and the rights of national and ethnic minorities, the president and vice-presidents of the State Audit Office, the president of the Supreme Court and the chief prosecutor;

l) on the proposition of the Government submitted after consultation with the Constitutional Court, dissolves local representative bodies whose operation has been found unconstitutional; decides on the geographical boundaries, the names, and seats of counties; on the re-registration of some townships as cities of county status; and on any changes in the borders of the districts of the capital city;

m) exercises general amnesty.

(4) For decisions on the cases enumerated in points g), h), I) and j) of paragraph 2.

(5) the votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are necessary.

(6) A national plebiscite may be called by Parliament if the decision is supported by the votes of two thirds of the MP present at the time.

Article 19/A

(1) If Parliament is prevented from making the decisions concerned, the President of the Republic may call for a state of war, announce a state of emergency, set up the National Defense Council, and proclaim a state of extreme danger.

(2) Parliament is to be considered incapacitated if it is not in session and convening it is impossible because of the shortness of time, or because of the events that have caused the state of war, the emergency, or crisis.

(3) The fact of incapacitation, and therefore the need for proclaiming an emergency or crisis, is verified by the Speaker of Parliament, the President of the Constitutional Court and the Prime Minister jointly.

(4) At its first session after its incapacitation, Parliament supervises the justification of a state of war, state of emergency or crisis, and decides about the legitimacy of the measures taken. To carry such a decision, the votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are required.

Article 19/B

(1) In case of an emergency, the National Defense Council decides about the deployment of the armed forces outside or inside the country and the introduction of the emergency measures defined in a separate law.

(2) The President of the Republic presides over the National Defense Council. The members of the Council are: the Speaker of Parliament, the leaders of the factions of the parties represented in Parliament, the Prime Minister, the ministers, and the commander and chief of staff of the Army.

(3) The National Defense Council exercises;

a) the rights temporarily vested in it by Parliament

b) the rights of the President of the Republic, and

c) the rights of the Government.

(4) The National Defense Council may pass decrees in which it may suspend the force of certain laws or deviate from certain legal provisions. It may also pass other special measures, but must not suspend the Constitution.

(5) Unless Parliament acts to prolongue their validity, decrees passed by the National Defense Council go out of force as soon as the given state of emergency is over.

(6) Not even a state of emergency may limit the operation of the Constitutional Court.

Article 19/C

(1) If Parliament is prevented from taking action during a state of emergency, decision on the deployment of armed forces is up to the President of the Republic.

(2) During a state of crisis(peril) the emergency measures defined in a separate law are introduced by a decree of the President of the Republic.

(3) The President of the Republic informs without delay the Speaker of Parliament about the emergency measures introduced. During any period of emergency, Parliament - or if the former is hindered, the National Defense Committee of Parliament - remains in session. Parliament, or the National Defense Committee, is free to suspend emergency measures the President of the Republic has called for.

(4) The emergency measures decreed remain in effect for thirty days unless their validity has been extended by Parliament, or, if Parliament is inhibited, by its National Defense Committee.

(5) The same rules are to be applied in a state of peril, extreme danger as in a state of emergency.

Article 19/D

To pass a law on the detailed rules applicable during a state of emergency, peril or crisis, the affirmative votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Article 20

(1) Parliament is elected for a term of four years.

(2) Members of Parliament act in the public interest.

(3) Members of parliament are entitled to immunity as defined and regulated in the law on their legal status.

(4) Members of Parliament are entitled to fees to ensure their independence, to certain benefits, and to compensation to cover costs. To pass a law on the amount of the fee, the sums of compensation and on the range of special concessions, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are required.

(5) No Member of Parliament may become President of the Republic, member of the Constitutional Court, ombudsman; president, vice-president or accountant of the State Audit Office; judge or prosecutor; or - except for members of the Government and political state secretaries - work in any organ of state administration. No MP may be a regular or hold professional status in the armed forces, in the police and in any security force. The law may also establish other cases of incompatibility.

(6) To pass the law on the legal status of Members of Parliament, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Article 20/A

(1) The mandate of a Member of Parliament is terminated

a) with the end of the term of Parliament,

b) with the death of a MP,

c) with the demise of the MP concerned,

d) when incompatibility is declared,

e) if the MP is disfranchised.

(2) If a reason is cited for incompatibility (para (5), Article 20) by any representative of the House against a Member of Parliament, Parliament decides whether to pronounce incompatibility.

(3) Addressing a statement to this effect to Parliament, an MP may give up his mandate. No confirmatory statement from Parliament is necessary for the resignation to be valid.

Article 21

(1) Parliament elects its Speaker, deputy speakers, and Clerk from among its members.

(2) Parliament sets up standing committees from among its members and may delegate a committee to investigate any given question.

(3) Data requested by parliamentary committees must not be denied; anybody summoned to testify before a parliamentary committee is obliged to do so.

Article 22

(1) Parliament holds regular sessions twice a year - from February 1 to June 15, and from September 1 until December 15.

(2) The constituent session of Parliament is convened - for a date within one month after the elections - by the President of the Republic. Otherwise it is the duty of the Speaker of Parliament to convene sessions - and each individual sitting - of Parliament.

(3) If this is requested by the President of the Republic, by the Government, or by one fifth of the MP, Parliament must be convened for a special session or special meeting. The request has to specify the reason for convening Parliament, the date(s) proposed, and the agenda to be followed.

(4) The President of Parliament may adjourn - for no more than thirty days -a session of Parliament on one occasion during any given session.

(5) During the adjournment period, the President of the Republic is obliged to convene Parliament if one fifth of the MP petition this in writing, within eight days of his receipt of the request.

Article 23

The meetings of Parliament are open to the public. However, on the request of the President of the Republic, the Government, or any MP, Parliament may call for a meeting in camera if the request is supported by two thirds of the Members of Parliament.

Article 24

(1) Parliament has a quorum when more than half of the MP are present.

(2) Parliament passes a decision with the affirmative votes of over half of the MP present.

(3) For the amendment of the Constitution, or for passing certain decisions defined in the Constitution, the affirmative votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are required.

(4) Parliament lays down the rules of procedure and the order of debates in standing orders for which the votes of two thirds of the MP present are required.

Article 25

(1) Legislation may be initiated by the President of the Republic, the Government, any parliamentary committee and any Member of Parliament.

(2) The right of legislation is vested in Parliament.

(3) Acts passed by Parliament are signed by the Speaker and sent to the President of the Republic.

Article 26

(1) Within fifteen days - or, if the Speaker of Parliament so requests, within five days - of receipt of the law framed, the President of the Republic endorses it and sees to its promulgation. Ratified Acts of Parliament have to be published in the Official Gazette.

(2) If the President of the Republic does not accept the law or some of its provisions, he may, before signing it but within the deadline set in para (1), send it back with his comments to Parliament for reconsideration.

(3) Parliament debates the law anew and decides on enactment again. After the reconsidered Act has been returned to him, the President of the Republic is bound to sign it and to promulgate it within five days of its receipt.

(4) If the President of the Republic thinks that any provision of the law may be unconstitutional, he sends it within the deadline set in para (1) to the Constitutional Court before singing it, and requests a report on its constitutionality.

(5) If the Constitutional Court, after proceeding on the law with the requested urgency, has found it unconstitutional, the President of the Republic returns the law to Parliament. Otherwise, he is bound to sign the Act and promulgate it within five days.

Article 27

Members of Parliament may put questions to the ombudsmen (parliamentary commissioners) for the implementation of civil, and national and ethnic minority rights, to the president of the State Audit Office, and to the president of the Hungarian National Bank; and address interpolations and questions to the Government, to any member of the Government, and to the Chief Prosecutor (Attorney General) on any matter that falls within their competence.

Article 28

(1) The mandate of Parliament commences with its constituent meeting.

(2) Parliament may proclaim its dissolution even before the expiry of its mandate.

(3) The President of the Republic may dissolve Parliament simultaneously with setting the dates for the new election if

a) Parliament has at least four times within twelve months during its own mandate withdrawn its confidence from the Government, or

b) in case the mandate of the Government had ended, Parliament failed to elect within forty days after the date of the first nomination, the candidate prime-minister put up for the office by the President of the Republic.

(4) (Not available.)

(5) Before dissolving Parliament, the president of the Republic is bound to consult with the Prime Minister, the Speaker of Parliament and with the heads of the factions of the parties that have representatives in Parliament.

(6) Within three months after the expiry of the term of parliament, its dissolution or its being dissolved, a new Parliament has to be elected. Parliament operates until the constituent meeting of the new Parliament.

Article 28/A

(1) During the period of an emergency, Parliament may not declare its dissolution and may not be dissolved.

(2) If the term of Parliament expires during an emergency, its mandate is automatically extended until the end of the peril.

(3) A Parliament that has dissolved or been dissolved may be reconvened by the President of the Republic in case of a state of war, the threat of war, or any other emergency situation. In that case, Parliament itself decides on the extension of its mandate.

Chapter III [The President of the Republic]

Article 29

(1) The President of the Republic is Hungary's head of State. He stands for the unity of the nation and safeguards the democratic operation of the State organization.

(2) The President of the Republic is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Article 29/A

(1) The President of the Republic is elected by Parliament for a term of five years.

(2) Any enfranchised citizen who has had his 35th birthday by election day is eligible for the post of the President of the Republic.

(3) The President of the Republic may be reelected for this office for no more than one additional term.

Article 29/B

(1) The election of the President of the Republic is preceded by nominations. Written recommendation by at least fifty Members of Parliament is required for valid candidacy. The list of the candidates who have been validly nominated must be submitted to the Speaker of Parliament before the votes are called. Any one Member of Parliament may recommend only one candidate. The recommendations of those who have made more than one nomination are declared null and void.

(2) Parliament elects the President of the Republic by secret ballot. The voting process may have to be repeated several times as needed. If candidate is elected President of the Republic if he has won two thirds of the votes of the Members of Parliament.

(3) If no candidate commands this two-thirds majority on the first balloting, a new vote has to be called on the basis of new recommendation according to para (1). For election of the second polling, a two-third majority of the votes is required again.

(4) If the required majority has no been produced by the second polling either, a third voting has to be held. On the third polling, the ballots have to be cast for one of the two candidate who received the highest number of votes on the second polling. The President of the Republic is elected on the basis of the third polling if regardless of the number of voter casting ballots - he has won the majority of the votes cast.

(5) The voting process has to be completed in the maximum period of three successive days.

Article 29/C

(1) The President of the Republic is to be elected at least thirty days before expiry of the mandate of the earlier President, and, if the mandate has ended before the end of term, after thirty days of expiry.

(2) The date for the presidential election is set by the Speaker of Parliament.

Article 29/D

The elected President of the Republic occupies his post on the expiry of the mandate of the earlier president, or, in case the mandate has come to an end prematurely, on the eighth day following the announcement of the election returns. Prior to entering office, the President of the Republic takes his oath of office before Parliament.

Article 29/E

(1) In case of the temporary incapacitation of the President of the Republic, or if for some reason his mandate comes to an end prematurely, his competence is bestowed upon the Speaker of Parliament until the new President of the Republic has been inducted into office. However, the Speaker of Parliament acting as President of the Republic may not forward laws to Parliament for reconsideration or to the Constitutional Court for study; he must not dissolve Parliament and has the right of granting clemency only to benefit people whose judgement-at-law has become definitive.

(2) While he is substituting for the President of the Republic, the Speaker of Parliament must not exercise his rights as a member of Parliament, and his responsibilities as Speaker are taken over by the deputy speaker designated by Parliament.

Article 30

(1) The office of the President of the Republic is incompatible with every other State, social, and political office or assignment. The President of the Republic may not pursue any other remunerative occupation, and, except for activities enjoying copyright protection - must not accept any other fees.

(2) The votes of two thirds of the MP present at the sitting are required for decisions on the President's regular fees, prerogatives and reimbursement on costs incurred in the fulfilment of duties.

Article 30/A

(1) The President of the Republic

a) represents the Hungarian State;

b) concludes international treaties and agreements on behalf of the Republic of Hungary. If the subject of the agreement belongs under the competence of the legislation, the prior agreement of Parliament is required for concluding the agreement;

c) accredits and receives ambassadors and envoys;

d) sets the dates for the parliamentary elections and for the general elections of local authorities;

e) may participate in, and have the floor at, the meetings of Parliament and parliamentary committees;

f) may propose that Parliament take certain measures;

g) may make a motion for the holding of a plebiscite;

h) according to rules defined in a separate law, appoints and relieves of their duties state secretaries and ombudsmen;

i) on the proposal of persons or organs defined in a separate law, appoints and relieves the president and vice presidents of the Hungarian National Bank, and university professors; appoints and relieves of their duties the rectors of universities; appoints and promotes generals; confirms the president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in his office;

j) confers the titles defined in the law, awards orders of merit and distinctions, and authorizes using or wearing them;

k) exercises the right of granting clemency in individual cases;

l) decides in citizenship cases;

m) decides all affairs separate laws have referred to his competence.

(2) Every measure and decree of the President of the Republic - except for those contained in points a), c), d), f) and g) - require countersigning by the Prime Minister or the competent minister.

Article 31

(1) The mandate of the President is terminated

a) with expiry of the term of office

b) with the death of the President

c) if there is a state of emergency that makes fulfilling his duties impossible for a period of over ninety days

d) if incompatibility has been declared

e) if he has resigned

f) if he has been stripped of the presidency.

(2) In case there are reasons to indicate incompatibility in connection with the person of the President of the Republic in the fulfilment of his office [para 30, indent (1)], Parliament takes a decision on declaring incompatibility after a representative has made the relevant motion. To pass the decision, the affirmative votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are required. Voting is by secret ballot.

(3) The President of the Republic may resign from his post in a statement addressed to Parliament. For the resignation to take effect, a statement of acceptance is necessary from Parliament. Within 15 days after his initial resignation, the President may be requested by Parliament to reconsider his decision. If the President of the Republic abides by his decision, Parliament cannot refuse accepting the resignation.

(4) The President of the Republic may be stripped of his office if in the performance of his functions he has deliberately flaunted the Constitution or transgressed any other law.

Article 31/A

(1) The person of the President of the Republic is inviolable; his special protection is ensured by a separate law.

(2) One-fifth of the Members of Parliament may lodge a motion to impeach the President of the Republic if he has offended against the Constitution or any other law.

(3) To start the impeachment procedure, the votes of two thirds of the members of Parliament are required. Voting is by secret ballot.

(4) After the decision of parliament until the conclusion of the impeachment procedures, the President must not exercise his functions.

(5) Judging the offence is within the competence of the Constitutional Court.

(6) If, as a result of the proceedings, the Constitutional Court has established the violation of the law, it may strip the President of the Republic of his office.

(7) repealed

(8) repealed

Article 32

(1) If impeachment proceedings have been started against the President of the Republic because of an act subject to criminal persecution committed during his term of office in connection with his official duties, the Tribunal has to apply the basic provisions of criminal law procedure as well. A prosecuting commissioner Parliament has chosen from its own ranks presents the indictment.

(2) The President of the Republic may be held criminally accountable for other acts only after the termination of his office.

(3) If the Tribunal has established the culpability of the President of the Republic in a deliberate criminal offence, it may strip him of his office, and at the same time may apply any measure or punishment specified in the Criminal Code for the given offence.

Chapter IV [The Constitutional Court]

Article 32/A

(1) The Constitutional Court oversees the constitutionality of legal provisions and performs other functions the law refers to its competence.

(2) Any law or legal measure found unconstitutional is annulled by the Constitutional Court.

(3) In the cases defined by the law, anyone may initiate proceedings at the Constitutional Court.

(4) The fifteen members of the Constitutional Court are elected by Parliament. A nominating committee comprising of one member from each of the parties represented in Parliament, proposes the candidates for Constitutional Court membership. Two thirds of the affirmative votes of the Members of Parliament are necessary for election to the Constitutional Court.

(5) Outside of the responsibilities deriving from the authority of the Constitutional Court, the members of the Court must not be affiliated to any party and must not carry on political activity.

(6) For the ratification of the law on the organization and operation of the Constitutional Court, two-thirds of the votes of the MP present are necessary.

Chapter V [Ombudsman for the Protection of Civil Rights, Ombudsman for the Protection of National and Ethnic Minority Rights]

Article 32/B

(1) It is the duty of the Parliamentary Commissioner (Ombudsman) for Civil Rights to investigate, or to have investigated, any abuse of constitutional rights that has come to his attention, and to initiate general or particular measures for redress.

(2) The Ombudsman for the protection of national and minority rights investigates, or has investigated, any abuse of nationality or ethnic minority rights that has come to his attention, and to initiate general or particular measures for redress.

(3) In cases defined in the law, anyone may propose that the Ombudsman take action.

(4) The Ombudsmen for civil rights and for nationality and ethnic minority rights are elected, on the nomination of the President of the Republic, by Parliament - with two thirds of the affirmative votes of all MP necessary. For the protection of certain constitutional rights, Parliament may elect separate ombudsmen.

(5) The competence of the Ombudsman for national and ethnic minority rights is exercised by a body appointed by national and ethnic minority groups and elected by the Parliament consisting of one person for each nationality and ethnic minority group, and elected by Parliament.

(6) Each Ombudsman reports on his activities and experiences annually to Parliament.

(7) For the ratification of the law on Ombudsmen (parliamentary commissioners), the affirmative votes of two-thirds of the MP present are required.

Chapter VI [The State Audit Office and The Hungarian National Bank]

Article 32/C

(1) The State Audit Office is the financial and economic accounting organization of Parliament. It is its duty to exercise control over the management of state finances and the Budget, and within this to oversee the cogency of the Budget Bill and the merit and expediency of each item of spending. It countersigns contracts on credit claimed by the Budget; oversees in advance the legality of the spendings the Budget has planned for; checks the final accounts of the State Budget. The State Audit Office controls the management of State assets, the wealth-preserving and wealth-increasing work of State-owned companies and enterprises; and sees to other duties that are part of its competence under the law.

(2) The State Audit Office is led in its work and controlling activity by considerations of legality, expediency, and the financial results of the units concerned. The State Audit Office reports on its findings to Parliament, and its reports must be made public. The president of the State Audit Office submits the findings of the Office on the final accounts together with the final account itself to Parliament.

(3) For the election of the president and vice-presidents of the State Audit Office, the votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are required.

(4) For the ratification of the law on the principles to govern the organization and operation of the State Audit Office, two thirds of the votes of the MP present are necessary.

Article 32/D

(1) It is the responsibility of the Hungarian National Bank to issue legal tender in the manner determined by the law, to protect the stability of the national currency, and to regulate the circulation of money.

(2) The President of the Hungarian National Bank is appointed by the President of the Republic for a term of six years.

(3) The President of the Hungarian National Bank presents to Parliament a report on the activities of the Bank once a year.

Chapter VII [The Government]

Article 33

(1) The Government consists of

a) The Prime Minister and

b) the ministers.

(2) The Prime Minister's substitute is the minister he has designated.

(3) The Prime Minister is elected by a simple majority vote of the Members of Parliament. Parliament decides on the election of the Prime Minister and on acceptance of the Government programme at the same time.

(4) The ministers are proposed by the Prime Minister, and appointed and relieved of their duties by the President of the Republic.

(5) The Government is formed when the ministers have been appointed. After the formation of the Government, its members take their oath of office before Parliament.

Article 33/A

The mandate of the Government ends

a) with the formation of the newly elected Parliament

b) with the resignation of the Prime Minister, or the Government

c) with the death of the Prime Minister, or

d) if, in accordance with the contents of para (1), Article 39/A, Parliament has carried a no-confidence motion in regard to the Prime Minister and elects a new Prime Minister.

Article 34

The enumeration of the ministries of the Republic of Hungary is contained in a separate law.

Article 35

(1) The Government

a) protects constitutional order, protects and ensures the rights of citizens

b) ensures the implementation of the laws

c) directs and coordinates the work of the ministries and of other organs directly subordinated to them

d) with the involvement of the Minister of the Interior, it ensures the control of the legality of the operation of the authorities,

e) ensures the elaboration of social and economic plans and sees to their implementation

f) determines the role of the State in scientific and cultural development and ensures the conditions for their realization

g) designates the State system of social welfare and medical care provisions, and ensures the conditions required.

h) it supervises the operation of the armed forces, of the police and of other law-and-order-maintenance agencies

i) takes the necessary measures to avert the consequences of natural disasters that jeopardize the security of the life and property of citizens (from here on, emergency situation), and to ensure public law and order and public security

j) participates in the determination of foreign policy and concludes international agreements on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hungary

k) performs all functions the law refers to its competence.

(2) In its own sphere of functions the Government issues decrees and passes resolutions. These are signed by the Prime Minister. No decree and resolution of the Government may be contrary to the law. Decrees issued by the Government must be promulgated in the Official Gazette.

(3) In an emergency situation the Government, empowered by Parliament, may pass decrees and measures that deviate from the provisions of certain laws. For the ratification of the law on emergency rules, the affirmative votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

(4) Except for legal provisions, the Government annuls or amends all resolutions or measures passed by subordinate organs that are contrary to the law.

Article 36

In the performance of its functions, the Government cooperates with the social organizations concerned.

Article 37

(1) The Prime Minister presides over Government sessions and provides for the enforcement of Government decrees and resolutions.

(2) The ministers head the branches of public administration within their scope of functions, and direct the organs subordinated to them in conformity with legal provisions and Government resolutions. Ministers without portfolio perform functions designated by the Government.

(3) In the performance of their functions, the Prime Minister and the members of the Government may issue decrees. However, these must not be contrary to any law or any government decree and resolution. The decrees have to be promulgated in the Official Gazette.

Article 38 Repealed

Article 39

(1) In the performance of its functions the Government is responsible to Parliament. It is bound to render account of its activities regularly to Parliament.

(2) The members of the Government are responsible for their work to the Government and to Parliament, and must report on their activities to both. Their legal status, pay and the manner in which they may be impeached are regulated by law.

(3) Members of the Government may participate in, and take the floor at, the sessions of Parliament.

Article 39/A

(1) A nonconfidence motion may - with the designation of the preferred candidate for Prime Minister - be launched against the Prime Minister on the written proposal of at least one fifth of the Members of Parliament. A nonconfidence motion against the Prime Minister is to be regarded as a nonconfidence motion against the Government. If the majority of the Members of Parliament have expressed nonconfidence in the motion, the candidate named as the choice for the new Prime Minister must be regarded as elected.

(2) The debate and voting on the motion must be held three days after it has been submitted at the soonest, and after eight days at the latest.

(3) Through the Prime Minister, the Government may propose a vote of confidence in compliance with the time limits set in para (2).

(4) Through the Prime Minister, the Government may also recommend that the voting over the proposal it put forward should be at the same time a vote of confidence.

(5) If Parliament does not vote its confidence to the Government as laid down in paragraphs (3) and (4), the Government must resign.

Article 39/B

If the mandate of the Government is terminated, the Government is to stay in office until the formation of the new Government and to exercise all Government rights. However, it must not conclude international agreements, and it may issue decrees only on the basis of express empowerment by the law in special cases when no delay is permissible.

Article 40

(1) For the discharge of certain functions, the Government may set up government committees.

(2) In any matter coming within the scope of state administration, the Government may take action directly or through any of its members.

(3) The Government is authorized to draw any branch of State administration directly under its control and to create special organs for this purpose.

Chapter VIII [The Armed Forces and the Police]

Article 40/A

(1) The armed forces (Hungarian National Army, Border Guard) have the fundamental function of providing military protection for the homeland. For the ratification of the law on the duties of the armed forces and the detailed rules applying to them, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

(2) The fundamental function of the police is to safeguard public security and defend law and order. The ratification of the law on the police and the detailed rules connected with national security require two thirds of the votes of the MP present.

Article 40/B

(1) Except for military exercises based on valid international agreements or peace maintenance activities performed on request of the United Nations Organization, the armed forces may cross state borders only with the prior consent of parliament.

(2) The armed forces may be used only in times of an emergency situation promulgated in accordance with the provisions of Constitution, in case of armed action aimed at the overthrow of the constitutional order or at the seizure of absolute power, furthermore in cases of violence committed with arms, or the use of force in a manner endangering the safety of the life and property of citizens on a mass scale, and only when the deployment of the police is not sufficient.

(3) Unless there is a valid international agreement containing other provisions, the command of the armed forces is the exclusive province of Parliament, of the President of the Republic, the National Defense Council, the Government and the competent minister as laid down in the Constitution or in a separate law.

(4) A law adopted with the votes of two thirds of the MP present may restrict any party activity by the regular members of the armed forces and of the police.

Article 40/C

(1) Unless there is a valid international agreement in force to the contrary, foreign armed forces may not pass through and may not be used or be stationed in, the territory of the country without the prior consent of Parliament.

(2) International agreements that concern national defense must be confirmed in the law and promulgated.

Chapter IX [Local Governments]

Article 41

(1) The territory of the Republic of Hungary consists of administrative units including the Capital, the counties, cities, towns and villages.

(2) The Capital is divided into districts. Districts may be formed in other cities also.

Article 42

The enfranchised citizens of the villages, towns, of the capital city and its districts, and of the counties are entitled to the right of local self-government. Local self-government means autonomous and democratic management of local affairs by the communities concerned and exercise of local public authority in the interest of the population.

Article 43

(1) All local authorities have the same fundamental rights (44/A). However, the duties and responsibilities of local governments may be different.

(2) The rights and duties of local governments are determined by the law. The Courts protect the lawful exercise of jurisdiction by local authorities. Local governments are free to turn to the Constitutional Court for the protection of their rights.

Article 44

(1) Citizens who have the vote exercise local government through the representative body they have elected and by local plebiscites.

(2) The members of the representative body are elected for a term of four years.

Article 44/A

(1) The local representative body

a) regulates and administers matters that belong to the competence of the local authority; its decisions may be revised only if there is a question of their legitimacy.

b) exercises ownership rights in regard to local-authority property, independently budgets the incomes of the local government, and may start ventures on its own responsibility

c) to deal with its duties as laid down in the law, the local authority is entitled to an adequate income of its own to perform its functions and also receives State support proportionate to its scope of duties

d) authorizes, within the limits of the law, local taxes (rates), their types and measures

e) within the limits of the law, it independently sets up its organization and formulates its standing orders

f) may create local emblems, and found local titles, distinctions and awards

g) in public affairs of concern to the local community, it may put forward initiatives to the organizations entitled to take decisions

h) may freely form associations with other local representative bodies, it may create interest organizations with other local authorities, and may within its competence cooperate with local authorities in other countries, and affiliate itself with international organizations of local governments.

(2) A local representative body may frame decrees within its competence, which, however, must not be in conflict with legal provisions of a higher level.

Article 44/B

(1) The Mayor is the president of the local representative body. A representative body may elect committees and set up its own office.

(2) Apart from his duties and responsibilities in local government, the Mayor may exceptionally, on the basis of the law or legal authorization, perform duties of state administration and authority.

(3) A law or government decree may assign state administrative functions and authority to the Notary, and, exceptionally, to the acting director of the office of the representative body.

Article 44/C

The votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary for the acceptance of the law on local self-government. The same proportion of votes are necessary for the adoption of a law that limits the fundamental rights of local authorities.

Chapter X [The Judiciary]

Article 45

(1) In the Republic of Hungary, the Supreme Court of the Republic of Hungary, the Court of the Capital City and the county courts, and local courts administer justice.

(2) Legislation may provide for the institution of special courts for certain groups of cases.

Article 46

The courts administer justice in councils of professional judges and lay assessors. Legislation may authorize exceptions to this rule.

Article 47

The Supreme Court of the Republic of Hungary sets guidelines based on principles for the judicial work of every court. The directives and decisions in questions of principle of the Supreme Court are binding on all courts of the country.

Article 48

(1) The President of the Supreme Court is elected, after nomination by the President of the Republic, by Parliament. The vice-presidents of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President of the Republic on nomination by the President of the Supreme Court. For the election of the President of the Supreme Court, the votes of two thirds of the Members of Parliament are necessary.

(2) Professional judges are appointed by the President of the Republic in the manner determined by the law.

(3) Judges may be removed from office only for reasons and through procedures laid down in the law.

Article 49 Repealed

Article 50

(1) The Courts of the Republic of Hungary protect and ensure constitutional order, the rights and lawful interests of citizens, and punish the perpetrators of criminal offenses.

(2) The Courts supervise the legality of the decisions of public administration.

(3) Judges are independent and are subordinate only to the law. Judges may not hold membership in any party and must not carry on political activities.

(4) To adopt the law on the Courts, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Chapter XI [The Prosecutor's Office]

Article 51

(1) The Chief Prosecutor and the Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Hungary provide for the protection of the rights of the citizens and are responsible for the consistent prosecution of every act violating or endangering constitutional order or endangering the security and sovereignty of the country.

(2) The prosecutorial organization carries on investigations in cases determined by the law, exercises supervision over the legality of criminal investigations, acts for the prosecution in proceedings before courts, and exercises supervision over the observance of legality in the administration of punishments.

(3) The Prosecutor's Office helps to ensure that all social organizations, all state organs and citizens comply with the law. In the event of transgression of the law, it takes action for the protection of legality in the cases determined by the law.

Article 52

(1) The Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Hungary is elected by Parliament on the proposal of the President of the Republic. The deputies of the Chief Prosecutor are appointed on the proposal of the Chief Prosecutor by the President of the Republic.

(2) The Chief Prosecutor is accountable to Parliament, and is obliged to report on his work.

Article 53

(1) Prosecutors are appointed by the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic of Hungary.

(2) Prosecutors must not be affiliated to any party and may not carry on political activities.

(3) The prosecutorial organization is headed and directed by the Chief Prosecutor.

(4) The rules on the prosecutorial organization are laid down in the law.

Chapter XII [Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens]

Article 54 [Life, Dignity, Corporal Integrity]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary every human being has the innate right to life and the dignity of man, and no one may be arbitrarily deprived of these rights.

(2) No one may be subjected to torture, or to cruel, unusual, inhuman or humiliating treatment or punishment. It is absolutely impermissible to perform medical or scientific experiments on human beings without their consent.

Article 55 [Liberty, Security, Arrest]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right to liberty and personal security, and no one may be deprived of freedom except for reasons defined in the law and on the basis of legal proceedings.

(2) Persons suspected of the perpetration of a criminal offence and detained, must be released or brought before a judge as soon as possible. The judge is bound to give a hearing to the person brought before him, and must produce a written decision adducing his reasons for setting the detainee free or keeping him in custody.

(3) Anyone who has been victimized through illegal arrest or detainment is entitled to compensation.

Article 56 [Legal Capacity]

In the Republic of Hungary every human being has legal standing.

Article 57 [Equality, Fair Trial, Criminal Justice]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone is equal before the law and has the right to defend himself against any accusation brought against him, or, in a civil suit, to have his rights and duties judged by an independent and impartial court of law at a fair public trial or hearing.

(2) In the Republic of Hungary no one may be regarded as guilty until his culpability has been established by a legally valid decision of the court.

(3) Persons subjected to criminal proceedings are entitled to the right of defense in every phase of the procedure. Defense lawyers must not be called to account for opinions expounded while they present the defense.

(4) No one may be pronounced guilty of, or sentenced for, any act that was not considered a criminal offence under Hungarian law at the time it was committed.

(5) In the Republic of Hungary everyone is entitled to legal redress or has the right of appeal against court or administrative decisions, or any other authority's decision, that infringe his rights or lawful interests.

Article 58 [Movement]

(1) Whoever is staying in the territory of Hungary is entitled - except for some cases defined in the law - to free movement and the right of choosing his or her place of residence, including the right of leaving his domicile or the country.

(2) Foreigners lawfully staying in Hungary may be expelled from the country only on the basis of a decision that is in accord with the law.

(3) The adoption of the law on the freedom of travel and settlement requires the affirmative votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 59 [Honor, Privacy]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone is entitled to the protection of his or her reputation and to privacy, including the privacy of the home, of personal effects, particulars, papers, records and data, and to the privacy of personal affairs and secrets.

(2) For the acceptance of the law on the protection of the security of personal data and records (particulars), the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Article 60 [Belief]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right to the freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

(2) This right includes the free choice or acceptance of religion or any other conviction according to one's conscience, and the liberty to express, or refuse to express, to exercise or teach one's religion and conviction through the performance of religious acts and rites, either individually or together with others, either publicly or in a closed circle.

(3) In the Republic of Hungary the Church functions in separation from the State.

(4) The ratification of the law on the freedom of conscience and of religion requires the votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 61 [Freedom of Expression]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right to the free declaration of his views and opinions, and has the right of access to information of public interest, and also the freedom to disseminate such information.

(2) The Republic of Hungary recognizes and protects the freedom of the Press.

(3) The law on the publicity of data and information and the law on the freedom of the Press require the support of two thirds of the votes of the MP present for ratification.

(4) For the adoption of the law on the supervision of public radio, television and news agency services, and on the appointment of their leaders; the law on the licencing of commercial radio and television stations, and the prevention of monopolies on information, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Article 62 [Assembly]

(1) The Republic of Hungary recognizes the right to peaceful assembly and guarantees its free practice.

(2) The adoption of the law on the freedom of assembly requires the votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 63 [Association]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right, on the basis of the freedom of association, to set up organizations for purposes not prohibited by the law and to adhere to such organizations.

(2) For political purposes no armed organization may be established on the basis of the freedom of association.

(3) The adoption of the law on the right of association and on the operation and financial management of parties requires the votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 64 [Appeal]

In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right to submit written petitions or complaints either alone or together with others.

Article 65 [Asylum]

(1) On terms laid down in the law, the Republic of Hungary ensures the right of asylum for foreign citizens persecuted in their homeland and for those displaced persons who are at their place of stay harassed on grounds of race, religion, nationality, language or political affiliation.

(2) A person already granted asylum must not be extradited to another state.

(3) The adoption of the law on the right of asylum requires the votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 66 [Gender Equality, Mother Protection]

(1) The Republic of Hungary guarantees the equality of men and women in regard to all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

(2) In the Republic of Hungary, mothers receive special support and protection before and after the birth of their children, in compliance with separate provisions of the law.

(3) Special rules ensure protection for women and young people in the performance of their jobs.

Article 67 [Children]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary, every child has the right to enjoy the care and protection on the part of their families, and by the State and society, that is necessary for satisfactory physical, mental and moral development.

(2) Parents are entitled to the right of choosing the kind of education their children are to receive.

(3) Special provisions contain the responsibilities of the State in regard to the position and protection of families and of youth.

Article 68 [Minorities]

(1) The national and ethnic minorities living in the Republic of Hungary share the power of the people; they are constituent factors in the State.

(2) The Republic of Hungary grants protection to national and ethnic minorities, it ensures the possibilities for their collective participation in public life, and enables them to foster their own culture, use the mother tongue, receive school instruction in the mother tongue, and freedom to use their names as spelled and pronounced in their own language.

(3) The laws of the Republic of Hungary ensure representation for the national and ethnic minorities living in the territory of the country.

(4) National and ethnic minorities may set up their own local and national government organizations.

(5) The votes of two thirds of the MP present are required to pass the law on the rights of national and ethnic minorities.

Article 69 [Citizenship]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary no one may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her Hungarian citizenship, nor may any Hungarian citizen be expelled from the territory of the Republic of Hungary.

(2) A Hungarian citizen may always come home from abroad.

(3) During a legitimate stay abroad every Hungarian citizen is entitled to protection by the Republic of Hungary.

(4) The ratification of a law on citizenship requires the votes of two thirds of the MP present.

Article 70 [Electoral Rights]

(1) All Hungarian citizens of age whose regular domicile is in Hungary have the right to be elected at the elections for Parliament and for local governments, and - if they are in the territory of the country on election day - to vote.

(2) The right to vote is denied to those who have been under legal guardianship and are limited or incapacitated in their actions, to those who are doing term under a lawful sentence or who are under compulsory institutional care or treatment ordered in a criminal procedure.

(3) In elections of the local self-government even non-Hungarian citizens who have settled in Hungary for a longer period of time have the right to vote, according to a separate law.

(4) Every Hungarian citizen has the right to be active in public affairs and to bear public office in accordance with his talent, training and professional qualifications.

Article 70/A [No Discrimination]

(1) The Republic of Hungary guarantees for all persons in its territory human and civil rights without discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other views, national or social origins, ownership of assets, birth or on any other grounds.

(2) Any discrimination falling within para (1) against persons is strictly punishable by law.

(3) The Republic of Hungary promotes the realization of equality before the law with measures aiming to eliminate inequalities of opportunity.

Article 70/B [Work]

(1) In the Republic of Hungary everyone has the right to work, to the free choice of employment and occupation.

(2) Everyone without any discrimination has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to emolument that corresponds to the amount and quality of the work performed.

(4) Everyone has the right to rest and free time for recreation, and regular paid holidays.

Article 70/C [Unions, Strike]

(1) Everyone has the right to form an organization for the protection of economic and social rights together with others, or to adhere to such an organization.

(2) The right to strike may be exercised within the framework of the law that regulates it.

(3) The votes of two thirds of the MP present are required to adopt the law on the right to strike.

Article 70/D [Health, Safety]

(1) People living within the territory of the Republic of Hungary have the right to the highest possible level of physical and mental health.

(2) The Republic of Hungary implements this right through arrangements for labour safety, with health institutions and medical care, through ensuring the possibility for regular physical training, and through the protection of the built-in a natural environment.

Article 70/E [Welfare]

(1) Citizens of the Republic of Hungary have the right to social security. In case of old age, illness, disability, being widowed or orphaned, and in case of unemployment for no fault of their own, they are entitled to the provisions necessary for subsistence.

(2) The Republic of Hungary upholds the right of people to being provided for through the social security system and its institutions.

Article 70/F [Education]

(1) The Republic of Hungary ensures for its citizens the right to culture.

(2) The Republic of Hungary ensures this right through the expansion of culture and making arrangements for general access to it, through free and compulsory eight-grade education, through the general accessibility of secondary and third-level instruction, moreover through financial assistance for those in school.

Article 70/G [Arts, Academia, Teaching, Science]

(1) The Republic of Hungary respects and supports the freedom of science and art, the freedom of learning and of teaching.

(2) Only qualified scholars and scientists have the right to arrive at decisions in regard to what should be credited as a contribution to science, a scientific result, and to assess the scientific value of research.

Article 70/H [Defence, Military Service]

(1) All citizens of the Republic of Hungary have the duty to defend the homeland.

(2) Subject to their general defense obligation, citizens are expected to undergo military service, armed or unarmed; or civil service on terms specified in the law.

(3) For the ratification of the law on military defense obligations, the votes of two thirds of the MP present are required.

Article 70/I [Taxation]

Every citizen of the Republic of Hungary bears the obligation to contribute to rates and taxes in accordance to income and wealth.

Article 70/J [Custody]

In the Republic of Hungary, parents and guardians have the obligation of seeing to the education of minor children.

Article 70/K [Legal Remedies]

Claims deriving from infringement of fundamental rights and objections to state(administrative) decisions in regard to compliance with duties may be brought to the Courts.

Chapter XIII [Principles Governing the Elections]

Article 71

(1) Members of Parliament, the members of the representative bodies of villages, townships and of the districts of the Capital, the legally defined number of the members of the representative body of the capital city, moreover, the Mayor in cases defined in the law, are elected by direct secret balloting on the basis of the universal and equal right to vote.

(2) The members of the representative bodies of counties are elected by secret ballot by the meeting of delegates chosen by the village and city representative bodies.

(3) Separate laws provide for the election of the Members of Parliament, the Mayor and the members of the local representative bodies. For the adoption of these laws the votes of two thirds of the MP present are necessary.

Article 72 Repealed

Article 73 Repealed

Chapter XIV [The Capital City and Emblems of The Republic of Hungary]

Article 74

The Capital of the Republic of Hungary is Budapest.

Article 75

The National Anthem of the Republic of Hungary is the poem by Ferenc Kolcsey entitled Hymn as set to music by Ferenc Erkel.

Article 76

(1) The National Flag of the Republic of Hungary is a tricolour of red, white and green stripes of equal width running horizontally.

(2) The Coat of Arms of the Republic of Hungary is a vertically impaled shield coming to a point in the middle of the rounded base. Four red and four silver horizontal stripes alternate on the dexter. A triple green crest rises from the sinister base, its middle mound bearing a gold coronet transfixed by a silver patriarchal cross against the red field. Atop the shield rests the Holy Crown of St. Stephen.

(3) For the adoption of laws on the Coat of Arms, the Flag of the Republic of Hungary and the usage of those the votes of two thirds of MP are necessary.

Chapter XV [Final Provisions]

Article 77

(1) The basic law of the Republic of Hungary is the Constitution.

(2) The Constitution and the constitutional provisions are equally binding on all organizations of society, all state organs and on citizens.

(3) Repealed

Article 78

(1) The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary comes into force on the day of its proclamation. The Government is to see to its implementation.

(2) The Governments bear the obligation of submitting to Parliament the Bills necessary for the enactment of the Constitution.

The Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (Satversme)

Adopted by Latvia's Constituent (Satversme) Assembly at their meeting of February 15th, 1922.

The Latvian people have adopted, through their freely elected Constituent (Satversme) Assembly, the following Constitution:

Section 1. General Regulations

(1) Latvia shall be an independent and democratic Republic.

(2) The sovereign power of the Latvian State shall belong to the People of Latvia.

(3) The territory of the Latvian State shall consist of Vidzeme, Latgale, Kurzeme and Zemgale, within the boundaries stipulated by international treaties.

(4) The national flag of the Latvian State shall be red with a white stripe

Section 2. [The Saeima (Parliament)]

(5) The Saeima shall consist of one hundred representatives of the people.

(6) The Saeima shall be elected in general, equal, direct and secret elections, on the basis of proportional representation.

(7) In dividing Latvia into separate electoral districts, the number of parliamentary representatives to be elected from each district shall be proportionate to the number of electors in that district.

(8) All Latvian citizens, who enjoy all rights and who on the election day have reached 18 years of age, shall be entitled to vote. (The January 27, 1994 amendment published in Latvijas Vestnesis, No. 19, February 12, 1994.)

(9) Any Latvian citizen, who is over twenty-one years of age on the first day of elections, may be elected to the Saeima.

(10) The Saeima shall be elected for a period of three years.

(11) The Saeima elections shall take place on the first Sunday in October and on the preceding Saturday.

(12) The newly-elected Saeima shall hold its first sitting on the first Tuesday in November, on which day the powers of the previous Saeima shall have expired.

(13) Should the Saeima elections, by reason of the dissolution of the previous Saeima, take place at another time of year, the Saeima thus elected shall assemble not later than one month after its election, and its powers shall expire after two years, on the first Tuesday in November, on which day a new Saeima shall assemble.

(14) The electors may not recall any Members of the Saeima.

(15) The Saeima shall assemble in Riga. It may assemble elsewhere only in extraordinary circumstances.

(16) The Saeima shall elect its Board, which shall consist of the Chairperson, his/her two Deputies and Secretaries. The Board of the Saeima shall carry on its work uninterrupted for the duration of the term of the Saeima.

(17) The first sitting of the newly-elected Saeima shall be opened by the Chairperson of the preceding Saeima or by any other Board member as assigned by the Board.

(18) The Saeima itself shall examine the mandates of its members.

(19) The Board shall convene sessions and decree regular and extraordinary sittings.

(20) The Board shall convene sittings of the Saeima at the request of either the President of State, the Prime Minister, or not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima.

(21) The Saeima shall draw up the Rules of Procedure for the regulation of its internal proceedings.

(22) The sittings of the Saeima shall be public. At the request of ten members of the Saeima, the President of State, the Prime Minister or any one Minister, the Saeima may decide, by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present, to sit in camera.

(23) The sittings of the Saeima may take place if at least one-half of the members are present.

(24) Except in cases otherwise provided for by the Constitution, the Saeima shall pass its resolutions with an absolute majority vote of the members present.

(25) The Saeima shall elect standing Committees, determine the number of their members and their duties. The Committees shall be entitled to request the respective Ministers and Local Authorities to supply any information necessary for their work, and also to invite responsible representatives of the respective Ministries and Local Authorities to their meetings, for the purpose of obtaining explanations. The Committees may carry on their work between the sessions.

(26) At the request of not less than one-third of its members, the Saeima shall appoint parliamentary investigation commissions to deal with special issues.

(27) The Saeima shall have the right to address the Prime Minister or any other Minister with submissions and questions to which they, or responsible officials empowered by them, shall reply. At the request of either the Saeima or its Committees, the Prime Minister, or any other Minister, shall provide relevant papers and documents.

(28) The members of the Saeima shall be exempt from judicial, administrative and disciplinary prosecution, in connection with their voting and with ideas expressed in the fulfillment of their duties. Even if it is done through the fulfillment of official duties, members of the Saeima are liable to prosecution for:

1) the dissemination of defamatory information with the knowledge that it is false; or

2) the dissemination of defamatory information about private or family life.

(29) Members of the Saeima may not be arrested or searched, nor may their personal liberty be restricted in any way, without the sanction of the Saeima. Members of the Saeima shall be liable to arrest, if apprehended in the act of committing a crime. The Board of the Saeima shall be notified of the arrest of any member of the Saeima within twenty-four hours. A report shall be presented by the Board at the next sitting of the Saeima, whereupon the Saeima shall decide as to whether the member shall remain under arrest or be liberated. During the period between sessions, the Board of the Saeima shall determine whether the member of the Saeima shall remain under arrest.

(30) Members of the Saeima shall not be liable to judicial or administrative prosecution for criminal actions, without the sanction of the Saeima.

(31) Members of the Saeima shall have the right to withhold evidence:

1) concerning persons who have entrusted them, as Representatives of the People, with certain facts or data;

2) concerning persons to whom they, as Representatives of the People, have entrusted certain facts or data;

3) concerning such facts and data.

(32) Members of the Saeima may not undertake Government Contracts or receive Government concessions in their name or in that of any other person. The provisions of this Article shall refer to Ministers, even if they are not members of the Saeima.

(33) Members of the Saeima shall receive remuneration from State funds.

(34) No person shall be held accountable for circulating reports about sittings of the Saeima or its Committees, if such reports correspond to facts. Accounts of sittings in camera of either the Saeima or its Committees, may only be published with the sanction of the Board of either the Saeima or the respective Committee.

Section 3. [The President Of State]

(35) The President of State shall be elected by the Saeima for a period of three years.

(36) The President of State shall be elected by secret ballot with a majority of not less than fifty-one votes from the Saeima members.

(37) No person who is under forty years of age may be elected President of State.

(38) The office of the President of State shall not be compatible with any other office. If the elected President is a member of the Saeima, he/she shall resign from the Saeima.

(39) The same person cannot hold office as the President of State for more than six consecutive years.

(40) On assuming office at the first sitting of the Saeima after his/her election, the President of State shall take the following solemn oath:

> "I swear that all of my efforts shall be devoted to the good of the people of Latvia. I will do everything in my power to promote the well-being of the State of Latvia and its population. I will hold sacred and observe the Constitution and the state laws of Latvia. I will be just to all persons and I will fulfill my duties to the best of my ability."

(41) The President of State shall represent the State in an international capacity; he/she shall accredit Latvian representatives abroad, and receive accredited representatives of foreign states. He shall carry out the decisions of the Saeima concerning the ratification of international treaties.

(42) The President of State shall be the chief of the armed forces of the State. In a time of war, he/she shall appoint a Commander-in-Chief.

(43) The President of State shall declare war on the basis of a decision of the Saeima.

(44) The President of State shall have the right to take steps indispensable to the military defense of the country, if another State has declared war on Latvia, or if an enemy is attacking Latvian frontiers. At the same time, the President of State shall immediately convene the Saeima, which shall decide upon the declaration of war and the commencement of hostilities.

(45) The President of State shall have the right to pardon criminals undergoing penal sentences. This right of pardon shall not apply to cases where the Law provides a different mode of pardon. Amnesty shall be granted by the Saeima.

(46) The President of State shall have the right to convene extraordinary meetings of the Cabinet for the discussion of an agenda prepared by him/her, and to preside over such meetings.

(47) The President of State shall have the right of legislative initiative.

(48) The President of State shall have the right to propose the dissolution of the Saeima. This shall be followed by a referendum. If in the referendum more than one-half of the votes are cast in favour of dissolution, the Saeima shall be considered as dissolved and new elections shall be proclaimed. These elections shall take place within two months after the dissolution of the Saeima.

(49) Upon dissolution of the Saeima, its members shall retain their powers until the newly-elected Saeima has assembled. The former Saeima may only assemble on being convened by the President of State. The agenda for such sittings shall be determined by the President of State.

(50) If in the referendum the dissolution of the Saeima is opposed by more than one-half of the votes cast, the President of State shall be regarded as dismissed and the Saeima shall elect a new President of State for the remaining period of office of the President who has been dismissed.

(51) On the motion of not less than one-half of the members of the Saeima, the Saeima, at the sitting to which the public is not admitted, may decide by a majority vote of not less than two-thirds of their number, to dismiss the President of State. After this decision, the Saeima shall immediately elect a new President of State.

(52) Should the President of State resign from his/her office, die or be dismissed before the end of his/her office, the duties shall be carried out by the Chairman of the Saeima, pending the election of a new President of State. Likewise, the Chairman of the Saeima shall take the office of the President of State, should the latter be absent from the territory of Latvia or in any other way be prevented from fulfilling his/her duties.

(53) The President of State shall not bear political responsibility for his/her actions. All decrees of the President of State shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister, or by the Minister concerned, who shall thereby assume full responsibility for the decrees, except in cases foreseen in Articles forty-eight and fifty-six.

(54) The President of State may be held criminally accountable if the Saeima sanctions thus with a majority vote of not less than two-thirds of its members.

Section 4. [The Cabinet]

(55) The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister and the Ministers nominated by him/her.

(56) The Cabinet shall be formed by a person who is entrusted with that task by the President of State.

(57) The number of Ministers and the scope of their activities, as well as the mutual relations among government departments shall be fixed by law.

(58) The state administrative institutions shall be subordinated to the Cabinet.

(59) In order to fulfill their duties, it is necessary that the Prime Minister and Ministers receive the confidence of the Saeima and they shall be responsible to the Saeima for their actions. If the Saeima expresses a vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister, the whole Cabinet shall resign. If the Saeima expresses a vote of no-confidence in particular Minister, the Minister shall resign and the Prime Minister shall nominate another person to take his/her place.

(60) The meetings of the Cabinet shall be presided over by the Prime Minister, or, in his/her absence, by another Minister so empowered by the Prime Minister.

(61) The Cabinet shall discuss all draft laws drawn up by the Ministries and all issues concerning the activities of various ministries; likewise all issues of State policy put forward by individual members of the Cabinet.

(62) If the State is threatened by a foreign invasion, or, if disorders endangering the existing order of the State arise within the State or any part of the State, the Cabinet shall have the right to proclaim a state of emergency. In the event of such a state of emergency, the Board of the Saeima shall be notified by the Cabinet within twenty-four hours, and the Board shall put the decision of the Cabinet before the Saeima without delay.

(63) Ministers, even if they are not members of the Saeima, and responsible State Officials empowered by Ministers, shall have the right to be present at the sittings of the Saeima or its Committees, and to introduce amendments to draft laws.

Section 5. [Legislation]

(64) The right of legislation shall belong to both the Saeima and to the people, within the limits laid down in this Constitution.

(65) Draft laws may be presented to the Saeima by the President of State, the Cabinet, the Committees of the Saeima, no less than five members of the Saeima or, in cases and in a manner provided for in this Constitution, by one-tenth of the electors.

(66) Before the commencement of each financial year, the Saeima shall approve the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget, the draft of which shall be submitted by the Cabinet.

If the Saeima passes a resolution involving expenditure not foreseen in the Budget, it shall specify in this resolution the sources of revenue with which to meet such expenditure. After the end of the financial year, the Cabinet shall submit, for the confirmation of the Saeima, a statement showing the actual implementation of the Budget.

(67) The Saeima shall decide on the strength of the armed forces of the State in time of peace.

(68) The ratification of the Saeima shall be indispensable to all international agreements dealing with issues to be settled by legislation.

(69) The President of State shall promulgate laws passed by the Saeima not before the seventh and not later than the twenty-first day after their adoption. If no other term is fixed, the laws shall take effect fourteen days after their promulgation.

(70) The President of State shall promulgate laws according to the following formula: "The Saeima (i.e. the People) has adopted and the President of State promulgates the following law: (text of the law)".

(71) Within seven days after the adoption of a law by the Saeima, the President of State shall be entitled to ask, by means of explanatory letter addressed to the Chairman of the Saeima, for the review of that law. If the Saeima does not amend the law, the President of State shall not have the right to raise any further objections.

(72) The President of State shall have the right to suspend the promulgation of a law for a period of two months. He/She shall suspend the promulgation at the request of not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima. This right shall be exercised by the President of State or by one-third of the members of the Saeima within seven days after the adoption of the law by the Saeima. The law thus suspended, shall be submitted to a referendum, if not less than one-tenth of the electors so request. Should such a request not be formulated within a period of two months as mentioned above, the law shall be promulgated upon the expiration of that period. The referendum shall not be taken, however, if the Saeima puts this law to a vote once more and if then not less than three-fourths of all the members are in favour of its adoption.

(73) The following matters shall not be submitted to a referendum: the budget, laws concerning loans, taxes, custom's duties, railway tariffs, military service, the declaration and commencement of war, the settlement of peace, the declaration of a state of emergency and its termination, mobilization, demobilization, foreign treaties.

(74) A law, adopted by the Saeima and suspended in the procedure set forth in Article 72, shall be annulled by a referendum, if the number of voters participating in the referendum is at least half of the number of the electors who participated in the previous Saeima elections and if the majority has voted for the annulment of the law. (The March 21, 1933 amendment published in Valdibas Vestnesis, No. 74, March 31, 1933.

(75) Should the Saeima determine the urgency of a law with a majority of not less than two-thirds, the President of State may not demand a second review of the law; it may not be submitted to a referendum and shall be promulgated within three days after the President has received the adopted law.

(76) The Saeima may amend the Constitution at sittings at which at least two-thirds of its members are present. The amendments shall be passed in the course of three readings, by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present.

(77) If the Saeima has amended the first, second, third or sixth Article of the Constitution, such amendments, in order to acquire the force of Law, shall be submitted to a referendum.

(78) Not less than one-tenth of the electors shall have the right to submit to the President of State a fully elaborated draft for the amendment of the draft law, which shall be submitted to the Saeima by the President. If the Saeima does not adopt this draft law without substantial amendments, it shall be submitted to a referendum.

(79) Such amendments to the Constitution as have been submitted to a referendum shall be adopted, if at least half of those who have the right to vote have declared themselves in their favour. Such draft laws as have been submitted to a referendum shall be adopted if the number of voters participating in the referendum is at least half of the number of the electors who participated in the previous Saeima elections and if the majority has voted for the adoption of the draft law. (The March 21, 1933 amendment published in Valdibas Vestnesis, No. 74, February 12, 1933.)

(80) All Latvian citizens who have the right to vote in the elections of the Saeima are entitled to take part in the referendum.

(81) In cases of urgent necessity between sessions, the Cabinet shall have the right to issue regulations which shall have the force of Law. These regulations may not amend: the law on Saeima elections, laws concerning judicial constitution and procedure, the budget and budget rights, and laws passed by the Saeima then in power; they shall not apply to amnesty, the issue of Treasury notes, State taxes, customs, railway tariffs, loans and they shall become null and void if not presented to the Saeima within three days of the opening of the following session.

Section 6. [Courts]

(82) All citizens shall be equal before the Law and the Courts.

(83) The judges shall be independent and bound only by Law.

(84) The appointment of judges shall be confirmed by the Saeima and they may not be dismissed. The judges may be dismissed from their office against their will only upon the decision of the Court. The retiring age limit for judges shall be fixed by Law.

(85) Trial by jury shall exist in Latvia in accordance with a specific law.

(86) Judgment shall be passed solely by such institutions which have been so entitled by Law and in such a manner as specified by Law. The Court-Martial shall function in accordance with a specific law.

Section 7. [State Control]

(87) The State Control shall be an independent collegiate institution.

(88) The State Controllers shall be appointed and confirmed in the same manner as the judges, but only for a definite period during which they may be dismissed solely upon the decision of the Court. The organization of the State Control and the competency thereof shall be fixed by a specific law.

J. Cakste, President of the Constituent Assembly
R. Ivanovs, Secretary of the Constituent Assembly

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland

Passed by the National Assembly April 2, 1997 and by Referendum May 25, 1997
[Unofficial Translation by Polish Business Center]

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS in our concern for the existence and future of our Fatherland, on having regained in 1989 the possibility of making sovereign and democratic decisions on its fate, we, the Polish Nation, all the citizens of the Republic, both those of us who believe in God as the source of truth, justice, good, and beauty, and those of us who do not share this belief and derive these universal values from other sources, being equal in our rights and duties regarding the common good of Poland, and feeling gratitude to our ancestors for their toil, for their struggle for independence at the cost of huge sacrifices, for a culture rooted in the Christian heritage of the Nation and in universal human values, and

WHEREAS, harkening to the best traditions of the First and Second Republics, we are obligated to transmit to future generations everything that is precious in our more than 1,000 years of achievement, being linked by common ties to our compatriots dispersed throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, We are aware of the need to cooperate with all countries for the good of the Human Family, mindful of the bitter experience from the times when basic freedoms and human rights were being violated in our Fatherland, and desire to safeguard civil rights forever and assure the integrity and efficiency of the activities of public institutions, feeling responsible before God or before our own conscience,

NOW THEREFORE, We hereby establish the Constitution of the Republic of Poland as the supreme law of the land and one based on respect for freedom and justice, cooperation of the authorities, social dialogue, and the principle of helpfulness in strengthening the rights of citizens and their communities.

THEREFORE ALSO We appeal to all who shall apply this Constitution for the good of the Third Republic to do so with special care for preserving the innate dignity of man, his right to freedom, and for the obligation of solidarity with others, and to hold respect for these principles as the inviolable foundation of the Republic of Poland.

CHAPTER I. THE REPUBLIC

Article 1

The Republic of Poland is the common good of all its citizens.

Article 2

The Republic of Poland is a democratic, law-ruled state implementing the principles of social justice.

Article 3

The Republic of Poland is one and indivisible as a State.

Article 4

4.1. Supreme power in the Republic of Poland is held by the Nation.

4.2. The Nation exercises power through its representatives or directly.

Article 5

The Republic of Poland guards the independence and inviolability of its territory, guarantees civil liberties and human rights, protects public security, guards the national heritage, and assures environmental protection on the principle of balanced development.

Article 6

6.1. The Republic of Poland provides the conditions for the dissemination of and equal access to cultural treasures, which are a source of the identity, survival, and development of the Polish Nation.

6.2. The Republic of Poland provides assistance to Poles living abroad in preserving their ties to the national cultural heritage.

Article 7

The agencies of public administration operate pursuant to and within the bounds of law.

Article 8

8.1. The Constitution is the supreme law of the Republic of Poland.

8.2. The provisions of the Constitution are applied directly, unless the Constitution specifies otherwise.

Article 9

The Republic of Poland adheres to binding international laws.

Article 10

10.1. The political system of the Republic of Poland is based on the division and balance of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

10.2. Legislative power is exercised by the Sejm and the Senate; executive power by the President of the Republic of Poland and the Council of Ministers; and judicial power by the courts and tribunals.

Article 11

11.1. The Republic of Poland guarantees the freedom of establishment and activity of political parties. Political parties associate citizens of the Republic of Poland on the principle of freedom of choice and equality, with the object of influencing the formation of the State's policy-making process by democratic means.

11.2. The financing of political parties is public.

Article 12

The Republic of Poland guarantees the freedom of establishment and activity of trade unions, farmers' associations, civic movements, and other voluntary societies and foundations.

Article 13

The existence of political parties and other organizations whose programs advocate the totalitarian methods and operating practices of Nazism, Fascism, and Communism, is prohibited. The existence of parties and organizations whose programs or activities presuppose or tolerate racial or ethnic hatred and call for the use of force with the object of gaining power or influencing state policy, or provide for secrecy of their structures or membership, is prohibited.

Article 14

The Republic of Poland guarantees freedom of the press and other mass media.

Article 15

15.1. The local administration system of the Republic of Poland provides for the decentralization of public authority.

15.2. The basic division of the territory of the country into local administrative units that take into consideration the social, economic, or cultural bonds of those units, and enable them to discharge their public duties, is defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 16

16.1. All the inhabitants of a local administrative unit constitute a law-based, self-governing community.

16.2. Local governments participate in the exercise of public authority. They discharge on their own behalf and at their own responsibility the substantial part of public obligations defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 17

17.1. Self-governing vocational and professional associations representing persons engaged in occupations and professions requiring public trust, and providing for the proper exercise of their vocational or professional functions within the limits of public interest, safeguarding the latter, can be formed on the basis of [separate] legislation.

17.2. The possibility of forming other forms of self-governing associations is defined by [separate] legislation. But these associations may not restrict the freedom to exercise one's occupation or profession nor abridge the freedom to engage in economic activity.

Article 18

Marriage, defined as the union of a woman and a man, as well as the family, maternity, and parenthood are under the protection and care of the Republic of Poland.

Article 19

The Republic of Poland provides special care for veterans of the wars of independence, particularly for disabled war veterans.

Article 20

A social market economy based on freedom of economic activity, private property, as well as on solidarity, dialogue, and cooperation of the social partners, constitutes the foundation of the economic system of the Republic of Poland.

Article 21

21.1. The Republic of Poland protects property and the right of inheritance.

21.2. Expropriation is permissible only for public purposes and upon equitable compensation.

Article 22

The limitation of freedom of economic activity is permissible only by virtue of passage of [separate] legislation, based on overriding public interest.

Article 23

The basis of the country's agricultural system is the family farm. This principle does not infringe on the provisions of Articles 21 and 22.

Article 24

Labor is protected by the Republic of Poland. The state supervises the conditions under which it is performed.

Article 25

25.1. All churches and other denominational organizations have equal rights.

25.2. The public authorities of the Republic of Poland remain neutral in matters of religion, world-outlook, and personal philosophy, while at the same time safeguarding the freedom of their expression in public life.

25.3. The relations between the State and the churches and other denominational organizations are based on the principle of mutual respect for each other's autonomy and independence, as well as on cooperation for the good of man and for the common good.

25.4. The relations between the Republic of Poland and the Roman Catholic Church are defined by the international agreement concluded with the Apostolic See, and by [separate] legislation.

25.5. The relations between the Republic of Poland and other churches and denominational organizations are defined by the legislation passed pursuant to agreements concluded between the Council of Ministers and the appropriate representatives of the respective denominational organizations.

Article 26

26.1. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland serve to protect national independence, territorial integrity, security, and the inviolability of the borders of the Republic of Poland.

26.2. The Armed Forces adhere to neutrality on political matters and are subject to civilian and democratic control.

Article 27

The official language of the Republic of Poland is Polish. This provision does not infringe upon the rights of the national minorities ensuing from ratified international agreements.

Article 28

28.1. The emblem of the Republic of Poland is the image of a crowned white eagle on a red background.

28.2. The colors of the Republic of Poland are the colors white and red.

28.3. The hymn of the Republic of Poland is the "Mazurek Dabrowskiego."

28.4. The emblem, colors, and hymn of the Republic of Poland are subject to legal protection.

28.5. Details concerning the emblem, colors, and hymn are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 29

The capital of the Republic of Poland is Warsaw.

CHAPTER II. HUMAN RIGHTS, CIVIC LIBERTIES, AND OBLIGATIONS

General Principles

Article 30

The innate and inalienable dignity of man is the source of human rights and civil liberties. It is inviolable, and to respect and protect it is an obligation of the public authorities.

Article 31

31.1. The freedom of man is subject to legal protection.

31.2. Everyone is obligated to respect the rights and liberties of others. No one may be compelled to do what is not commanded by law.

31.3. Restrictions on the exercise of constitutional liberties and rights may be established only by legislation, when such restrictions are essential in the democratic State in the interest of national security or public order or for the purpose of protecting the environment, health, public morality, or the rights and liberties of others. These restrictions may not infringe upon the essence of liberties and rights.

Article 32

32.1. Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal treatment by public authorities.

32.2. No person may be discriminated against in political, social, or economic life for any reason whatsoever.

Article 33

33.1. Women and men have equal rights in family, political, social and economic life in the Republic of Poland.

33.2. Women and men are, in particular, guaranteed equal rights to education, employment, and advancement, as well as to equal pay for equal work, to social security, and to holding positions and public distinctions and decorations.

Article 34

34.1. Polish citizenship is acquired upon birth to parents who are Polish citizens. Other cases of acquisition of Polish citizenship are defined by legislation.

34.2. No Polish citizen may be deprived of his/her Polish citizenship, unless he/she renounces it voluntarily.

Article 35

35.1. The Republic of Poland guarantees Polish citizens who belong to national and ethnic minorities the right to preserve and develop their own language, to preserve customs and traditions, and to develop their own culture.

35.2. National and ethnic minorities have the right to establish their own educational and cultural institutions, as well as institutions serving to protect their denominational identity, and the right to participate in decisions on matters concerning their cultural identity.

Article 36

While abroad, Polish citizens are entitled to protection by the Republic of Poland.

Article 37

37.1. Everyone who is subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Poland is entitled to the rights and liberties guaranteed in the Constitution.

37.2. Exceptions to this principle, as pertaining to foreign nationals, are defined by [separate] legislation.

Personal Rights and Liberties

Article 38

The Republic of Poland safeguards the right to life for everyone.

Article 39

No person may be subjected to scientific experiments, including medical ones, without his or her freely expressed consent.

Article 40

No person may be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. Corporal punishment is prohibited.

Article 41

41.1. Everyone is guaranteed personal liberty and inviolability. Deprivation or restriction of liberty may take place only in accordance with the principles and procedures defined by legislation.

41.2. Everyone deprived of liberty in the absence of due process of law has the right of appeal to courts of law for an immediate determination of the legality of that deprivation. The family or a person named by the person deprived of liberty is immediately notified following said deprivation.

41.3. Every detainee should immediately, and in a manner understandable to him or her, be notified of the reasons for the detention. The detainee must be brought before a court within 48 hours of detention. The detainee must be released within 24 hours of court appearance unless he or she is presented with a copy of the court ruling which authorizes the temporary detention and specifies the charges.

41.4. Everyone who is deprived of liberty should be treated in a humanitarian manner.

41.5. Everyone who is illegally deprived of liberty has the right to compensation.

Article 42

42.1. Only those committing an act subject to criminal punishment by a law in effect at the time of commission of said act are subject to criminal prosecution. This principle does not conflict with punishment for a deed which, at the time of its perpetration, constituted a crime under international law.

42.2. Everyone against whom penal proceedings are being instituted has the right to a defense at every stage of the proceedings; he or she may, in particular, choose his or her own defense attorney or avail himself/herself of a public defender, as provided by legislation.

42.3. Everyone is considered to be innocent until proven guilty by a valid court verdict.

Article 43

War crimes and crimes against humanity are not subject to the statute of limitations.

Article 44

The statute of limitations with regard to crimes that are not prosecuted for political reasons, committed by or on the behest of public officials, is subject to suspension until such time as these reasons no longer apply.

Article 45

45.1. Everyone has the right to a fair and public trial of his or her case without unjustified delay, by an appropriate, independent, impartial, and autonomous court of law.

45.2. A trial may be closed to the public in consideration of morality, national security, public order, or concern over the privacy of the parties or other important private interests. The verdict is announced publicly.

Article 46

Forfeiture of property may take place only in cases specified by legislation, and only pursuant to a valid court verdict.

Article 47

Everyone has the right to the legal protection of his or her private and family life, honor and good name, as well as the right to decide on his or her personal life.

Article 48

48.1. Parents have the right to raise their children in accordance with their own beliefs. This upbringing should take into consideration the child's maturity, its freedom of conscience, religious beliefs and convictions.

48.2. Curtailment or deprivation of parental rights may be imposed only in cases provided for by legislation, and only pursuant to a valid court verdict.

Article 49

Freedom and confidentiality of communication are guaranteed. These may be abridged only in the cases provided for by legislation and in a manner determined by it.

Article 50

The inviolability of a person's home is guaranteed. Searches of homes, premises, or vehicles may take place solely in the case provided for by legislation and in a manner determined by it.

Article 51

51.1. No one may be obliged to disclose personal information except as provided for by [separate] legislation.

51.2. Public authorities may not procure, collect, and provide access to information on citizens, other than that absolutely needed in a democratic law-ruled state.

51.3. Everyone has the right of access to official documents and records concerning himself. Restrictions on this right may be defined by [separate] legislation.

51.4. Everyone has the right to demand the rectification or removal of information that is inaccurate, incomplete, or collected in a manner contrary to the law.

51.5. The principles and procedures for collecting and disclosing information are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 52

52.1. Everyone is entitled to freedom of movement and freedom of choice of domicile or temporary residence on the territory of the Republic of Poland.

52.2. Everyone can freely leave the territory of the Republic of Poland.

52.3. The freedoms referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 may be subject to abridgments defined by legislation.

52.4. A Polish citizen may not be expelled from the country or banned from returning thereto.

52.5. A person whose Polish origin has been verified pursuant to law, may re-settle permanently in the Republic of Poland.

Article 53

53.1. Everyone has the right to freedom of conscience and religion.

53.2. Freedom of religion includes the freedom to profess or accept a religion according to personal choice and to express it individually or with others, publicly or privately, by means of religious practices, prayers, participation in rituals, or by practicing and teaching. Freedom of religion also extends to ownership of churches and other places of worship depending on the needs of the believers and the right of individuals to avail themselves of religious succor wherever they are.

53.3. Parents have the right to provide their children with moral and religious education and teachings according to their own beliefs. The provisions of Article 48, Paragraph 1, apply correspondingly.

53.4. The religion of a legally existing church or denominational organization may be the subject of instruction in school, provided that this does not violate the freedom of conscience and religion of others.

53.5. The freedom of publicly professing one's religion may be abridged solely by legislation, and only when this is essential for national security, public order, or health, morality, or the freedoms and rights of others.

53.6. No person may be coerced to participate or not to participate in religious practices.

53.7. No person may be obliged by public authorities to disclose his or her world-view, religious beliefs or creed.

Article 54

54.1. Everyone is entitled to the freedom of expression of his or her views and to the freedom of obtaining and disseminating information.

54.2. Preventive censorship of the mass media and licensing of the press is prohibited. The law may require application for licenses to operate radio and television stations.

Article 55

55.1. The extradition of Polish citizens is prohibited.

55.2. The extradition of any person suspected of committing a crime for political reasons without resorting to force is prohibited.

55.3. Admissibility of extradition is ruled upon by a court of law.

Article 56

56.1. Foreign nationals may avail themselves of the right of asylum in the Republic of Poland on principles defined by [separate] legislation.

56.2. A foreigner who seeks protection in the Republic of Poland against persecution may be granted the status of a refugee pursuant to the international agreements binding upon the Republic of Poland.

Political Rights and Liberties

Article 57

Everyone is guaranteed the freedom to organize and participate in peaceful assemblies. Restrictions on this freedom may be defined by legislation.

Article 58

58.1. Everyone is guaranteed freedom of association.

58.2. Associations whose purpose or activities conflict with the Constitution or legislation are prohibited. Refusal to register an association or a ban against its activities is ruled upon by a court of law.

58.3. Legislation defines the kinds of associations subject to registration in a court of law, the procedure for that registration, and the forms of oversight of these associations.

Article 59

59.1. Freedom of association in trade unions, farmers' associations, and employer organizations is guaranteed.

59.2. Trade unions and employers and their organizations have the right to negotiate, in particular with the object of resolving collective bargaining disputes, and to conclude collective labor agreements and other agreements.

59.3. Trade unions have the right to organize employee strikes and other forms of protest within the bounds defined by legislation. In consideration of public welfare, the legislation may restrict the conduct of a strike or prohibit it with regard to specified categories of employees or in specified fields.

59.4. The scope of the freedom to associate in trade unions and employer organizations, and of other trade union freedoms, may be subject only to such legal abridgments as are permitted by the international agreements binding upon the Republic of Poland.

Article 60

All Polish citizens with full public rights have the right of access to public service on the principle of equality.

Article 61

61.1. Citizens have the right to obtain information on the activities of public authorities and public officials. This right also applies to obtaining information on the activities of economic and professional associations and persons and organizational units insofar as they perform tasks of public administration or manage municipal or Treasury assets.

61.2. The right to obtain information comprises access to documents and admission to the meetings of generally-elected governmental bodies, with the possibility of recording sounds or images.

61.3. Restrictions on the right referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 may be imposed solely in consideration of the legally established protection of the rights and liberties of other persons, businesses and enterprises, public order, security, or important economic interests of the State.

61.4. The procedure for obtaining the information referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 is defined by legislation, and with respect to the Sejm and Senate, by their house rules.

Article 62

62.1. Polish citizens who attain the age of 18 by election day have the right to participate in referendums and to elect the President of the Republic and their representatives to the Sejm, the Senate, and local governments.

62.2. The right to participate in referendums and the right to vote does not apply to legally incapacitated persons as well as to persons legally deprived of their public or voting rights.

Article 63

Everyone can submit petitions, proposals, and complaints in public interest, on his own behalf, or on the behalf of another person with the latter's consent, to agencies of public administration or to social organizations and institutions, concerning the performance of their official duties relating to public administration. The procedure for considering these petitions, proposals, and complaints is defined by legislation.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Freedoms and Rights

Article 64

64.1. Everyone has the right to ownership, other property rights, and the right of inheritance.

64.2. Ownership, other property rights, and the right of inheritance are subject to legal protection that is equal for all.

64.3. Ownership may be restricted only by legislation and only to the extent to which it does not abridge the essence of the right of ownership.

Article 65

65.1. Everyone has the right to choose and exercise his or her trade or profession and to choose the place of work. Exceptions are defined by legislation.

65.2. The obligation to work may be imposed only by legislation.

65.3. Permanent employment of children below the age of 16 is prohibited. The forms and nature of their permissible employment are defined by legislation.

65.4. The minimum remuneration of labor or the procedure for determining it are defined by legislation.

65.5. Public authorities pursue a policy intended to promote full, productive employment by implementing programs for reducing unemployment, including the organization and sponsorship of vocational counseling and schooling, as well as of public works and temporary jobs.

Article 66

66.1. Everyone has the right to safe and hygienic working conditions. The implementation of this right and the obligations of the employer are defined by legislation.

66.2. The employee is guaranteed the right to days off as well as to an annual paid leave, as provided for in legislation. Legislation defines the maximum norms of work time.

Article 67

67.1. Citizens have the right to social insurance in the event of work disability due to illness or injury, as well as upon attaining retirement age. The scope and forms of social insurance are defined by legislation.

67.2. Citizens who remain unemployed against their will and who lack other sources of support have the right to social benefits, whose scope and forms are defined by legislation.

Article 68

68.1. Everyone has the right to health care.

68.2. Citizens have the right of access to basic health care financed with public funds, regardless of their material situation. The terms on which that care is provided are defined by legislation.

68.3. Public authorities are obliged to assure special health care for children, pregnant women, the disabled, and the elderly.

68.4. Public authorities are obliged to combat epidemic diseases and prevent the adverse health effects of environmental degradation.

68.5. Public authorities support the development of physical culture, especially among children and youth.

Article 69

Disabled persons are granted by public authorities assistance in securing their livelihood, vocational rehabilitation, and public transport/communication, as provided for by legislation.

Article 70

70.1. Everyone has the right to education. Schooling is mandatory until the age of 18. The procedure for performing this obligation is prescribed by legislation.

70.2. Instruction in all public schools is free of charge. The legislation may allow the payment of partial tuition to public institutions of higher education for the provision of certain educational services.

70.3. Parents have the right to choose schools other than public schools for their children. Citizens and institutions have the right to establish elementary, secondary schools, and institutions of higher education, as well as boarding schools. The requirements for the establishment and operation of non-public schools and for the participation of public authorities in their financing, as well as the principles of pedagogical oversight of schools, are defined by legislation.

70.4. Public authorities assure citizens universal and equal access to education. To this end they establish and support systems for individual financial and organizational assistance to pupils and students, on terms defined by legislation.

70.5. The autonomy of institutions of higher education is safeguarded on principles defined by legislation.

Article 71

71.1. In its social and economic policies the State takes into consideration the good of the family. Families in a difficult material and social situation, especially large and single-parent families, have the right to special assistance from public authorities.

71.2. Before and after the child's birth, the mother has the right to special assistance from public authorities, to an extent defined by legislation.

Article 72

72.1. The Republic of Poland guarantees the protection of children's rights. Everyone has the right to demand of public authorities that they protect a child against duress, cruelty, exploitation, and demoralization.

72.2. A child who is deprived of parental care has the right to public care and assistance.

72.3. In the process of determining the rights of a child, public authorities and persons responsible for the child are obligated to listen to and, insofar as possible, take into consideration the child's own views.

72.4. Legislation defines the powers and the procedure for the appointment of a Children's Rights Spokesperson.

Article 73

Everyone is guaranteed the freedom of artistic creativity and scientific research, the freedom to make public their results, the freedom of instruction, and also the freedom of benefiting from cultural treasures.

Article 74

74.1. Public authorities pursue a policy of safeguarding the ecological security of the present and future generations.

74.2. Environmental protection is an obligation of public authorities.

74.3. Everyone has the right to information on the condition and protection of the environment.

74.4. Public authorities support the activities of citizens to promote and improve the state of the environment.

Article 75

75.1. Public authorities pursue a policy conducive to meeting the housing needs of citizens, in particular by counteracting homelessness, sponsoring the construction of low-income housing, and supporting the efforts of citizens to obtain their own homes.

75.2. The protection of tenant rights is defined by legislation.

Article 76

Public authorities protect consumers, users, and lessees against practices endangering their health, privacy, and safety, as well as against dishonest market practices. The scope of this protection is defined by legislation.

Means of Protecting Freedoms and Rights

Article 77

77.1 Everyone has the right to compensation for the damage or damages caused by unlawful activities of public authorities.

77.2. The legislation may not bar anyone from resorting to judicial redress for violations of freedoms and rights.

Article 78

Each side has the right to appeal rulings and decisions issued by lower courts. Exceptions to this principle and the procedure for appealing are defined by legislation.

Article 79

79.1. Everyone whose constitutional freedoms and rights are violated has the right, on principles defined by legislation, to lodge a complaint with the Constitutional Tribunal so that it may determine consistence with the Constitution of the legislation or other normative acts pursuant to which a court of law or an agency of public administration has issued a final ruling on the complainant's rights, liberties, or obligations defined in the Constitution.

79.2. The provisions of Paragraph 1 do not apply to the rights specified in Article 56.

Article 80

Everyone has the right to apply, on the principles defined by legislation, to the Citizens' Rights Spokesperson with a request for assistance to protect his or her liberties or rights violated by public authorities.

Article 81

The rights referred to in Article 65, Paragraphs 4 and 5, and in Articles 66, 69, 71, and Articles 74-76, may be enforced within the bounds defined by legislation.

Obligations

Article 82

Loyalty to the Republic of Poland and concern for the common good are the obligations of Polish citizens.

Article 83

Everyone has the obligation to adhere to the laws of the Republic of Poland.

Article 84

Everyone is obliged to bear the burdens and public charges, including taxes, defined by legislation.

Article 85

85.1. It is the obligation of Polish citizens to defend their Fatherland.

85.2. The scope of the obligation of military service is defined by legislation.

85.3. Citizens whose religious convictions or professed moral principles prevent them from performing military service may be obligated to perform alternative service as defined by legislation.

Article 86

Everyone is obliged to care for the state of the environment and is held accountable for personally contributing to its deterioration. The principles of such accountability are defined by legislation.

CHAPTER III. SOURCES OF LAW

Article 87

87.1. The sources of the commonly binding law of the Republic of Poland are: the Constitution, legislative acts, ratified international agreements, and decrees.

87.2. The sources of the commonly binding law of the Republic of Poland, applicable to the jurisdiction of local authorities which constitute them, are local ordinances.

Article 88

88.1. In order for legislative acts, decrees and local ordinances to go into effect, they must first be published.

88.2. The principles and procedure for the publication of normative acts are defined by legislation.

88.3. International agreements ratified pursuant to prior agreement as provided in legislation are made public in the same process as required for the legislation. Procedures for publishing other international agreements are provided for by [separate] legislation.

Article 89

89.1. The ratification of international agreements by the Republic of Poland, as well as their renunciation, require prior consent, defined in [separate] legislation, if they concern:

1) Peace, alliances, political or military treaties.

2) Civil rights, liberties, or civil obligations defined in the Constitution.

3) Membership of the Republic of Poland in international organizations.

4) Substantial financial obligations of the State.

5) Matters regulated by legislation or matters for which the Constitution requires legislation.

89.2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers notifies the Sejm of the intent to submit to the President of the Republic for ratification international agreements whose ratification does not require prior consent, as defined by [separate] legislation.

89.3. The principles and procedure for the conclusion, ratification, and renunciation of international agreements are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 90

90.1. The Republic of Poland may, pursuant to an international agreement, transfer to an international organization or international agency the exercise of certain powers of the government authorities.

90.2. Legislation consenting to the ratification of an international agreement referred to in Paragraph 1, must be passed in the Sejm by a majority of two-thirds of the votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies, and in the Senate by a majority of two-thirds of the votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of senators.

90.3. Consent to the ratification of said agreement may be given through a national referendum pursuant to the provisions of Article 125.

90.4. A resolution on choosing the procedure for expressing consent to ratification is adopted by the Sejm by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 91

91.1. Ratified international agreements constitute, following their publication in *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Legislative Record of the Republic of Poland]*, a part of the domestic legal order and are directly applicable, unless their application is contingent on issuing new legislation.

91.2. An international agreement ratified on the basis of prior-consent legislation, supersedes other legislation, if the provisions of the latter cannot be reconciled with the former.

91.3. When it ensues from an agreement ratified by the Republic of Poland, constituting an international organization, the law of that organization applies directly and supersedes national legislative acts in case of conflicting provisions.

Article 92

92.1. Decrees are issued by the agencies specified in the Constitution only when so specifically authorized by legislation and required for the legislation's implementation. The authorization should specify the appropriate agency to issue the decree, the scope of issues to be regulated and directives concerning the substance.

92.2. The agency authorized to issue a decree may not delegate its powers, as referred to in Paragraph 1, to another agency.

Article 93

93.1. Resolutions of the Council of Ministers and executive orders of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and of the respective ministers are the internal normative regulations that apply only to those agencies under the jurisdiction of the issuing authority.

93.2. Executive orders are issued only pursuant to the legislation. They may not be grounds for decisions concerning citizens, legal entities, and other entities.

93.3. Resolutions and executive orders are subject to monitoring for their consistency with commonly binding laws.

Article 94

Local-government agencies and local agencies of the national government administration, pursuant to and within the bounds of the powers vested in them by [separate] legislation, enact local ordinances applicable within their administrative borders. The principles and procedure for enacting local ordinances are defined by [separate] legislation.

CHAPTER IV. THE SEJM AND THE SENATE

Article 95

95.1. Legislative power in the Republic of Poland is exercised by the Sejm and the Senate.

95.2. The Sejm exercises control over the activities of the Council of Ministers to the extent defined by the provisions of the Constitution and the legislative acts.

Elections and Terms of Office

Article 96

96.1. The Sejm consists of 460 deputies.

96.2. Elections to the Sejm are general, equal, direct, and proportional, with the votes cast by secret ballot.

Article 97

97.1. The Senate consists of 100 senators.

97.2. Elections to the Senate are general and direct, with the votes cast by secret ballot.

Article 98

98.1. The Sejm and the Senate are elected for a term of four years. The terms of the newly elected Sejm and Senate commence on the day the Sejm assembles for its first session and continues until the day preceding the day of the first session of the Sejm of the next term.

98.2. Elections to the Sejm and the Senate are ordered by the President of the Republic not later than 90 days prior to the elapse of the four years since the beginning of the current term of the Sejm and the Senate, upon designating the election day on a non-work day some time during the last 30 days prior to the elapse of the four years since the beginning of the current term of the Sejm and the Senate.

98.3. The Sejm may cut short its own term of office by a resolution passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the statutory number of deputies. Shortening the Sejm's term of office also means a concurrent shortening of the term of office of the Senate. The provisions of Paragraph 5 apply correspondingly.

98.4. The President of the Republic, upon consulting the Speaker of the Sejm and the Speaker of the Senate, in cases defined by the Constitution, may order shortening the term of office of the Sejm. This is automatically followed by shortening the term of office of the Senate.

98.5. When ordering the shortening of the term of office of the Sejm, the President of the Republic at the same time orders new elections to the Sejm and the Senate, upon designating their date on a day occurring not later than 45 days following the President's order to shorten the term of office of the Sejm. The President of the Republic convenes the first session of the newly elected Sejm not later than on the 15th day after the elections are held.

98.6. In the event the term of the Sejm is shortened, the provisions of Paragraph 1 apply correspondingly.

Article 99

99.1. To be eligible for election to the Sejm, a candidate has to be a Polish citizen with voting rights and be 21 years of age by election day.

99.2. To be eligible for election to the Senate, a candidate has to be a Polish citizen with voting rights and be 30 years of age by election day.

Article 100

100.1. Candidates for deputies and senators may be nominated by political parties or voters.

100.2. No one may be simultaneously a candidate for the Sejm and the Senate.

100.3. The principles and procedures for nominating candidates and conducting elections and the requirements for the validity of elections are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 101

101.1. The validity of elections to the Sejm and the Senate is verified by the Supreme Court.

101.2. Voters have the right to contest before the Supreme Court the validity of elections according to principles defined by [separate] legislation.

Deputies and Senators

Article 102

No one may be simultaneously a deputy and a senator.

Article 103

103.1. The office of a deputy may not be combined with holding the office of the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland, the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits, the Citizens' Rights Spokesperson, the Children's Rights Spokesperson, or their deputies, a member of the Council on Monetary Policy, a member of the National Radio and Television Council, or an ambassador, or with employment at the Sejm Chancellery, the Senate Chancellery, the Chancellery of the President of the Republic, or in the government administration. This prohibition does not apply to members of the Council of Ministers and the secretaries of state [deputy ministers] in the government administration.

103.2. Judges, public prosecutors, civil servants, military personnel on active duty, and personnel of the police and of the services protecting the State, may not hold the office of a Sejm deputy.

103.3. Other instances in which holding the office of a Sejm deputy is incompatible with other posts or prohibited may be defined by legislation.

Article 104

104.1. Deputies are representatives of the entire Nation. They are not bound by the instructions of voters.

104.2. Before beginning to execute their office the deputies swear the following oath before the Sejm: "I do solemnly swear to perform honestly and conscientiously my obligations to the Nation, to guard national sovereignty and interests, to do everything for the welfare of the Fatherland and the good of the citizens, and to obey the Constitution and other laws of the Republic of Poland." The oath may be sworn with the additional words, "So help me God."

104.3. Refusal to swear the oath signifies renunciation of the office.

Article 105

105.1. A deputy may not be held accountable for his or her activities that constitute part of his or her legislative mandate, neither during nor after the expiration of his or her term of office. The deputy is accountable to the Sejm alone, and in the event of violation of the rights of third parties, he or she may be held accountable before a court of law only with the concurrence of the Sejm.

105.2. During the period from the day the results of elections are announced until the day of expiration of his or her mandate, the deputy may not be prosecuted for a crime without the concurrence of the Sejm.

105.3. Criminal proceedings instituted prior to the day of election of the deputy are, upon the demand of the Sejm, subject to suspension until the expiration of the deputy's term. In this event the statute of limitations is also subject to suspension for the period in question.

105.4. A deputy may consent to being prosecuted for a crime. In this event the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 do not apply.

105.5. A deputy may not be detained or arrested without the consent of the Sejm, with one exception — when he or she is caught in the act of committing a crime, provided that his detention is indispensable to assuring the proper course of the proceedings. The Speaker of the Sejm is immediately notified of the detention of any deputy, who must be released immediately upon the Speaker's request.

105.6. Detailed principles for the criminal prosecution of deputies and the related procedures are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 106

[Separate] legislation defines the conditions and rights of deputies in fulfilling their legislative duties.

Article 107

107.1. Deputies may not, within the limits established by [separate] legislation, engage in economic activity, derive profits from the assets of the State Treasury or local governments, nor may they acquire such assets.

107.2. For violating the prohibitions referred to in Paragraph 1 a deputy may be held accountable before the Tribunal of State by a Sejm resolution adopted on the recommendation of the Speaker of the Sejm. The Tribunal of State rules on depriving the deputy of his or her office.

Article 108

Articles 103-107 apply correspondingly to senators.

Organization and Functioning

Article 109

109.1. The Sejm and the Senate deliberate at their sessions.

109.2. The first session of the newly elected Sejm and Senate is convened by the President of the Republic on a day within the first 30 days after election day, with the exception of the cases specified in Article 98, Paragraphs 3 and 5.

Article 110

110.1. The Sejm chooses from among its members the Speaker and the deputy speakers.

110.2. The Speaker of the Sejm chairs the deliberations of the Sejm, guards the rights of the Sejm, and represents the Sejm outside.

110.3. The Sejm appoints standing committees and may appoint special committees.

Article 111

111.1. The Sejm may appoint an investigating committee to investigate a particular matter.

111.2. The operating procedure of the investigating committee is defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 112

The internal organization and order of work of the Sejm, as well as the procedure for the appointment and activities of its bodies and the manner in which government agencies perform their constitutional and legal duties vis a vis the Sejm, are defined by the house rules of the Sejm adopted by the Sejm.

Article 113

Sessions of the Sejm are public. If so required by the good of the State, the Sejm may resolve, by an absolute majority of votes and in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies, to deliberate in a closed session.

Article 114

114.1. In cases defined by the Constitution, the Sejm and the Senate, convening jointly under the chairmanship of the Speaker of the Sejm, or, in his absence, of the Speaker of the Senate, act as the National Assembly.

114.2. The National Assembly adopts its own house rules.

Article 115

115.1. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers and its members have the obligation of providing answers to the interpellations or questions of Sejm deputies within 21 days.

115.2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers and its members have the obligation of providing answers on current affairs at every sitting of the Sejm.

Article 116

116.1. The Sejm decides on behalf of the Republic of Poland on the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace.

116.2. The Sejm may adopt a resolution declaring war only in the event of an armed attack on the territory of the Republic of Poland or when an obligation of common defense against aggression ensues from international agreements. In the event that it is not possible for the Sejm to assemble, the President of the Republic decides on the declaration of war.

Article 117

The principles of using the Armed Forces outside the boundaries of the Republic of Poland are defined by a ratified international agreement or by a legislative act. The principles for the stationing or movement of foreign troops on the territory of the Republic of Poland are defined by ratified international agreements or by a legislative act.

Article 118

118.1. Legislation can be initiated by deputies, the Senate, the President of the Republic, and the Council of Ministers.

118.2. Legislation can also be initiated by a group of at least 100,000 citizens having the right to vote for the Sejm. The operating procedure in this case is defined by [separate] legislation.

118.3. When presenting draft legislation to the Sejm, the financial impact of implementing such legislation must also be presented.

Article 119

119.1. The Sejm considers a draft legislation in the course of three successive readings.

119.2. The right to propose amendments to draft legislation during its consideration by the Sejm belongs to the presenter, the deputies, and the Council of Ministers.

119.3. The Speaker of the Sejm may refuse to present for a vote an amendment which has not previously been submitted to a committee.

119.4. The presenter may withdraw the draft legislation during its legislative proceedings in the Sejm before its second reading is completed.

Article 120

The Sejm passes legislation by an ordinary majority of votes, in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies, unless the Constitution provides for a different majority. By the same procedure, the Sejm shall adopt resolutions unless the provisions of legislation or of Sejm resolutions specify otherwise.

Article 121

121.1. Once legislation is passed by the Sejm, it is transmitted by the Speaker of the Sejm to the Senate.

121.2. Within 30 days from the transmittal of the legislation, the Senate may either accept it unamended, propose amendments, or reject it in its entirety. If the Senate does not adopt a resolution concerning said legislation within 30 days from its transmittal, the legislation is considered as accepted and as having the language adopted by the Sejm.

121.3. A Senate resolution rejecting a piece of legislation or proposing an amendment thereto is considered as accepted if the Sejm does not, in its turn, reject it by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 122

122.1. Once legislation is adopted by the procedure defined in Article 121, the Speaker of the Sejm presents it to the President of the Republic for signing.

122.2. The President of the Republic signs the legislation into law within 21 days from the day of its presentation and orders its publication in *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Legislative Record of the Republic of Poland].*

122.3. Before signing the legislation into law the President of the Republic may request the Constitutional Tribunal to verify its consistency with the Constitution. The President may not veto a piece of legislation which the Constitutional Tribunal deems consistent with the Constitution.

122.4. The President of the Republic vetoes legislation which the Constitutional Tribunal rules inconsistent with the Constitution. If, however, that inconsistency applies only to specific provisions of the legislation and the Tribunal does not rule that they are intrinsic to the legislation as a whole, the President, upon consulting the Speaker of the Sejm, signs the legislation into law — omitting the provisions ruled to be inconsistent with the Constitution —or returns the legislation to the Sejm for elimination of the attendant inconsistencies.

122.5. If the President of the Republic does not turn to the Constitutional Tribunal by the procedure specified in Paragraph 3, he may return the legislation in question, together with a rationale, to the Sejm for reconsideration. Should the Sejm once again pass said legislation, this time by a majority of three-fifths of the votes, in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies, the President of the Republic signs the legislation into law within seven days and orders its publication in the *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Legislative Record of the Republic of Poland].* In the event that the Sejm again passes the legislation, the President of the Republic is not empowered to turn to the Constitutional Tribunal by the procedure specified in Paragraph 3.

122.6. If the President of the Republic of Poland asks the Constitutional Tribunal to verify the consistency of a piece of legislation with the Constitution, or if he asks the Sejm to reconsider the legislation, this suspends the time limit, defined in Paragraph 2, required for signing the legislation into law.

Article 123

123.1. The Council of Ministers may classify a piece of legislation being presented by it as urgent, except for legislation dealing with taxation, elections of the President of the Republic, the Sejm, the Senate, or local government entities, or concerning the organizational structure and powers of public authorities, and legal codes.

123.2. The house rules of the Sejm and the Senate define the differences in the treatment of legislation designated as urgent.

123.3. In the case of legislation designated as urgent, the time limit for its consideration by the Senate is 14 days, and for the signing by the President, seven days.

Article 124

The provisions of Articles 110, 112, 113, and 120 apply correspondingly to the Senate.

Referendums

Article 125

125.1. Matters of special importance to the State may be subjected to a national referendum.

125.2. The Sejm has the right to order a national referendum by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies. Otherwise, the President of the Republic may order it with the consent of the Senate as expressed by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of senators.

125.3. If more than one-half of the eligible voters take part in a national referendum, the results of the referendum are binding.

125.4. The validity of the national referendum and of the referendum referred to in Article 235, Paragraph 6, is verified by the Supreme Court.

125.5. The principles and procedure for conducting a referendum are defined by [separate] legislation.

CHAPTER V. THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Article 126

126.1. The President of the Republic of Poland is the supreme representative of the Republic of Poland and the guarantor of the continuity of state authority.

126.2. The President of the Republic safeguards the adherence to the Constitution and guards national sovereignty and security and the inviolability and indivisibility of the territory of the State.

126.3. The President of the Republic discharges his duties to the extent and on the principles defined in the Constitution and legislation.

Article 127

127.1. The President of the Republic is elected by the Nation in general, equal, and direct elections, and by secret ballot.

127.2. The President of the Republic is elected for a term of five years and may be re-elected only once.

127.3. Any Polish citizen who has attained the age of 35 by election day and is fully eligible to vote for the Sejm may be elected President of the Republic. A candidate has to be nominated by at least 100,000 voters who are eligible to vote for the Sejm.

127.4. The candidate elected President of the Republic is the one who has received more than one-half of the valid ballots cast. If no candidate gains the required majority of votes, run-off elections are held 14 days following the initial elections.

127.5. In the run-off elections a choice is made between the two candidates who had received the most votes in the first round of elections. If one of these two candidates withdraws his consent to run, forfeits his eligibility to vote, or dies, he is replaced in the run-off elections by the candidate who had received the next largest number of votes in the initial elections. In this event the date of the run-off elections is postponed by an additional 14 days.

127.6. In the run-off elections the President-elect is the candidate who receives the most votes.

127.7. The principles and procedure for nominating candidates and conducting elections as well as the requirements for the validity of the election of the President of the Republic are defined by legislation.

Article 128

128.1. The term of office of the President of the Republic begins on the day he takes office.

128.2. Presidential elections are ordered by the Speaker of the Sejm for a day that is not earlier than 100 days and not later than 75 days prior to the elapse of the term of office of the incumbent President of the Republic, and in the event the office of the President of the Republic is vacated, not later than 14 days after it is vacated. Election day is to be designated on a non-working day within not more than 60 days of the day the elections are ordered.

Article 129

129.1. The validity of the election of the President of the Republic is confirmed by the Supreme Court.

129.2. Voters have the right to lodge with the Supreme Court a protest against the validity of the election of the President of the Republic, following the principles defined by legislation.

129.3. In the event the election of the President of the Republic is found to be invalid, new elections are held on the principles defined in Article 128, Paragraph 2, that apply to a vacant presidency.

Article 130

The President of the Republic takes office upon swearing before the National Assembly the following oath: "On assuming by the will of the Nation the office of the President of the Republic of Poland, I solemnly swear that I shall remain faithful to the provisions of the Constitution, guard adamantly the dignity of the Nation and the independence and security of the State, and that to me the good of the Fatherland and the welfare of its citizens shall always remain the paramount behest." The oath may be sworn by adding the following words,"So help me God."

Article 131

131.1. In the event that the President of the Republic is temporarily unable to exercise his office, he notifies accordingly the Speaker of the Sejm, upon whom the duties of the President of the Republic temporarily devolve. If the President of the Republic is unable to thus notify the Speaker of the Sejm, the existence of an obstacle to the President's exercise of his duties is ruled upon by the Constitutional Tribunal, at the request of the Speaker of the Sejm. In the event that the President of the Republic is found to be temporarily unable to exercise his office, the Constitutional Tribunal entrusts to the Speaker of the Sejm temporary exercise of the duties of the President of the Republic.

131.2. The Speaker of the Sejm temporarily exercises, until the election of a new President, the duties of the President of the Republic in the event of:

1) The demise of the President of the Republic.

2) Resignation of the President of the Republic from office.

3) Invalidation of the election of the President of the Republic or other reasons for failure to take office after the election.

4) Acknowledgment by the National Assembly of permanent inability of the President of the Republic to exercise his or her office owing to the state of health, by a resolution adopted by a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes of the statutory number of members of the National Assembly.

5) Deposal of the President of the Republic from office by a ruling of the Tribunal of State.

131.3. If the Speaker of the Sejm is unable to exercise the duties of the President of the Republic, these duties shall be exercised by the Speaker of the Senate.

131.4. The person temporarily exercising the duties of the President of the Republic may not decide to shorten the term of the Sejm.

Article 132

The President of the Republic may discharge no other office or public duties, except those associated with his or her office.

Article 133

133.1. The President of the Republic, as the representative of the State in foreign relations:

1) Ratifies and renounces international agreements, whereof he notifies the Sejm and the Senate.

2) Appoints and recalls authorized representatives of the Republic of Poland in other countries and in international organizations.

3) Accepts letters of accreditation and recall of the diplomatic representatives of other countries and international organizations accredited to him or her.

133.2. Before ratifying an international agreement the President of the Republic may request the Constitutional Tribunal to verify its consistency with the Constitution.

133.3. The President of the Republic exercises his or her powers as regards foreign policy in cooperation with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the appropriate minister.

Article 134

134.1. The President of the Republic is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland.

134.2. In peacetime the President of the Republic commands the Armed Forces through the Minister of National Defense.

134.3. The President of the Republic appoints the Chief of the General Staff and the commanders of the armed services for a specified period of time. The duration of that period and the procedure and conditions for recall prior to its elapse are defined by legislation.

134.4. In time of war the President of the Republic appoints the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. By the same procedure he may recall the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. The powers of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and the principles of his subordination to the constitutional authorities of the Republic of Poland are defined by legislative acts.

134.5. The President of the Republic confers military ranks as defined by legislative acts, on the recommendation of the Minister of National Defense.

134.6. Detailed powers of the President of the Republic in his or her capacity as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces are defined by legislation.

Article 135

The advisory body of the President of the Republic on domestic and foreign security of the state is the National Security Council.

Article 136

In the event of a direct external threat to the State, the President of the Republic, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, orders general or partial mobilization and use of the Armed Forces in defense of the Republic of Poland.

Article 137

The President of the Republic grants Polish citizenship and expresses consent to the renunciation thereof.

Article 138

The President of the Republic bestows orders and decorations.

Article 139

The President of the Republic exercises the right of pardon. The right of pardon does not apply to persons sentenced by the Tribunal of State.

Article 140

The President of the Republic may make an address to the Sejm or the Senate or to the National Assembly. The address is not subject to a debate.

Article 141

141.1. In cases of special importance the President of the Republic may convene the Cabinet Council. The Cabinet Council is formed by the Council of Ministers deliberating under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic.

141.2. The Cabinet Council lacks the powers of the Council of Ministers.

Article 142

142.1. The President of the Republic issues decrees and executive orders on principles defined in Articles 92 and 93.

142.2. The President of the Republic makes decisions concerning the implementation of other powers vested in his office.

Article 143

The Chancellery of the President of the Republic is an auxiliary body to the President of the Republic. The President of the Republic confers a statute on the Chancellery and appoints and recalls the chief of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic.

Article 144

144.1. Exercising his constitutional and legal powers, the President of the Republic issues official acts.

144.2. The official acts of the President of the Republic need to be validated by the signature of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, whose signature makes him accountable to the Sejm for the official act.

144.3. Paragraph 2 does not apply to:

1) Ordering elections to the Sejm and the Senate.

2) Convening the first session of the newly elected Sejm and Senate.

3) Shortening the term of the Sejm in the cases defined in the Constitution.

4) Legislative initiative.

5) Ordering a national referendum.

6) Signing or vetoing a legislation.

7) Ordering the publication of a legislation or an international agreement in the *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Legislative Record of the Republic of Poland]*.

8) Making an addressing to the Sejm, the Senate, or the National Assembly.

9) Making a request to the Constitutional Tribunal.

10) Recommending an audit to the Supreme Chamber of Audits.

11) Designating and appointing the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

12) Accepting the resignation of the Council of Ministers and charging said Council with a temporary continued exercise of its duties.

13) Recommending to the Sejm that a member of the Council of Ministers be held accountable before the Constitutional Tribunal.

14) Recalling a minister who receives a vote of no confidence by the Sejm.

15) Convening the Cabinet Council.

16) Bestowing orders and decorations.

17) Making judicial appointments.

18) Exercising the right of pardon.

19) Conferring Polish citizenship and consenting to a renunciation thereof.

20) Appointing the First Justice of the Supreme Court.

21) Appointing the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Tribunal.

22) Appointing the Chairman of the Superior Administrative Court.

23) Appointing the justices of the Supreme Court and deputy chairpersons of the Superior Administrative Court.

24) Recommending to the Sejm the appointment of the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland.

25) Appointing the members of the Council for Monetary Policy.

26) Appointing and recalling the members of the National Security Council.

27) Appointing the members of the National Radio and Television Council.

28) Conferring the statute of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic and appointing and recalling the Chief of the Chancellery of the President of the Republic.

29) Issuing executive orders in accord with the guidelines in Article 93.

30) Resigning the office of President of the Republic.

Article 145

145.1. The President of the Republic may be held accountable before the Tribunal of State for violating the Constitution or a legislative act or for committing a crime.

145.2. Impeachment of the President of the Republic may take place by means of a resolution of the National Assembly passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the statutory number of members of the National Assembly, on the motion of at least 140 members of the National Assembly.

145.3. On the day the resolution to impeach the President of the Republic before the Tribunal of State is adopted, the discharge of duties by the President of the Republic is subject to suspension. The provisions of Article 131 apply accordingly.

CHAPTER VI. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

Article 146

146.1. The Council of Ministers conducts the domestic and foreign policies of the Republic of Poland.

146.2. Matters relating to national policies are within the purview of the Council of Ministers, insofar as they are not arrogated to the jurisdiction of other government agencies and local governments.

146.3. The Council of Ministers directs the general government administration.

146.4. To the extent and on the principles established by the Constitution and legislation, the Council of Ministers, in particular:

1) Assures the implementation of legislation.

2) Issues executive orders.

3) Coordinates and monitors the work of the agencies of government administration.

4) Protects the interests of the State Treasury.

5) Votes on the draft of the State Budget.

6) Directs the execution of the State Budget and votes on closing State accounts as well as on the report on the execution of the budget.

7) Safeguards internal security and public order.

8) Safeguards the external security of the State.

9) Exercises overall leadership in the field of relations with other countries and international organizations.

10) Concludes international agreements requiring ratification and confirms and renounces other international agreements.

11) Exercises overall leadership in the domain of national defense and annually determines the number of citizens subject to drafting for active military service.

12) Determines its own organizational structure and operating procedures.

Article 147

147.1. The Council of Ministers consists of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the ministers.

147.2. Deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers may be appointed to the Council of Ministers.

147.3. The Chairman and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers may also discharge the duties of ministers.

147.4. Chairmen of committees specified by legislation may also be included in the membership of the Council of Ministers.

Article 148

148.1. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers:

1) Represents the Council of Ministers.

2) Directs the work of the Council of Ministers.

3) Issues executive orders.

4) Assures execution of the policies of the Council of Ministers and determines the ways of implementing them.

5) Coordinates and supervises the work of members of the Council of Ministers.

6) Exercises, within the bounds and in the ways defined by the Constitution and legislation, oversight of local governments.

7) Is the highest official supervisor of the employees of the general government administration.

Article 149

149.1. Ministers direct particular branches of the governmental administration or exercise the duties assigned to them by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The scope of activities of a minister directing a particular branch of the governmental administration is defined by legislation.

149.2. The minister directing a branch of the governmental administration issues decrees. The Council of Ministers may, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, rescind said decrees and executive orders.

149.3. The provisions concerning ministers who direct a particular branch of governmental administration apply correspondingly to the chairman of the committee referred to in Article 147, Paragraph 4.

Article 150

Members of the Council of Ministers may not engage in activities whose nature conflicts with their public duties.

Article 151

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and the ministers swear the following oath in the presence of the President of the Republic: "In assuming the office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers (deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister), I solemnly swear that I shall remain faithful to the provisions of the Constitution and other laws of the Republic of Poland, and that the good of the Fatherland and the welfare of its citizens shall always remain my paramount behest." The oath may also be sworn by adding the words, "So help me God."

Article 152

152.1. The voivode is the representative of the Council of Ministers in a voivodship [province].

152.2. The procedure for the appointment and recall of voivodes and the scope of their activities are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 153

153.1. To assure a professional, thorough, impartial, and politically neutral execution of duties of the State, a civil service corps shall operate in the offices of the governmental administration.

153.2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers is the official superior of the civil service corps.

Article 154

154.1. The President of the Republic designates the Chairman of the Council of Ministers who in his turn proposes members of the Council of Ministers. The President of the Republic appoints the Chairman of the Council of Ministers together with other members of the Council of

Ministers within 14 days from the first session of the Sejm or from acceptance of resignation of the previous Council of Ministers, and swears them into office.

154.2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers presents to the Sejm, not later than on the 14th day from his appointment by the President, the program of action of the Council of Ministers along with a request for a vote of confidence. The Sejm passes the vote of confidence by an absolute majority of votes, in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

154.3. In the event that the Council of Ministers is not appointed by the procedure specified in Paragraph 1, or that it is not granted a vote of confidence by the procedure specified in Paragraph 2, the Sejm chooses the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the members of the Council of Ministers whom he proposes, within 14 days after the elapse of the deadlines specified in Paragraphs 1 and 2, by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies. The President of the Republic appoints the thus chosen Council of Ministers and swears its members into office.

Article 155

155.1. In the event of failure to appoint the Council of Ministers by the procedure specified in Article 154, Paragraph 3, the President of the Republic appoints the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and, on the latter's recommendation, other members of the Council of Ministers, within 14 days. Not later than on the 14th day after the appointment of the Council of Ministers by the President, the Sejm passes a vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers by a majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

155.2. In the event that a Council of Ministers is not granted a vote of confidence by the procedure specified in Paragraph 1, the President of the Republic shortens the term of the Sejm and orders early elections.

Article 156

156.1. Members of the Council of Ministers are accountable before the Tribunal of State for violating the Constitution or legislation, as well as for crimes perpetrated in connection with their posts.

156.2. The resolution to hold a member of the Council of Ministers accountable before the Tribunal of State is taken by the Sejm on the motion of the President of the Republic or at least 115 deputies, and by a majority vote of three-fifths of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 157

157.1. Members of the Council of Ministers are jointly accountable to the Sejm for the activities of the Council of Ministers.

157.2. Members of the Council of Ministers also are individually accountable to the Sejm for matters belonging within the purview of their jurisdiction or entrusted to them by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Article 158

158.1. The Sejm passes a vote of no confidence in the Council of Ministers by a majority of the statutory number of deputies on the motion of at least 46 deputies, with the motion containing the name of a new nominee for the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. If the resolution is adopted by the Sejm, the President of the Republic accepts the resignation of the Council of Ministers and appoints the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers chosen by the Sejm and, on the Chairman's recommendation, the other members of the Council of Ministers and swears them in.

158.2. The motion for the resolution referred to in Paragraph 1 may be subjected to a vote not earlier than after seven days from the day it is offered. A second motion may be offered not earlier than three months after the day on which the original motion was proposed. The latter time limit does not apply if the new motion is offered by at least 115 deputies.

Article 159

159.1. The Sejm may pass a vote of no confidence in a minister. The motion for that vote may be offered by at least 69 deputies. The provisions of Article 158, Paragraph 2, apply correspondingly.

159.2. The President of the Republic recalls a minister in whom the Sejm passed a vote of no confidence by a majority of votes of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 160

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers may request the Sejm to pass a vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers; this requires a majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 161

The President of the Republic, on the motion of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, changes the membership of the Council of Ministers.

Article 162

162.1. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers offers the resignation of the Council of Ministers at the first session of the newly elected Sejm.

162.2. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers also offers the resignation of the Council of Ministers in the event of:

1) The Sejm's failure to pass a vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers.

2) The passage of a vote of no confidence in the Council of Ministers.

3) The resignation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

162.3. The President of the Republic, in accepting the resignation of the Council of Ministers, charges it with the continued exercise of its duties until such time as a new Council of Ministers is appointed.

162.4. The President of the Republic may, in the case referred to in Paragraph 2, Point 3), refuse to accept the resignation of the Council of Ministers.

CHAPTER VII. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Article 163

Local governments perform public duties that are not reserved by the Constitution or legislation for the agencies of other public authorities.

Article 164

164.1. The basic unit of local government is the *gmina* [township].

164.2. Other units of regional government or of local and regional government are defined by legislation.

164.3. The *gmina* exercises all the duties of local government that are not reserved to other local government units.

Article 165

165.1. Local governments are legal entities. They have the right of ownership and other property rights.

165.2. The autonomy of local governments is protected by the courts.

Article 166

166.1. The public duties serving to meet the needs of the self-governing community in a given administrative unit of the country are performed by units of local government as their own duties.

166.2. When so warranted by the needs of the State, a legislative act may require a local government to perform other public duties. The legislative act defines the procedure for the transmission of said duties and the manner in which they are to be performed.

166.3. Jurisdictional disputes between local governments and the national government administration are resolved by administrative courts.

Article 167

167.1. Local governments are guaranteed participation in public revenues corresponding to the duties allocated to them.

167.2. The revenues of local governments are their own revenues plus general subsidies and targeted grants from the State budget.

167.3. The sources of the revenues of local governments are defined by legislation.

167.4. Changes in the duties and powers of local governments entail corresponding changes in their share of public revenues.

Article 168

Local governments have the right to determine the amount of the taxes and local fees they collect, to the extent defined by legislation.

Article 169

169.1. Local governments perform their duties through their constituent and executive institutions.

169.2. Elections to the constituent institution are general, equal and direct, and take place by secret ballot. The principles and procedure for the nomination of candidates and conduct of elections and validation of election results are defined by a legislative act.

169.3. The principles and procedure for the election and recall of local-government executives are defined by legislation.

169.4. The internal organization of local governments is determined by their constituent bodies, within the bounds of the applicable legislation.

Article 170

Members of the local community may decide on matters concerning the community by means of a referendum. The referendum may also concern the recall of a directly elected local-government institution. The principles and procedure for conducting the referendum are defined by [separate] legislation.

Article 171

171.1. The legality of the activities of local governments is subject to monitoring.

171.2. The agencies monitoring the activities of local governments are the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the voivodes and, so far as budget matters are concerned, the regional accounting chambers.

171.3. The Sejm may, on the recommendation of Chairman of the Council of Ministers, disband the constituent body of a local government in the event that it glaringly violates the Constitution or the legislation.

Article 172

172.1. Local governments have the right to form associations.

172.2. Local governments have the right to join international associations of local and regional communities and to cooperate with local and regional communities in other countries.

172.3. The principles on which local governments can avail themselves of the rights referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are defined by legislation.

CHAPTER VIII. COURTS AND TRIBUNALS

Article 173

Courts and tribunals are a branch of authority separate and independent of the other branches.

Article 174

Courts and tribunals issue rulings in the name of the Republic of Poland.

Courts

Article 175

175.1. The administration of justice in the Republic of Poland is exercised by the Supreme Court, common courts, administrative courts, and military courts.

175.2. Emergency courts or summary proceedings may be established only in wartime.

Article 176

176.1. Judicial proceedings require at least two levels.

176.2. The organization and competencies of the courts and proceedings before the courts are defined by legislation.

Article 177

Common courts administer justice in all cases except those reserved under legislation for the jurisdiction of other courts.

Article 178

178.1. In exercising their office, judges are independent and subject only to the Constitution and the legislation.

178.2. Judges are provided with the working conditions and remuneration appropriate to the dignity of their office and the scope of their duties.

178.3. Judges may not belong to any political party or trade union, and neither may they engage in any public activities that cannot be reconciled with the principles of autonomy of the judiciary and independence of judges.

Article 179

Judges are appointed by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the National Judiciary Council, for an indefinite period.

Article 180

180.1. Judges are not subject to removal from office.

180.2. The deposition of a judge from office, his suspension, or his transfer to another site or another post against his will may occur solely by virtue of a ruling handed down by a court of law, and only in the cases specified by legislation.

180.3. A judge may be retired owing to illness or incapacitation interfering with the exercise of his duties. The procedure in this case, including the procedure for appealing to a court of law, is defined by legislation.

180.4. [Separate] legislation specifies the age limit at which judges retire.

180.5. In the event of a change in the judicial structure or in the boundaries of judicial districts, a judge may be transferred to another court or retired on full pay.

Article 181

A judge may not be prosecuted for a crime or deprived of liberty without prior consent of the court of law specified by legislation. A judge may not be detained or arrested unless caught in the act of committing a crime, and only if his detention is indispensable for assuring a correct course of proceedings. In this event it is necessary to notify immediately the president of the competent local court, who may order the immediate release of the detainee.

Article 182

The participation of citizens in the administration of justice is defined by legislation.

Article 183

183.1. The Supreme Court oversees of the activities of common and military courts as regards rulings.

183.2. The Supreme Court also exercises other functions defined in the Constitution and legislation.

183.3. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is appointed to a six-year term by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the General Assembly of Justices of the Supreme Court.

Article 184

The Superior Administrative Court and other administrative courts exercise judicial oversight over the activities of public administration to the extent established by legislation. That oversight also includes ruling on the consistency with national legislation of local laws and ordinances and normative acts of local agencies of the national government administration.

Article 185

The Chief Justice of the Superior Administrative Court is appointed to a six-year term by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the General Assembly of Justices of the Superior Administrative Court.

Article 186

186.1. The National Judiciary Council guards the autonomy of courts and the independence of judges.

186.2. The National Judiciary Council may request the Constitutional Tribunal to verify the constitutionality of normative acts insofar as they concern the autonomy of courts and the independence of judges.

Article 187

187.1. The National Judiciary Council consists of:

1) The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Minister of Justice, the Chief Justice of the Superior Administrative Court, and a person appointed by the President.

2) Fifteen Justices chosen from among Justices of the Supreme Court and judges of the common, administrative, and military courts.

3) Four members chosen by the Sejm from among its deputies and two members chosen by the Senate from among senators.

187.2. The National Judiciary Council elects from among its members a chairman and two vice chairmen.

187.3. The term of office of the elected members of the National Judiciary Council is four years.

187.4. The organizational structure, scope of activities, and operating procedure of the National Judiciary Council and the procedure for electing its members are defined by legislation.

The Constitutional Tribunal

Article 188

The Constitutional Tribunal rules on matters pertaining to:

1) Consistency between legislation or international agreements and the Constitution.

2) Consistency between legislation and ratified international agreements whose ratification requires prior consent as defined by legislation.

3) Consistency between the regulations issued by the central government institutions and the Constitution, ratified international agreements, and legislation.

4) Consistency between the Constitution and the goals or activities of political parties.

5) The constitutional complaints referred to in Article 79, Paragraph 1.

Article 189

The Constitutional Tribunal resolves jurisdictional disputes between the central constitutional institutions of the State.

Article 190

190.1. The rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal have generally-binding power and are final.

190.2. The rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal on matters referred to in Article 188 are subject to being immediately made public in the official publication in which the normative act had been published, and when the ruling concerns a normative act not thus published, it is subject to publication in the *Dziennik Urzedowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej "Monitor Polski." [Official Record of the Republic of Poland, "Monitor Polski."]*

190.3. Rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal take effect on the day of their publication. However, the Constitutional Tribunal may specify a different timetable for abrogating a particular normative act. That timetable may provide for a period of not more than 18 months when a legislative act is concerned, and not more than 12 months when other normative acts are concerned. In the case of rulings that involve financial outlays not envisaged in the budget legislation, the Constitutional Tribunal specifies the deadline for voiding a normative act only after consulting the Council of Ministers.

190.4. A ruling by the Constitutional Tribunal on inconsistencies between the Constitution and an international agreement or a normative act pursuant to which a valid judicial ruling had been pronounced, a final administrative decision, or a decision on other matters, provides the foundation for resuming proceedings, waiving the decision, or resolving a matter differently, on the principles and by the procedure envisaged in the regulations governing the proceedings concerned.

190.5. Rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal are adopted by a majority of votes.

Article 191

191.1. The following may lodge a plea with the Constitutional Tribunal concerning the matters referred to in Article 188:

1) The President of the Republic, the Speaker of the Sejm, the Speaker of the Senate, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, 50 deputies, 30 senators, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice of the Superior Administrative Court, the Prosecutor General, the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits, and the Citizens' Rights Spokesperson.

2) The National Judiciary Council, to the extent referred to in Article 186, Paragraph 2.

3) Constituent bodies of local-government administration.

4) National trade union bodies and national officers of employer organizations and professional organizations.

5) Churches and other denominational organizations.

6) Entities named in Article 76, to the extent specified therein.

191.2. The entities referred to in Paragraph 1, Points 3)-5) may direct such requests to the Constitutional Tribunal if the normative act in question concerns matters within their scope of activities.

Article 192

A request on the matters referred to in Article 189 may be made to the Constitutional Tribunal by: the President of the Republic, the Speaker of the Sejm, the Speaker of the Senate, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice of the Superior Administrative Court, and the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits.

Article 193

Any court may pose to the Constitutional Tribunal a juridical question about the consistency between a normative act and the Constitution, ratified international agreement, or a legislation, if the resolution of the case being examined by the court hinges on the answer to that juridical question.

Article 194

194.1. The Constitutional Tribunal consists of 15 justices chosen individually by the Sejm for a term of nine years from among persons distinguished by their knowledge of jurisprudence. Reelection to membership in the Tribunal is inadmissible.

194.2. The Chief Justice and Deputy Chief Justice of the Constitutional Tribunal are appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the General Assembly of Justices of the Constitutional Tribunal.

Article 195

195.1. The Justices of the Constitutional Tribunal are independent in exercising their office and subject to the Constitution alone.

195.2. The Justices of the Constitutional Tribunal are provided with the working conditions and remuneration suitable to the dignity of their office and the scope of their duties.

195.3. The Justices of the Constitutional Tribunal may not, while holding their posts, belong to any political party or trade union or engage in public activities that cannot be reconciled with the principles of judicial autonomy and independence of judges.

Article 196

A Justice of the Constitutional Tribunal may not be prosecuted for a crime or deprived of liberty without prior consent of the Constitutional Tribunal. The Justice may not be placed in detention, unless he is caught in the act of committing a crime, and only if his or her detention is indispensable to assuring the proper course of the proceedings. In this event it is necessary to immediately notify the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Tribunal, who may order the immediate release of the detainee.

Article 197

The organizational structure of the Constitutional Tribunal and the rules for proceedings before said Tribunal are defined by legislation.

The Tribunal of State

Article 198

198.1. For violating the Constitution or legislation in connection with the position held and within the scope of their duties of office, the following are held constitutionally accountable before the Tribunal of State: The President of the Republic; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and members of the Council of Ministers; the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland; the Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits; members of the National Radio and Television Council; persons entrusted by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers with heading a ministry; and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces.

198.2. Constitutional responsibility before the Tribunal of State is also borne by deputies and senators to the extent specified in Article 107.

198.3. The nature of the penalties imposed by the Tribunal of State is defined by legislation.

Article 199

199.1. The Tribunal of State consists of: The chairman, two vice chairmen, and 16 members, chosen by the Sejm from among persons other than deputies or senators, for the duration of the term of the Sejm. The vice chairmen of the Tribunal and at least one-half of the members of the Tribunal should possess the qualifications required for holding the post of a judge.

199.2. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is the Chairman of the Tribunal of State.

199.3. Members of the Tribunal of State are independent and subject only to the Constitution and the legislation when exercising their duties as justices of the Tribunal of State.

Article 200

A member of the Tribunal of State may not be prosecuted for a crime or deprived of liberty without prior consent of the Tribunal. The member may not be detained or arrested, unless he is caught in the act of committing a crime, and only if his or her detention is indispensable to assure the proper course of the proceedings. In this event it is necessary to immediately notify the Chairman of the Tribunal of State, who may order the immediate release of the detainee.

Article 201

The organizational structure of the Tribunal of State and the proceedings before the Tribunal are defined by legislation.

CHAPTER IX. AGENCIES OF STATE CONTROL AND PROTECTION OF LAW

The Supreme Chamber of Audits

Article 202

202.1. The Supreme Chamber of Audits is the supreme authority of state control.

202.2. The Supreme Chamber of Audits is under the jurisdiction of the Sejm.

202.3. The Supreme Chamber of Audits operates as a collegial body.

Article 203

203.1. The Supreme Chamber of Audits monitors the legality, efficiency, purposefullness, and integrity of the activities of the institutions of governmental administration, the National Bank of Poland, governmental legal entities, and other governmental organizational units.

203.2. The Supreme Chamber of Audits may monitor the legality, efficiency and integrity of the activities of local-government agencies and municipal legal entities and other municipal organizational units.

203.3. The Supreme Chamber of Audits may also monitor the legality and efficiency of the activities of other organizational units and economic entities to the extent to which they utilize State or municipal assets or funds and settle their financial obligations to the State.

Article 204

204.1. The Supreme Chamber of Audits presents to the Sejm:

1) Analyses of execution of the State Budget and of the premises of monetary policy.

2) Opinions on accepting the reports of the Council of Ministers.

3) Information on results of audits, recommendations and comments, as defined by legislation.

204.2. The Supreme Chamber of Audits presents to the Sejm an annual report on its activities.

Article 205

205.1. The Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits is appointed by the Sejm with the consent of the Senate for a term of six years and may be re-appointed only once.

205.2. The Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits may not hold any other post other than that of a professor at an institution of higher education, nor perform any extraneous professional duties.

205.3. The Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits may not belong to any political party or trade union, nor may he engage in public activities that cannot be reconciled with the dignity of his or her office.

Article 206

The Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Audits may be neither prosecuted for a crime nor deprived of liberty without prior concurrence of the Sejm. Said Chairman may not be detained or arrested, unless he was caught in the act of committing a crime, and only if his or her detention is indispensable to assuring the proper course of the proceedings. In this event it is necessary to immediately notify the Speaker of the Sejm, who may order the immediate release of the detainee.

Article 207

The organizational structure and operating procedures of the Supreme Chamber of Audits are defined by legislation.

The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson

Article 208

208.1. The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson guards the human rights and civil liberties, as defined in the Constitution and other normative acts.

208.2. The scope of activities and operating procedures of the Citizens' Rights Spokesperson are defined by legislation.

Article 209

209.1. The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson is appointed by the Sejm with the consent of the Senate for a term of five years.

209.2. The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson may not hold any other post other than that of a professor at a higher educational institution, nor engage in any extraneous professional activities.

209.3. The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson may not belong to any political party or trade union, and neither may he engage in public activities that cannot be reconciled with the dignity of his or her office.

Article 210

The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson is autonomous in his or her activities, is independent of other government institutions, and is accountable only to the Sejm on principles defined by legislation.

Article 211

The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson may be neither prosecuted for a crime nor deprived of liberty without prior concurrence of the Sejm. The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson may not be detained or arrested, unless he or she was caught in the act of committing a crime, and only if his or her detention is indispensable to assuring the proper course of the proceedings. In this event it is necessary to immediately notify the Speaker of the Sejm, who may order the immediate release of the detainee.

Article 212

The Citizens' Rights Spokesperson annually reports to the Sejm and the Senate about his or her activities and about the status of observance of human rights and civil liberties.

The National Radio and Television Council

Article 213

213.1. The National Radio and Television Council guards freedom of speech, the right to information, and public interest in radio and television.

213.2. The National Radio and Television Council issues executive orders, and it also adopts resolutions concerning individual cases.

Article 214

214.1. The members of the National Radio and Television Council are appointed by the Sejm, the Senate, and the President of the Republic.

214.2. Members of the National Radio and Television Council may not belong to a political party or a trade union, nor may they engage in public activities that cannot be reconciled with the dignity of their office.

Article 215

The principles and operating procedure of the National Radio and Television Council, its organizational structure, and detailed guidelines for appointing its members are defined by legislation.

CHAPTER X. PUBLIC FINANCE

Article 216

216.1. Funds for public purposes are obtained and spent in ways defined by legislation.

216.2. The acquisition and sale of, and the imposition of liens on, real estate, stocks, and shares as well as the issuance of securities, by the State Treasury, the National Bank of Poland, or other legal entities of the State, take place on the principles and by the procedure defined by legislation.

216.3. The establishment of a monopoly takes place by legislation.

216.4. Government borrowing and the granting of loan guarantees by the Government take place in accordance with principles and procedures defined by legislation.

216.5. Loans may not be raised, nor loan guarantees granted, if this causes the ratio of public debt to exceed three-fifth of the value of the annual gross national product. The procedure for calculating the annual gross national product and the public debt is defined by legislation.

Article 217

The levying of taxes and other public fees and the determination of taxable subjects and objects, tax rates, and guidelines for granting rebates and moratoriums and the tax-exempt categories are defined by legislation.

Article 218

The organizational structure of the State Treasury and the procedure for managing its assets are defined by legislation.

Article 219

219.1. The Sejm votes on the State budget for the fiscal year in the form of the budget legislation.

219.2. The principles and procedure for drafting the State budget, its itemization, and other requirements which should be met by the draft of the budget legislation, and the principles and procedure for executing the budget legislation, are defined by legislation.

219.3. In exceptional cases the receipts and spending of the State within a period shorter than a year may be defined by an interim budget legislation. The provisions governing the draft of the budget legislation apply correspondingly to the draft of the interim budget legislation.

219.4. If the budget legislation or the interim budget legislation does not take effect on the first day of the fiscal year, the Council of Ministers handles fiscal management on the basis of the proposed draft legislation.

Article 220

220.1. Higher-than-planned spending or a reduction in planned receipts by the Council of Ministers may not result in the Sejm's voting a budget deficit greater than that envisaged in the draft budget legislation.

220.2. The budget legislation may not provide for offsetting the budget deficit by borrowing from the central bank of the State.

Article 221

The Council of Ministers is solely responsible for initiating legislation on the budget law, on the interim budget law, on amendments to the budget law, on the law on contracting public debt, and on the law on granting financial guarantees by the State.

Article 222

The Council of Ministers presents to the Sejm the draft budget legislation not later than three months before the commencement of the new fiscal year. In exceptional cases, the presentation of the draft budget legislation may be delayed.

Article 223

The Senate may propose amendments to the budget legislation within 20 days from the day of its submission to the Senate.

Article 224

224.1. The President of the Republic signs into law within seven days the budget legislation, or the interim budget legislation, presented by the Speaker of the Sejm. The provisions of Article 122, Paragraph 5, do not apply to the budget legislation and the interim budget legislation.

224.2. In the event that the President of the Republic requests the Constitutional Tribunal to verify the consistency between the Constitution and the budget legislation, or the interim budget legislation before signing it, the Tribunal rules thereon not later than within two months after receiving said request.

Article 225

If within four months from the day the draft budget legislation is presented to the Sejm, it is not presented to the President of the Republic for signature, the President may order within 14 days shortening the term of office of the Sejm.

Article 226

226.1. The Council of Ministers presents to the Sejm a report on the execution of the State budget, together with information on the status of the national debt, within five months after the end of the fiscal year.

226.2. The Sejm examines the report of the Council of Ministers and, upon consulting the Supreme Chamber of Audits, it adopts a resolution accepting or rejecting the report of the Council of Ministers within 90 days from the day that report is presented to the Sejm.

Article 227

227.1. The National Bank of Poland is the central bank of the State and has the exclusive right to issue money and to establish and pursue a monetary policy. The National Bank of Poland is responsible for the value of the Polish currency.

227.2. The officials of the National Bank of Poland are: the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland, the Council on Monetary Policy, and the Board of Governors of the National Bank of Poland.

227.3. The Chairman of the National Bank of Poland is appointed by the Sejm on the recommendation of the President of the Republic for a term of six years.

227.4. The Chairman of the National Bank of Poland may not belong to a political party or a trade union, nor may he or she engage in public activities that can not be reconciled with the dignity of his or her office.

227.5. The Council on Monetary Policy consists of the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland as its chairman and persons distinguished by their knowledge of finance, who are appointed for a term of six years in equal numbers by the President of the Republic, the Sejm, and the Senate.

227.6. The Council on Monetary Policy annually determines the premises of monetary policy and notifies the Sejm thereof concurrently with the presentation of the draft budget legislation by the Council of Ministers. Within five months after the ending of the fiscal year the Council on Monetary Policy presents to the Sejm a report on the implementation of the premises of monetary policy.

227.7. The organizational structure and operating procedures of the National Bank of Poland and the detailed guidelines for the appointment and recall of its directors are defined by legislation.

CHAPTER XI. STATES OF EMERGENCY

Article 228

228.1. In situations of special peril, in the event that ordinary constitutional means are insufficient, a corresponding state of emergency: state of war, state of crisis, or state of natural disaster may be declared.

228.2. A state of emergency may be declared only by a decree provided for by legislation, with the additional requirement that it be publicly announced.

228.3. Legislation defines the guidelines for action by public authorities and the extent to which human rights and civil liberties may be abridged for the duration of the various states of emergency.

228.4. Legislation may define the principles, scope, and procedure for the compensation of material damages ensuing from the abridgment of human rights and civil liberties during a state of emergency.

228.5. The actions taken as a result of the declaration of a state of emergency must remain proportional to the magnitude of the peril and should be intended to restore as soon as possible the conditions for a normal functioning of the State.

228.6. During a state of emergency no amendments can be made to: the Constitution; the laws governing elections to the Sejm, the Senate, and local-government bodies; the legislation governing elections of the President of the Republic; and the legislation on states of emergency.

228.7. While the state of emergency lasts, and for 90 days thereafter, there can be no shortening of the term of the Sejm, no national referendum may be held, no elections to the Sejm, the Senate, and local-government bodies may be held, and no elections for the President of the Republic may be held; the duration of the terms of these offices are subject to a commensurate extension. Elections to local-government bodies may be held only in the areas where no state of emergency is imposed.

Article 229

In the event of an external peril to the State, or an armed attack on the Republic of Poland, or when the obligation of a common defense against aggression ensues from an international agreement, the President of the Republic may, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, declare a state of war in parts or on the entire territory of the country.

Article 230

230.1. In the event of a peril to the constitutional system of the State, the security of citizens, or the public order, the President of the Republic may, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, declare, for a specified period of time, not to exceed 90 days, a state of crisis in parts or on the entire territory of the country.

230.2. Any prolongation of the state of crisis may occur only once, for a period not to exceed 60 days, with the concurrence of the Sejm.

Article 231

The declaration of a state of war or of a state of crisis is presented by the President of the Republic to the Sejm within 48 hours after signing the pertinent decree, for immediate consideration by the Sejm. The Sejm immediately considers the Presidential declaration. The Sejm may reject it by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies.

Article 232

To avert the consequences of natural disasters or of technological breakdowns bearing the hallmarks of a natural disaster, and with the object of eliminating them, the Council of Ministers may declare for a specified period, not to exceed 30 days, a state of natural disaster for parts or the entire territory of the country. The duration of that state may be extended with the consent of the Sejm.

Article 233

233.1. The legislation defining the scope of the abridgments of the civil liberties and human rights during a state of war or a state of crisis may not abridge the rights and liberties specified in Article 30 (the dignity of man), Articles 34 and 36 (citizenship), Article 38 (protection of life), Articles 39, 40, and 41, Paragraph 4 (humanitarian treatment), Article 42 (penal accountability), Article 45 (due process), Article 47 (privacy), Article 53 (conscience and religion), Article 63 (petitions), and Articles 48 and 72 (the family and the child).

233.2. The abridgment of the liberties and rights of man and citizen solely by reason of race, gender, language, creed or its absence, social origin, birth, or property, is prohibited.

233.3. Legislative acts defining the scope of the abridgment of civil liberties and human rights during a state of natural disaster may curtail the liberties and rights defined in Article 22 (freedom of economic activity), Article 41, Paragraphs 1, 3, and 5 (personal liberties); Article 50 (inviolability of home), Article 52, Paragraph 1 (freedom of movement and stay on the territory of the Republic of Poland), Article 59, Paragraph 3 (the right to strike), Article 64 (the right of ownership), Article 65, Paragraph 1 (freedom of employment), Article 66, Paragraph 1 (the right to safe and hygienic working conditions), and Article 66, Paragraph 2 (the right to vacation).

Article 234

234.1. In the event that during a state of war the Sejm is unable to assemble, the President of the Republic shall, to the extent and within the bounds defined in Article 228, Paragraphs 3-5, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, issue decrees having the power of legislation. These decrees are subject to confirmation by the Sejm at its next session.

234.2. The decrees referred to in Paragraph 1 are in the nature of sources of generally-binding law.

CHAPTER XII. AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Article 235

235.1. Draft legislation amending the Constitution may be proposed by at least one-fifth of the statutory number of deputies, by the Senate, or by the President of the Republic.

235.2. Amending the Constitution takes place by means of a legislation, adopted by both the Sejm and, subsequently and within not more than 60 days, by the Senate with the same wording.

235.3. The first reading of the draft legislation amending the Constitution may be held not earlier than on the 30th day after the draft legislation is presented to the Sejm.

235.4. The draft legislation amending the Constitution is passed by the Sejm by a majority of at least two-thirds of the votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies, and by the Senate by an absolute majority of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of senators.

235.5. Legislation amending the provisions of Chapters 1, 2, or 12 of the Constitution may be passed by the Sejm not earlier than on the 60th day after the first reading of their drafts.

235.6. In the event that the legislation amending the Constitution concerns amending the provisions of Chapters 1, 2, or 12, the entities defined in Paragraph 1 may demand holding a ratifying referendum thereon within 45 days from the day said legislation is passed by the Senate. A corresponding proposal is made to the Speaker of the Sejm, who thereupon orders holding the referendum within 60 days of the request. The amendment to the Constitution is approved if it is supported by a majority of the voters taking part in the referendum.

235.7. After the procedure defined in Paragraphs 4 and 6 is completed, the Speaker of the Sejm presents the adopted amendment for signing to the President of the Republic. The President of the Republic signs the amendment within 21 days from the day of its presentation and orders its publication in the *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Legislative Record of the Republic of Poland]*.

CHAPTER XIII. INTERIM AND FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 236

236.1. Within two years from the day the Constitution takes effect, the Council of Ministers shall present to the Sejm drafts of the legislation needed to implement the Constitution.

236.2. The legislation implementing Article 176, Paragraph 1, insofar as it concerns proceedings before administrative courts shall be passed within five years from the day the Constitution takes effect. Until these legislation take effect the provisions governing special appeals against the rulings of the Superior Administrative Court remain in effect.

Article 237

237.1. For four years from the day the Constitution takes effect, cases of offenses are decided upon by community courts attached to local courts of law, with the court of law deciding upon the penalty of imprisonment.

237.2. Appeals against rulings of community courts are considered by a court of law.

Article 238

238.1. The terms of office of the constitutional institutions of public authority and of their members, elected or appointed before the Constitution takes effect, end with the elapse of the period of time specified in the applicable provisions in effect the day before the effective date of the Constitution.

238.2. In the event that the applicable provisions in effect on the day before the effective date of the Constitution do not specify said terms of office, and the period of time elapsing since the day of election or appointment is longer than that established by the Constitution, the constitutional term of office of the institutions of public authority or of their members elapses one year after the effective date of the Constitution.

238.3. In the event that the applicable regulations in effect before the effective date of the Constitution do not specify said terms of office and the period of time elapsing since the day of the election or appointment is shorter than that established by the Constitution for the constitutional institutions of public authority or for their members, the period of time during which said institutions or individuals have been discharging their duties pursuant to the heretofore binding provisions is credited to the term of office established by the Constitution.

Article 239

239.1. For the first two years from the day the Constitution takes effect the rulings of the Constitutional Tribunal on inconsistencies between the Constitution and the legislation passed prior to said day are not final and are subject to consideration by the Sejm, which may reject a ruling of the Constitutional Tribunal by a majority of two-thirds of votes in the presence of at least one-half of the statutory number of deputies. This does not apply to the rulings issued in response to the legal issues addressed to the Constitutional Tribunal.

239.2. Proceedings relating to the establishment by the Constitutional Tribunal of a generally-binding interpretation of a law or legislation are subject to rejection if instituted before the Constitution takes effect.

239.3. On the effective date of the Constitution the resolutions of the Constitutional Tribunal concerning interpretations of legislative acts forfeit their generally-binding power. On the other hand, valid judicial verdicts and other valid decisions of public authorities, taken with allowance for the interpretations of legislation provided by the Constitutional Tribunal, remain binding.

Article 240

For the first year from the day the Constitution takes effect, the budget legislation may provide for offsetting the budget deficit by raising a loan from the State central bank.

Article 241

241.1. International agreements heretofore ratified by the Republic of Poland pursuant to the constitutional provisions binding at the time of their ratification and published in the *Dziennik Ustaw [Legislative Record]* are acknowledged as agreements ratified with prior legislative consent and are governed by Article 91 of the Constitution if the language of the international agreement indicates that it concerns matters specified in Article 89, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution.

241.2. Within two years from the effective date of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers presents to the Sejm a list of the international agreements that contain provisions inconsistent with the Constitution.

241.3. Senators who were elected prior to the effective date of the Constitution and who have not completed 30 years of age, retain their posts until the end of the term for which they were elected.

241.4. Combining the post of a Sejm deputy or a senator with an office or employment to which applies the prohibition specified in Article 103 causes expiration of the term one month after the effective date of the Constitution, unless the deputy or senator renounces earlier that office or employment.

241.5. Cases subject to legislative proceedings or being considered by the Constitutional Tribunal or the Tribunal of State that were instituted before the effective date of the Constitution are conducted pursuant to the constitutional provisions binding on the day they were first instituted.

241.6. Within two years from the effective date of the Constitution, the Council of Ministers shall determine which of the resolutions of the Council of Ministers and the decrees of ministers or other institutions of government authorities adopted or issued before the effective date of the Constitution require — pursuant to the conditions specified in Article 87, Paragraph 1, and Article 92 of the Constitution — replacing with decrees issued pursuant to the provisions of legislation whose drafts the Council of Ministers shall submit to the Sejm at an appropriate time. During the same period the Council of Ministers shall submit to the Sejm a draft of legislation specifying the normative acts of government bodies issued prior to the effective date of the Constitution that become resolutions or decrees as construed by Article 93 of the Constitution.

241.7. The local ordinances and *gmina* regulations binding on the effective date of the Constitution become local ordinances as construed by Article 87, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution.

Article 242

The following legislation are hereby rescinded: 1) Constitutional Law of October 17, 1992 Concerning the Relations Between the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Republic of Poland and Concerning Local Governments (*Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 84, Item 426, 1992; No. 38, Item 184 and No. 150, Item 729, 1995; and No. 106, Item 488, 1996). 2) Constitutional Law of April 23, 1992 concerning the Procedure for the Drafting and Passage of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (*Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 67, Item 336, 1992; No. 61, Item 251, 1994).

Article 243

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland goes into effect three months from the day of its publication.

Chairman of the National Assembly.

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The Constitution of the Russian Federation

As Approved by the National Referendum, December 12, 1993

We, the multinational people of the Russian Federation, united by a common destiny on our land, asserting human rights and liberties, civil peace and accord, preserving the historic unity of the state, proceeding from the commonly recognized principles of equality and self-determination of the peoples, honoring the memory of our ancestors, who have passed on to us love of and respect for our homeland and faith in good and justice, reviving the sovereign statehood of Russia and asserting its immutable democratic foundations, striving to secure the well-being and prosperity of Russia and proceeding from a sense of responsibility for our homeland before the present and future generations, and being aware of ourselves as part of the world community, hereby approve the CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

SECTION ONE

Chapter 1 [Fundamentals of the Constitutional System]

Article 1.

(1) The Russian Federation—Russia shall be a democratic federal rule-of-law state with the republican form of government.

(2) The names "Russian Federation" and "Russia" shall be equivalent.

Article 2.

Man, his rights and freedoms shall be the supreme value. It shall be a duty of the state to recognize, respect and protect the rights and liberties of man and citizen.

Article 3.

(1) The multinational people of the Russian Federation shall be the vehicle of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation.

(2) The people of the Russian Federation shall exercise their power directly, and also through organs of state power and local self-government.

(3) The referendum and free elections shall be the supreme direct manifestation of the power of the people.

(4) No one may arrogate to oneself power in the Russian Federation. Seizure of power or appropriation of power authorization shall be prosecuted under federal law.

Article 4.

(1) The sovereignty of the Russian Federation shall apply to its entire territory.

(2) The Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws shall have supremacy throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation.

(3) The Russian Federation shall ensure the integrity and inviolability of its territory.

Article 5.

(1) The Russian Federation shall consist of republics, territories, regions, federal cities, an autonomous region and autonomous areas, which shall be equal subjects of the Russian Federation.

(2) The republic (state) shall have its own constitution and legislation. A territory, region, federal city, autonomous region and autonomous area shall have its own charter and legislation.

(3) The federated structure of the Russian Federation shall be based on its state integrity, the uniform system of state power, delimitation of scopes of authority and powers between the bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, equality and self-determination of the peoples in the Russian Federation.

(4) All the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be equal among themselves in relations with the Federal bodies of state power.

Article 6.

(1) Citizenship of the Russian Federation shall be acquired and terminated in accordance with the Federal law, and shall be one and equal irrespective of the grounds on which it has been acquired.

(2) Every citizen of the Russian Federation shall have all the rights and liberties on its territory and bear equal duties, stipulated by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) A citizen of the Russian Federation may not be stripped of citizenship or of the right to change it.

Article 7.

(1) The Russian Federation shall be a social state, whose policies shall be aimed at creating conditions which ensure a dignified life and free development of man.

(2) The Russian Federation shall protect the work and health of its people, establish a guaranteed minimum wage, provide state support for family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood, and also for the disabled and for elderly citizens, develop a system of social services and establish government pensions, benefits and other social security guarantees.

Article 8.

(1) Unity of economic space, free movement of goods, services and financial resources, support for competition and freedom of any economic activity shall be guaranteed in the Russian Federation.

(2) Private, state, municipal and other forms of ownership shall be recognized and shall enjoy equal protection in the Russian Federation.

Article 9.

(1) The land and other natural resources shall be used and protected in the Russian Federation as the basis of the life and activity of the peoples living on their respective territories.

(2) The land and other natural resources may be in private, state municipal and other forms of ownership.

Article 10.

State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised on the basis of the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary branches. The bodies of legislative, executive and judiciary powers shall be independent.

Article 11.

(1) State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federal Assembly (Council of the Federation and State Duma), the government of the Russian Federation and courts of the Russian Federation.

(2) State power in the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the organs of state authority formed by them.

(3) The scopes of authority and powers of the bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state authority of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be delimited under this Constitution, Federal and other Treaties on the delimitation of scopes of authority and powers.

Article 12.

Local self-government shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation. Local self-government shall operate independently within the bounds of its authority. The bodies of local self-government shall not be part of the state power bodies.

Article 13.

(1) Ideological plurality shall be recognized in the Russian Federation.

(2) No ideology may be instituted as a state-sponsored or mandatory ideology.

(3) Political plurality and the multi-party system shall be recognized in the Russian Federation.

(4) Public associations shall be equal before the law.

(5) The establishment and the activities of public associations, whose aims and actions are directed at forcible alteration of the fundamentals of constitutional governance and violation of the integrity of the Russian Federation and undermining of the security of the state, the forming of armed units, the incitement of social, racial, national and religious strife shall be prohibited.

Article 14.

(1) The Russian Federation shall be a secular state. No religion may be instituted as state-sponsored or mandatory religion.

(2) Religious associations shall be separated from the state, and shall be equal before the law.

Article 15.

(1) The Constitution of the Russian Federation shall have supreme legal force and direct effect, and shall be applicable throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation. Laws and other legal acts adopted by the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(2) Organs of state power and local self-government, officials, citizens and their associations must comply with the laws and the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) The laws shall be officially published. Unpublished laws shall not be applicable. No regulatory legal act affecting the rights, liberties or duties of the human being and citizen may apply unless it has been published officially for general knowledge.

(4) The commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law and the international treaties of the Russian Federation shall be a component part of its legal system. If an international treaty of the Russian Federation stipulates other rules than those stipulated by the law, the rules of the international treaty shall apply.

Article 16.

(1) The provisions of the present Chapter of the Constitution shall be the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and may not be changed except as provided for in this Constitution.

(2) No other provisions of this Constitution may contravene the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation.

Chapter 2 [Rights and Liberties of Man and Citizen]

Article 17.

(1) The basic rights and liberties in conformity with the commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation and under this Constitution.

(2) The basic rights and liberties of the human being shall be inalienable and shall belong to everyone from birth.

(3) The exercise of rights and liberties of a human being and citizen may not violate the rights and liberties of other persons.

Article 18.

The rights and liberties of man and citizen shall have direct effect. They shall determine the meaning, content and application of the laws, and the activities of the legislative and executive branches and local self-government, and shall be secured by the judiciary.

Article 19.

(1) All people shall be equal before the law and in the court of law.

(2) The state shall guarantee the equality of rights and liberties regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property or employment status, residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations or any other circumstance. Any restrictions of the rights of citizens on social, racial, national, linguistic or religious grounds shall be forbidden.

(3) Man and woman shall have equal rights and liberties and equal opportunities for their pursuit.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to life.

(2) Capital punishment may, until its abolition, be instituted by the federal law as exceptional punishment for especially grave crimes against life, with the accused having the right to have his case considered in a law court by jury.

Article 21.

(1) The dignity of the person shall be protected by the state. No circumstance may be used as a pretext for belittling it.

(2) No one may be subjected to torture, violence or any other harsh or humiliating treatment or punishment. No one may be subjected to medical, scientific or other experiments without his or her free consent.

Article 22.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to freedom and personal inviolability.

(2) Arrest, detention and keeping in custody shall be allowed only by an order of a court of law. No person may be detained for more than 48 hours without an order of a court of law.

Article 23.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to privacy, to personal and family secrets, and to protection of one's honor and good name.

(2) Everyone shall have the right to privacy of correspondence, telephone communications, mail, cables and other communications. Any restriction of this right shall be allowed only under an order of a court of law.

Article 24.

(1) It shall be forbidden to gather, store, use and disseminate information on the private life of any person without his/her consent.

(2) The bodies of state authority and the bodies of local self-government and the officials thereof shall provide to each citizen access to any documents and materials directly affecting his/her rights and liberties unless otherwise stipulated under the law.

Article 25.

The home shall be inviolable. No one shall have the right to enter the home against the will of persons residing in it except in cases stipulated by the federal law or under an order of a court of law.

Article 26.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to determine and state his national identity. No one can be forced to determine and state his national identity.

(2) Everyone shall have the right to use his native language, freely choose the language of communication, education, training and creative work.

Article 27.

(1) Everyone who is lawfully staying on the territory of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freedom of movement and to choose the place to stay and reside.

(2) Everyone shall be free to leave the boundaries of the Russian Federation. The citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freely return into the Russian Federation.

Article 28.

Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to freedom of conscience, to freedom of religious worship, including the right to profess, individually or jointly with others, any religion, or to profess no religion, to freely choose, possess and disseminate religious or other beliefs, and to act in conformity with them.

Article 29.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought and speech.

(2) Propaganda or campaigning inciting social, racial, national or religious hatred and strife is impermissible. The propaganda of social, racial, national, religious or language superiority is forbidden.

(3) No one may be coerced into expressing one's views and convictions or into renouncing them.

(4) Everyone shall have the right to seek, get, transfer, produce and disseminate information by any lawful means. The list of information constituting the state secret shall be established by the federal law.

(5) The freedom of the mass media shall be guaranteed. Censorship shall be prohibited.

Article 30.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to association, including the right to create trade unions in order to protect one's interests. The freedom of public associations activities shall be guaranteed.

(2) No one may be coerced into joining any association or into membership thereof.

Article 31.

Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets.

Article 32.

(1) Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in the administration of the affairs of the state both directly and through their representatives.

(2) Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to elect and to be elected to bodies of state governance and to organs of local self-government, as well as take part in a referendum.

(3) Citizens who have been found by a court of law to be under special disability, and also citizens placed in detention under a court verdict, shall not have the right to elect or to be elected.

(4) Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have equal access to state service.

(5) Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in administering justice.

Article 33.

Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to turn personally to, and send individual and collective petitions to state bodies and bodies of local self-government.

Article 34.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to freely use his or her abilities and property for entrepreneurial or any other economic activity not prohibited by the law.

(2) No economic activity aimed at monopolization or unfair competition shall be allowed.

Article 35.

(1) The right of private property shall be protected by law.

(2) Everyone shall have the right to have property in his or her ownership, to possess, use and manage it either individually or jointly with other persons.

(3) No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her property unless on the basis of decision by a court of law. Property can be forcibly alienated for state needs only on condition of a preliminary and equal compensation.

(4) The right of inheritance shall be guaranteed.

Article 36.

(1) Citizens and their associations shall have the right to have land in their private ownership.

(2) The possession, use and management of the land and other natural resources shall be freely exercised by their owners provided this does not cause damage to the environment or infringe upon the rights and interests of other persons.

(3) The terms and procedures for the use of land shall be determined on the basis of federal laws.

Article 37.

(1) Work shall be free. Everyone shall have the right to make free use of his or her abilities for work and to choose a type of activity and occupation.

(2) Forced labor shall be prohibited.

(3) Everyone shall have the right to work under conditions meeting the requirements of safety and hygiene, to remuneration for work without any discrimination whatsoever and not below the statutory minimum wage, and also the right to security against unemployment.

(4) The right to individual and collective labor disputes with the use of means of resolution thereof established by federal law, including the right to strike, shall be recognized.

(5) Everyone shall have the right to rest and leisure. A person having a work contract shall be guaranteed the statutory duration of the work time, days off and holidays, and paid annual vacation.

Article 38.

(1) Motherhood and childhood, and the family shall be under state protection.

(2) Care for children and their upbringing shall be the equal right and duty of the parents.

(3) Employable children who have reached 18 years old shall care for their non-employable parents.

Article 39.

(1) Everyone shall be guaranteed social security in old age, in case of disease, invalidity, loss of breadwinner, to bring up children and in other cases established by law.

(2) State pensions and social benefits shall be established by laws.

(3) Voluntary social insurance, development of additional forms of social security and charity shall be encouraged.

Article 40.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to a home. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of a home.

(2) State bodies and organs of local self-government shall encourage home construction and create conditions for the realization of the right to a home.

(3) Low-income citizens and other citizens, defined by the law, who are in need of housing shall be housed free of charge or for affordable pay from government, municipal and other housing funds in conformity with the norms stipulated by the law.

Article 41.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to health care and medical assistance. Medical assistance shall be made available by state and municipal health care institutions to citizens free of charge, with the money from the relevant budget, insurance payments and other revenues.

(2) The Russian Federation shall finance federal health care and health-building programs, take measures to develop state, municipal and private health care systems, encourage activities contributing to the strengthening of the man's health, to the development of physical culture and sport, and to ecological, sanitary and epidemiologic welfare.

(3) Concealment by officials of facts and circumstances posing hazards to human life and health shall involve liability in conformity with the federal law.

Article 42.

Everyone shall have the right to a favorable environment, reliable information about its condition and to compensation for the damage caused to his or her health or property by ecological violations.

Article 43.

(1) Everyone shall have the right to education.

(2) The accessibility and gratuity of pre-school, general secondary and vocational secondary education in public and municipal educational institutions and enterprises shall be guaranteed.

(3) Everyone shall have the right to receive, free of charge and on a competitive basis, higher education in a state or municipal educational institution or enterprise.

(4) Basic general education shall be mandatory. Parents or persons substituting for them shall make provisions for their children to receive basic general education.

(5) The Russian Federation shall institute federal state educational standards and support various forms of education and self-education.

Article 44.

(1) Everyone shall be guaranteed freedom of literary, artistic, scientific, intellectual and other types of creative activity and tuition. Intellectual property shall be protected by the law.

(2) Everyone shall have the right to participation in cultural life, to the use of institutions of culture, and access to cultural values.

(3) Everyone shall care for the preservation of the historic and cultural heritage and safeguard landmarks of history and culture.

Article 45.

(1) State protection for human rights and liberties in the Russian Federation shall be guaranteed.

(2) Everyone shall have the right to defend his or her rights and liberties by any means not prohibited by the law.

Article 46.

(1) Everyone shall be guaranteed protection of his or her rights and liberties in a court of law.

(2) The decisions and actions (or inaction) of state organs, organs of local self-government, public associations and officials may be appealed against in a court of law.

(3) In conformity with the international treaties of the Russian Federation, everyone shall have the right to turn to interstate organs concerned with the protection of human rights and liberties when all the means of legal protection available within the state have been exhausted.

Article 47.

(1) No one may be denied the right to having his or her case reviewed by the court and the judge under whose jurisdiction the given case falls under the law.

(2) Anyone charged with a crime has the right to have his or her case reviewed by a court of law with the participation of jurors in cases stipulated by the federal law.

Article 48.

(1) Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to qualified legal counsel. Legal counsel shall be provided free of charge in cases stipulated by the law.

(2) Every person who has been detained, taken into custody or charged with a crime shall have the right to legal counsel (defense attorney) from the moment of, respectively, detention or indictment.

Article 49.

(1) Everyone charged with a crime shall be considered not guilty until his or her guilt has been proven in conformity with the procedures stipulated by the federal law and established by the verdict of a court of law.

(2) The defendant shall not be obliged to prove his or her innocence.

(3) The benefit of doubt shall be interpreted in favor of the defendant.

Article 50.

(1) No one may be repeatedly convicted for the same offense.

(2) In the administration of justice no evidence obtained in violation of the federal law shall be allowed.

(3) Everyone sentenced for a crime shall have the right to have the sentence reviewed by a higher court according to the procedure instituted by the federal law, and also the right to plea for clemency or mitigation punishment.

Article 51.

(1) No one shall be obliged to give evidence against himself or herself, for his or her spouse and close relatives, the range of which shall be established by the federal law.

(2) The federal law may stipulate other exemptions from the obligation to give evidence.

Article 52.

The rights of persons who have sustained harm from crimes and abuses of power shall be protected by the law. The state shall guarantee the victims access to justice and compensation for damage.

Article 53.

Everyone shall have the right to compensation by the state for the damage caused by unlawful actions (or inaction) of state organs, or their officials.

Article 54.

(1) The law instituting or aggravating the liability of a person shall have no retroactive force.

(2) No one may be held liable for an action which was not recognized as an offense at the time of its commitment. If liability for an offense has been lifted or mitigated after its perpetration, the new law shall apply.

Article 55.

(1) The listing of the basic rights and liberties in the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be interpreted as the denial or belittlement of the other commonly recognized human and citizens' rights and liberties.

(2) No laws denying or belittling human and civil rights and liberties may be issued in the Russian Federation.

(3) Human and civil rights and liberties may be restricted by the federal law only to the extent required for the protection of the fundamentals of the constitutional system, morality, health, rights and lawful interests of other persons, for ensuring the defense of the country and the security of the state.

Article 56.

(1) Individual restrictions of rights and liberties with identification of the extent and term of their duration may be instituted in conformity with the federal constitutional law under conditions of the state of emergency in order to ensure the safety of citizens and protection of the constitutional system.

(2) A state of emergency throughout the territory of the Russian Federation and in individual areas thereof may be introduced in the circumstances and in conformity with the procedures defined by the federal constitutional law.

(3) The rights and liberties stipulated by Articles 20, 21, 23 (part 1), 24, 28, 34 (part 1), 40 (part 1), 46-54 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be subject to restriction.

Article 57.

Everyone shall pay lawful taxes and fees. Laws introducing new taxes or worsening the situation of tax payers shall not have retroactive force.

Article 58.

Everyone shall be obliged to preserve nature and the environment, and care for natural wealth.

Article 59.

(1) Defense of the homeland shall be a duty and obligation of the citizen of the Russian Federation.

(2) The citizen of the Russian Federation shall do military service in conformity with the federal law.

(3) The citizen of the Russian Federation whose convictions and faith are at odds with military service, and also in other cases stipulated by the federal law shall have the right to the substitution of an alternative civil service for military service.

Article 60.

The citizen of the Russian Federation shall be recognized to be of legal age and may independently exercise his rights and duties in full upon reaching the age of 18.

Article 61.

(1) The citizen of the Russian Federation may not be deported out of Russia or extradited to another state.

(2) The Russian Federation shall guarantee its citizens defense and patronage beyond its boundaries.

Article 62.

(1) The citizen of the Russian Federation may have the citizenship of a foreign state (dual citizenship) in conformity with the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

(2) Possession of the citizenship of a foreign state by the citizen of the Russian Federation shall not belittle his or her ranks and liberties or exempt him or her from the duties stemming from Russian citizenship unless otherwise stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

(3) Foreign citizens and stateless persons shall enjoy in the Russian Federation the rights of its citizens and bear their duties with the exception of cases stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

Article 63.

(1) The Russian Federation shall grant political asylum to foreign citizens and stateless citizens in conformity with the commonly recognized norms of the international law.

(2) The extradition of persons persecuted for their political views or any actions (or inaction), which are not qualified as criminal by the law of the Russian Federation, to other states shall not be allowed in the Russian Federation. The extradition of persons charged with crimes and also the hand-over of convicts for serving time in other countries shall be effected on the basis of the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

Article 64.

The provisions of these articles form the basis of personal rights in the Russian Federation and may not be changed other than by the means set forth in this constitution.

Chapter III [Russian Federation]

Article 65.

(1) The Russian Federation shall consist of the subjects of the Federation: Republic of Adygeya (Adygeya), Republic of Altai, Republic of Bashkortostan, Republic of Buryatia, Republic of Dagestan, Ingush Republic, Kabardin-Balkar Republic, Republic of Kalmykia — Khalmg Tangch, Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic, Republic of Karelia, Republic of Komi, Republic of Mari El, Republic of Mordovia, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Republic of North Ossetia, Republic of Tatarstan (Tatarstan), Republic of Tuva, Udmurt Republic, Republic of Khakasia, Chechen Republic, Chuvash Republic — Chavash Republics; Altai Territory,

Krasnodar Territory, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Maritime Territory, Stavropol Territory, Khabarovsk Territory; Amur Region, Arkhangelsk Region, Astrakhan Region, Belgorod Region, Bryansk Region, Vladimir Region, Volgograd Region, Vologda Region, Voronezh Region, Ivanovo Region, Irkutsk Region, Kaliningrad Region, Kaluga Region, Kamchatka Region, Kemerovo Region, Kirov Region, Kostroma Region, Kurgan Region, Kursk Region, Leningrad Region, Lipetsk Region, Magadan Region, Moscow Region, Murmansk Region, Nizhny Novgorod Region, Novgorod Region, Novosibirsk Region, Omsk Region, Orenburg Region, Oryol Region, Penza Region, Perm Region, Pskov Region, Rostov Region, Ryazan Region, Samara Region, Saratov Region, Sakhalin Region, Sverdlovsk Region, Smolensk Region, Tambov Region, Tver Region, Tomsk Region, Tula Region, Tyumen Region, Ulyanovsk Region, Chelyabinsk Region, Chita Region, Yaroslavl Region; Moscow, St. Petersburg — federal cities; Jewish Autonomous Region; Aginsky Buryat Autonomous Area, Komi-Permyak Autonomous Area, Koryak Autonomous Area, Nenets Autonomous Area, Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Area, Ust-Ordynsky Buryat Autonomous Area, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Chukchi Autonomous Area, Evenk Autonomous Area, Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area.

(2) Accession to the Russian Federation and formation of a new subject of the Russian Federation within it shall be carried out as envisaged by the federal constitutional law.

Article 66.

(1) The status of a republic shall be defined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the constitution of the republic in question.

(2) The status of a territory, region, federal city,and autonomous region and autonomous area shall be determined by Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Charter of the territory, region, city of federal importance, autonomous region, autonomous area, adopted by the legislative (representative) body of the relevant subject of the Russian Federation.

(3) A federal law on autonomous region, autonomous area may be adopted at the nomination from the legislative and executive bodies of an autonomous region, autonomous area.

(4) Relations between autonomous areas within a territory or region may be regulated by the federal law and an agreement between bodies of state power of the autonomous area and, respectively, bodies of state power of the territory or the region.

(5) The status of a subject of the Russian Federation may be changed only with mutual consent of the Russian Federation and the subject of the Russian Federation in accordance with the federal constitutional law.

Article 67.

(1) The territory of the Russian Federation shall incorporate the territories of its subjects, the internal and territorial seas and the air space over them.

(2) The Russian Federation shall have sovereign rights and exercise jurisdiction on the continental shelf and in the exclusive economic zone of the Russian Federation under the procedure stipulated by the federal law and norms of international law.

(3) The boundaries between the subjects of the Russian Federation may be changed by their mutual agreement.

Article 68.

(1) The state language of the Russian Federation throughout its territory shall be the Russian language.

(2) The republics shall have the right to institute their own state languages. They shall be used alongside the state language of the Russian Federation in bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government and state institutions of the republics.

(3) The Russian Federation shall guarantee all its peoples the right to preserve their native language and to create the conditions for its study and development.

Article 69.

The Russian Federation guarantees the rights of small indigenous peoples in accordance with the generally accepted principles and standards of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation.

Article 70.

(1) The national flag, State Emblem, and the national anthem, their description and the procedure for their official use shall be established by the federal constitutional law.

(2) The capital of the Russian Federation is the city of Moscow. The status of the capital shall be established by the federal law.

Article 71.

The jurisdiction of the Russian Federation shall include:

a) the adoption and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws and supervision over compliance with them;

b) the federal structure and territory of the Russian Federation;

c) regulation and protection of the rights and liberties of the human being and citizen; citizenship of the Russian Federation; regulation and protection of the rights of national minorities;

d) establishment of the system of federal bodies of legislative, executive and judiciary power, procedure for the organization and activities thereof; formation of federal bodies of state power;

e) federal and state property and management thereof;

f) determining the basic principles of federal policy and federal programs in the field of state structure, the economy, the environment, and the social, cultural and national development of the Russian Federation;

g) establishment of the legal framework for a single market; financial, monetary, credit and customs regulation, emission of money and guidelines for price policy; federal economic services, including federal banks;

h) the federal budget; federal taxes and levies; federal funds of regional development;

i) federal power grids, nuclear energy, fissionable materials; federal transport, railways, information and communications; space activities;

j) foreign policy and international relations of the Russian Federation, international treaties of the Russian questions of war and peace;

k) foreign trade relations of the Russian Federation;

l) defense and security; defense production; determining procedures for the sale and purchase of arms, ammunition, military hardware and other equipment; production of fissionable materials, toxic substances, narcotics and procedure for the use thereof;

m) defining the status and protection of the state border, territorial waters, the air space, the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf of the Russian Federation;

n) law courts; Prosecutor's Office; criminal, criminal-procedural and criminal-executive legislation; amnesty and pardon; civil, civil-procedural and arbitration-procedural legislation; legal regulation of intellectual property;

o) federal conflict of laws;

p) meteorological service; standards, models, the metric system and time measurement; geodesy and cartography; names of geographical objects; official statistics and accounting;

q) state decorations and honorary titles of the Russian Federation;

r) federal state service.

Article 72.

(1) The joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation shall include:

a) ensuring compliance of the constitutions and laws of the republics, charters, laws, and other regulatory legal acts of the territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region and autonomous areas with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the federal laws;

b) protection of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, protection of the rights of ethnic minorities; ensuring legality, law and order, and public safety; border zone regime;

c) issues of the possession, use and management of the land, mineral resources, water and other natural resources;

d) delimitation of state property;

e) management of natural resources, protection of the environment and ecological safety; specially protected natural reserves; protection of historical and cultural monuments;

f) general questions of upbringing, education, science, culture, physical culture and sports;

g) coordination of health issues, protection of family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood; social protection including social security;

h) implementing measures to combat catastrophes, natural disasters, epidemics and eliminating consequences thereof;

i) establishment of the general guidelines for taxation and levies in the Russian Federation;

j) administrative, administrative-procedural, labor, family, housing, land, water and forestry legislation; legislation on the sub-surface and environmental protection;

k) cadres of judiciary and law-enforcement agencies; the bar, notariate;

l) protection of the original environment and traditional way of life of small ethnic communities;

m) establishment of general guidelines of the organization of the system of bodies of state power and local self-government;

n) coordination of the international and external economic relations of the subjects of the Russian Federation, compliance with the international treaties of the Russian Federation.

(2) The provisions of this Article shall equally apply to the republics, territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region and autonomous areas.

Article 73.

Outside of the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the powers of the Russian Federation on issues within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation, the subjects of the Russian Federation shall exercise the entire spectrum of state power.

Article 74.

(1) No customs frontiers, duties, levies, or any other barriers for free movement of goods, services, or financial means may be established on the territory of the Russian Federation.

(2) Restrictions on the movement of goods and services may be established under the federal law, if this is necessary for the protection of the people's safety, their lives and health, protection of environment and cultural values.

Article 75.

(1) The monetary unit of the Russian Federation shall be the ruble. The monetary emission shall be the exclusive responsibility of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. No other currencies may be issued in the Russian Federation.

(2) The protection and stability of the ruble is the main function of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation which it shall exercise independently from other bodies of state power.

(3) The system of taxes levied to the federal budget and the general principles of taxation and levies in the Russian Federation shall be established by the federal law.

(4) State loans shall be issued in accordance with the procedure established by the federal law and placed on a strictly voluntary basis.

Article 76.

(1) On issues within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation federal constitutional laws and federal laws shall be adopted having direct effect throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

(2) On matters within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation federal laws shall be issued and in accordance with them laws and other regulatory legal acts of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be adopted.

(3) Federal laws may not contravene federal constitutional laws.

(4) Outside of the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation republics, territories, regions, federal cities, autonomous regions and autonomous areas shall effect their own legal regulation, including the adoption of laws and other regulatory legal acts.

(5) Laws and other regulatory legal acts of the subjects of the Russian Federation may not contravene federal laws adopted in accordance with parts 1 and 2 of this Article. In the event of a contradiction between a federal law and any other act issued in the Russian Federation, the federal law shall apply.

(6) In the event of a contradiction between the federal law and a regulatory legal act of a subject of the Russian Federation issued in accordance with part 4 of this Article, the regulatory legal act of the subject of the Russian Federation shall apply.

Article 77.

(1) The system of state power bodies of the republics, territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region, autonomous areas shall be established by the subjects of the Russian Federation independently in accordance with the basic principles of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and general principles of the organization of legislative and executive bodies of power as envisaged by the federal law.

(2) Within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the powers of the Russian Federation on issues within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation the federal bodies of executive power and bodies of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall form the single system of executive power in the Russian Federation.

Article 78.

(1) To exercise their powers, the federal bodies of executive power may set up their own territorial structures and appoint respective officials.

(2) By agreement with organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, the federal organs of executive power may delegate to them part of their powers provided this does not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation or federal laws.

(3) By agreement with the federal organs of executive power, organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation may delegate part of their powers to them.

(4) The President of the Russian Federation and the government of the Russian Federation shall, under the Constitution of the Russian Federation, exercise the authority of federal state power throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

Article 79.

The Russian Federation may participate in inter-state associations and delegate some of its powers to them in accordance with international agreements if this does not restrict human or civil rights and liberties or contravene the fundamentals of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation.

Chapter IV [President of the Russian Federation]

Article 80.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation shall be the head of state.

(2) The President shall be the guarantor of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, and of human and civil rights and freedoms. In accordance with the procedure established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, he shall take measures to protect the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, its independence and state integrity, and ensure concerted functioning and interaction of all bodies of state power.

(3) The President of the Russian Federation shall define the basic domestic and foreign policy guidelines of the state in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws.

(4) The President of the Russian Federation as head of state shall represent the Russian Federation inside the country and in international relations.

Article 81.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation shall be elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian Federation on the basis of general, equal and direct vote by secret ballot.

(2) A citizen of the Russian Federation not younger than 35, who has resided in the Russian Federation for not less than 10 years, may be elected President of the Russian Federation.

(3) No one person shall hold the office of President of the Russian Federation for more than two terms in succession.

(4) The procedure for electing the President of the Russian Federation shall be determined by federal law.

Article 82.

(1) At his inauguration the President of the Russian Federation shall take the following oath to the people: "I

vow, in the performance of my powers as the President of the Russian Federation to respect and protect the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, to observe and protect the Constitution of the Russian Federation, to protect the sovereignty and independence, security and integrity of the state and to serve the people faithfully."

(2) The oath shall be taken in a solemn atmosphere in the presence of members of the Council of the Federation, deputies of the State Duma and judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

Article 83.

The President of the Russian Federation shall:

a) appoint Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation subject to consent of the State Duma;

b) have the right to preside over meetings of the Government of the Russian Federation;

c) decide on resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation;

d) introduce to the State Duma a candidature for appointment to the office of the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation; submit to the State Duma the proposal on relieving the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation of his duties;

e) appoint and dismiss deputy chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation and federal ministers as proposed by the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation;

f) submit to the Federation Council candidates for appointment to the office of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation as well as the candidate for Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation; submit to the Federation Council the proposal on relieving the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation of his duties; appoint the judges of other federal courts.

g) form and head the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the status of which is determined by federal law;

h) endorse the military doctrine of the Russian Federation;

i) form the staff of the President of the Russian Federation;

j) appoint and dismiss plenipotentiary representatives of the President of the Russian Federation;

k) appoint and dismiss the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation;

l) appoint and recall, after consultations with the respective committees or commissions of the Federal Assembly, diplomatic representatives of the Russian Federation to foreign states and international organizations.

Article 84.

The President of the Russian Federation shall:

a) call elections to the chambers of the State Duma in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal law;

b) dissolve the State Duma in cases and under procedures envisaged by the Constitution of the Russian Federation;

c) call a referendum under procedures established by federal constitutional law;

d) introduce draft laws in the State Duma;

e) sign and publish federal laws;

f) present annual messages to the Federal Assembly on the situation in the country and on basic directions of the internal and external policies of the state.

Article 85.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation may use dispute-settlement procedures to settle differences between organs of state power of the Russian Federation and organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, and also between organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation. If no decision is agreed upon, he may turn the dispute over for review by the respective court of law.

(2) The President of the Russian Federation shall have the right to suspend acts by organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation if such acts contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws, the international obligations of the Russian Federation, or violate human and civil rights and liberties, pending the resolution of the issue in appropriate court.

Article 86.

The President of the Russian Federation shall:

a) supervise the conduct of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation;

b) conduct negotiations and sign international treaties of the Russian Federation;

c) sign instruments of ratification;

d) accept credentials and instruments of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited with him.

Article 87.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation shall be the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.

(2) In the event of aggression against the Russian Federation or an immediate threat thereof, the President of the Russian Federation shall introduce martial law on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification thereof of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

(3) The martial law regime shall be regulated by the federal constitutional law.

Article 88.

Under the circumstances and procedures envisaged by the Federal Constitutional Law, the President of the Russian Federation shall impose a state of emergency on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

Article 89.

The President of the Russian Federation shall:

a) resolve issues of citizenship of the Russian Federation and of granting political asylum;

b) award state decorations of the Russian Federation, confer honorary titles of the Russian Federation and top military ranks and top specialized titles;

c) grant pardon.

Article 90.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation shall issue decrees and executive orders.

(2) The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation shall be binding throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

(3) The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation or federal laws.

Article 91.

The President of the Russian Federation shall possess immunity.

Article 92.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation shall assume his powers from the time he shall be sworn in and terminate his exercise of such powers with the expiry of his tenure of office from the time the newly-elected President of the Russian Federation shall have been sworn in.

(2) The powers of the President of the Russian Federation shall be terminated in the event of his resignation or sustained inability due to health to discharge his powers or in the event of impeachment. In such cases new elections of the President of the Russian Federation shall be held not later than three months after the early termination of the President's powers.

(3) In all cases when the President of the Russian Federation shall be unable to perform his duties such duties shall be temporarily performed by the chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation. The acting president of the Russian Federation shall have no right to dissolve the State Duma, call a referendum or make proposals on amendment or revision of the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Article 93.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation may be impeached by the Federation Council only on the basis of charges put forward against him of high treason or some other grave crime, confirmed by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation on the presence of indicia of crime in the President's actions and by a ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation confirming that the procedure of bringing charges has been observed.

(2) The ruling of the State Duma on putting forward charges and the decision of the Federation Council on impeachment of the President shall be passed by the votes of two-thirds of the total number in each of the chambers at the initiative of at least one-third of the deputies of the State Duma and in the presence of the opinion of a special commission formed by the State Duma.

(3) The decision of the Federation Council on impeaching the President of the Russian Federation shall be passed within three months of the charges being brought against the President by the State Duma. The charges against the President shall be considered to be rejected if the decision of the Federation Council shall not be passed.

Chapter V [The Federal Assembly]

Article 94.

The Federal Assembly — Parliament of the Russian Federation —shall be the supreme representative and legislative body of the Russian Federation.

Article 95.

(1) The Federal Assembly shall consist of two chambers — the Federation Council and the State Duma.

(2) Two deputies from each subject of the Federation shall be members of Federation Council: one from the representative and one from the executive bodies of state authority.

(3) The State Duma shall consist of 450 deputies.

Article 96.

(1) The State Duma shall be elected for a term of four years.

(2) The procedure for forming the Federation Council and the procedure for electing deputies to the State Duma shall be established by federal law.

Article 97.

(1) Any citizen of the Russian Federation aged 21 and older who has the right to take part in elections may be elected deputy to the State Duma.

(2) One and the same person may not concurrently be a deputy to the Federation Council and to the State Duma. A deputy to the State Duma may not be a deputy to any other representative body of state power or bodies of local self-government.

(3) The deputies to the State Duma shall work on a permanent professional basis. Deputies to the State Duma may not be employed in the civil service or engage in any activities for remuneration other than teaching, research or other creative activities.

Article 98.

(1) Deputies to the Federation Council and deputies to the State Duma shall possess immunity throughout their term in

office. A deputy may not be detained, arrested, searched except when detained in the act of perpetrating a crime, and may not be subject to personal search except when such search shall be authorized by law to ensure the safety of other people.

(2) The question of stripping a deputy of immunity shall be decided on the recommendation of the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation by the corresponding chamber of the Federal Assembly.

Article 99.

(1) The Federal Assembly shall be a permanent body.

(2) The State Duma shall hold its first session on the 30th day after its election. The President of the Russian Federation may convene a session of the State Duma before this term.

(3) The first session of the State Duma shall be opened by the oldest deputy.

(4) From the start of the work of the new State Duma the powers of the previous State Duma shall cease.

Article 100.

(1) The Federation Council and the State Duma shall sit separately.

(2) The sessions of the Federation Council and the State Duma shall be open. Each chamber has the right to hold closed sessions as envisaged by its rules.

(3) The chambers may have joint sessions to hear the addresses of the President of the Russian Federation, addresses of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and speeches by leaders of foreign states.

Article 101.

(1) The Federation Council shall elect from among its members the Chairman of the Federation Council and his deputies. The State Duma shall elect from among its members the Chairman of the State Duma and his deputies.

(2) The Chairman of the Federation Council and his deputies, the Chairman of the State Duma and his deputies shall preside over the sessions and supervise the internal rules of the chamber.

(3) The Federation Council and the State Duma shall form committees and commissions, exercise parliamentary supervision over issues within their jurisdiction and hold parliamentary hearings.

(4) Each chamber shall adopt its own rules and solve questions of internal organization and work.

(5) In order to exercise control over the federal budget the Federation Council and the State Duma shall form an Accounting Chamber, the membership and rules of order of which shall be determined by federal law.

Article 102.

(1) The jurisdiction of the Federation Council shall include:

a) approval of changes of borders between the subjects of the Russian Federation;

b) approval of the decree of the President of the Russian Federation on the introduction of martial law;

c) approval of the decree of the President of the Russian Federation on the introduction of a state of emergency;

d) making decisions on the possibility of the use of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation outside the territory of the Russian Federation;

e) calling of elections of the President of the Russian Federation;

f) impeachment of the President of the Russian Federation.

g) the appointment of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, and the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation;

h) the appointment to office and the removal from office of the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation;

i) the appointment to office and removal from office of the deputy Chairman of the Accounting Chamber and half of its staff of its auditors.

(2) The Federation Council shall pass resolutions on the issues within its jurisdiction under the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) The decrees of the Federation Council shall be adopted by a majority of all deputies to the Federation Council unless otherwise provided for by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Article 103.

(1) The jurisdiction of the State Duma shall include:

a) granting consent to the President of the Russian Federation for the appointment of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation;

b) decisions on confidence in the government of the Russian Federation;

c) the appointment and dismissal of the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation;

d) the appointment and dismissal of the Chairman of the Accounting Chamber and half of its staff of auditors;

e) the appointment and dismissal of the Plenipotentiary for Human Rights acting in accordance with the Federal Constitutional Law;

f) granting amnesty;

g) bringing charges against the President of the Russian Federation for his impeachment.

(2) The State Duma shall adopt resolutions on the issues of its jurisdiction envisaged by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) The resolutions of the State Duma shall be adopted by a majority of votes of all deputies of the State Duma unless otherwise provided for by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Article 104.

(1) The President of the Russian Federation, the Federation Council, the members to the Federation Council, the deputies to the State Duma, the Government of the Russian Federation and the legislative (representative) bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall have the right of legislative initiative. The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation shall also have the right of legislative initiative within their jurisdiction.

(2) Draft laws shall be introduced in the State Duma.

(3) The draft laws on the introduction or abolishing of taxes, exemptions from the payment thereof, on the issue of state loans, on changes in the financial obligations of the state and other draft laws providing for expenditures covered from the federal budget may be introduced to the State Duma only with a corresponding resolution by the Government of the Russian Federation.

Article 105.

(1) Federal laws shall be passed by the State Duma.

(2) Federal laws shall be passed by a majority of votes of all deputies of the State Duma unless otherwise provided for by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) Laws adopted by the State Duma shall be passed to the Federation Council for review within five days.

(4) A federal law shall be considered passed by the Federation Council if more than half of its deputies vote for it or if within fourteen days it has not been considered by the Federation Council. In the event the Federation Council shall reject the federal law, the chambers may set up a conciliatory commission to settle the differences, whereupon the federal law shall again be considered by the State Duma.

(5) In the event the State Duma shall disagree with the decision of the Federation Council, the federal law shall be considered adopted if, in the second voting, at least two-thirds of the total number of deputies to the State Duma vote for it.

Article 106.

The federal laws adopted by the State Duma shall be considered by the Federation Council on a mandatory basis if such laws deal with the issues of:

a) the federal budget;

b) federal taxes and levies;

c) financial, monetary, credit and customs regulations and money emission;

d) ratification and denunciation of international treaties of the Russian Federation;

e) the status and protection of the state border of the Russian Federation;

f) war and peace.

Article 107.

(1) An adopted federal law shall be sent to the President of the Russian Federation for signing and publication within five days.

(2) The President of the Russian Federation shall, within fourteen days, sign a federal law and publish it.

(3) If the President rejects a federal law within fourteen days since it was sent to him, the State Duma and the Federation Council shall again consider the law in accordance with the procedure established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. If, during the second hearings, the federal law shall be approved in its earlier draft by a majority of not less than two thirds of the total number of deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma, it shall be signed by the President of the Russian Federation within seven days and published.

Article 108.

(1) Federal constitutional laws shall be passed on issues specified in the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(2) A federal constitutional law shall be considered adopted, if it has been approved by a majority of at least three quarters of the total number of deputies of the Federation Council and at least two thirds of the total number of deputies of the State Duma. The adopted federal constitutional law shall be signed by the President of the Russian Federation within fourteen days and published.

Article 109.

(1) The State Duma may be dissolved by the President of the Russian Federation in cases stipulated in Articles 111 and 117 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(2) In the event of the dissolution of the State Duma, the President of the Russian Federation shall determine the date of elections so that the newly-elected State Duma shall convene not later than four months since the time of dissolution.

(3) The State Duma may not be dissolved on grounds provided for by Article 117 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation within one year after its election.

(4) The State Duma may not be dissolved since the time it has brought accusations against the President of the Russian Federation and until a corresponding decision has been taken by the Federation Council.

(5) The State Duma may not be dissolved during the period of the state of emergency or martial law throughout the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as within six months of the expiry of the term of office of the President of the Russian Federation.

Chapter VI [The Government of the Russian Federation]

Article 110.

(1) Executive power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the Government of the Russian Federation.

(2) The Government of the Russian Federation shall consist of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, Deputy Chairmen of the Government and federal ministers.

Article 111.

(1) The Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation shall be appointed by the President of the Russian Federation with consent of the State Duma.

(2) The proposal on the candidacy of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation shall be made no later than two weeks after the inauguration of the newly-elected President of the Russian Federation or after the resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation or within one week after the rejection of the candidate by the State Duma.

(3) The State Duma shall consider the candidacy of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation submitted by the President of the Russian Federation within one week after the nomination.

(4) After the State Duma thrice rejects candidates for Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation nominated by the President of the Russian Federation, the President of the Russian Federation shall appoint a Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, dissolve the State Duma and call a new election.

Article 112.

(1) The Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation shall, not later than one week after appointment, submit to the President of the Russian Federation proposals on the structures of the federal bodies of executive power.

(2) The Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation shall propose to the President of the Russian Federation candidates for the office of Deputy Chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation and federal ministers.

Article 113.

The Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws and decrees of the President of the Russian Federation shall determine the guidelines of the work of the Government of the Russian Federation and shall organize its work.

Article 114.

(1) The Government of the Russian Federation shall:

a) develop and submit the federal budget to the State Duma and ensure compliance therewith; submit a report on the execution of the federal budget to the State Duma;

b) ensure the implementation in the Russian Federation of a uniform financial, credit and monetary policy;

c) ensure the implementation in the Russian Federation of a uniform state policy in the field of culture, science, education, health, social security and ecology;

d) manage federal property;

e) adopt measures to ensure the country's defense, state security and the implementation of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation;

f) implement measures to ensure legality, the rights and freedoms of citizens, protect property and public law and order and control crime;

g) exercise any other powers vested in it by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws and the decrees of the President of the Russian Federation.

(2) The work of the Government of the Russian Federation shall be regulated by federal constitutional law.

Article 115.

(1) On the basis of and pursuant to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws and normative decrees of the President of the Russian Federation the Government of the Russian Federation shall issue decrees and orders and ensure their implementation thereof.

(2) The decrees and orders of the Government of the Russian Federation shall be binding throughout the Russian Federation.

(3) The decrees and executive orders of the Government of the Russian Federation may be repealed by the President of the Russian Federation if they contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws and the decrees of the President of the Russian Federation.

Article 116.

The Government of the Russian Federation shall lay down its powers before the newly-elected President of the Russian Federation.

Article 117.

(1) The Government of the Russian Federation may hand in its resignation which may be accepted or rejected by the President of the Russian Federation.

(2) The President of the Russian Federation may take a decision about the resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation.

(3) The State Duma may express non-confidence in the Government of the Russian Federation. The non-confidence resolution shall be approved by a simple majority of deputies in the State Duma. After the State Duma has expressed non-confidence in the Government of the Russian Federation, the President of the Russian Federation shall have the right to announce the resignation of the Government, or disagree with the decision of the State Duma. In the event the State Duma shall again express non-confidence in the Government of the Russian Federation within three months, the President of the Russian Federation shall announce the resignation of the Government or dissolve the State Duma.

(4) The Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation may put the question of confidence in the Government of the Russian Federation before the State Duma. In the case of a non-confidence vote by the State Duma, the President shall within seven days make a decision

about the resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation or about the dissolution of the State Duma and call a new election.

(5) If the Government of the Russian Federation resigns or lays down its powers, it shall, following instructions by the President of the Russian Federation, continue working until the formation of a new government of the Russian Federation.

Chapter VII [The Judiciary]

Article 118.

(1) Justice in the Russian Federation shall be administered only by law courts.

(2) Judiciary power shall be exercised to constitutional, civil, administrative and criminal process.

(3) The judiciary system of the Russian Federation shall be established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the federal constitutional law. The creation of extraordinary courts shall be forbidden.

Article 119.

Citizens of the Russian Federation aged 25 and older, holding a law degree and having worked in the law profession for at least five years may become judges. The federal law may establish additional requirements for judges in the courts of the Russian Federation.

Article 120.

(1) Judges shall be independent and shall obey only the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the federal law.

(2) A court of law, having established the illegality of an act of government or any other body, shall pass a ruling in accordance with law.

Article 121.

(1) Judges may not be replaced.

(2) A judge may not have his powers terminated or suspended except under procedures and on grounds established by federal law.

Article 122.

(1) Judges shall possess immunity.

(2) Criminal proceedings may not be brought against a judge except as provided for by federal law.

Article 123.

(1) All trials in all law courts shall be open. The hearing of a case can be in camera in cases provided by the federal law.

(2) Hearing of criminal cases in law courts in absentia shall not be allowed except the cases provided for by the federal law.

(3) The trial shall be conducted on an adversarial and equal basis.

(4) In cases stipulated by federal law trials shall be held by jury.

Article 124.

Law courts shall be financed only out of the federal budget and financing shall ensure full and independent administration of justice in accordance with federal law.

Article 125.

(1) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation consists of 19 judges.

(2) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on request by the President of the Russian Federation, the State Duma, one-fifth of the members of the Federation Council or deputies of the State Duma, the Government of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation, bodies of legislative and executive power of subjects of the Russian Federation shall resolve cases about compliance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation of:

a) federal laws, normative acts of the President of the Russian Federation, the Federation Council, State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation;

b) republican constitutions, charters, as well as laws and other normative acts of subjects of the Russian Federation published on issues pertaining to the jurisdiction of bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and joint jurisdiction of bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and bodies of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation;

c) agreements between bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and bodies of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation, agreements between bodies of state power of subjects of the Russian Federation;

d) international agreements of the Russian Federation that have not entered into force.

(3) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation shall resolve disputes over jurisdiction:

a) between the federal state bodies;

b) between state bodies of the Russian Federation and state bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation;

c) between supreme state bodies of subjects of the Russian Federation.

(4) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, proceeding from complaints about violation of constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens and requests from courts shall review the constitutionality of the law applied or due to be applied in a specific case in accordance with procedures established by federal law.

(5) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on request by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federation Council, State Duma, the Government of the Russian Federation, legislative bodies of subjects of the Russian Federation shall interpret the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(6) Acts and their provisions deemed unconstitutional shall loose force thereof; international agreements of the Russian

Federation may not be enforced and applied if they violate the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(7) The Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation on request of the Federation Council shall rule on compliance with established procedures when charging the President of the Russian Federation with state treason or other grave crime.

Article 126.

The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation shall be the highest judiciary body on civil, criminal, administrative and other matters triable by general jurisdiction courts, and shall effect judiciary supervision over their activity in line with federal procedural forms and shall offer explanations on judicial practice issues.

Article 127.

The Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation shall be the highest judiciary body resolving economic disputes and other cases considered by arbitration courts, and shall carry out judicial supervision over their activity in line with federal legal procedures and shall offer explanations on questions of judiciary practice.

Article 128.

(1) Judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, of the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation shall be appointed by the Federation Council following nomination by the President of the Russian Federation.

(2) Judges of other federal courts shall be appointed by the President of the Russian Federation in accordance with procedures established by federal law.

(3) The powers, and procedure of the formation and activities of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation and other federal courts shall be established by federal constitutional law.

Article 129.

(1) The Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation is a single centralized system in which lower prosecutors are subordinated to higher prosecutors and the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation.

(2) The Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation shall be appointed to his post and relieved from the post by the Federation Council on nomination by the President of the Russian Federation.

(3) Prosecutors of subjects of the Russian Federation shall be appointed by the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation after consultations with its subjects.

(4) Other prosecutors shall be appointed by the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation.

(5) The powers, organization and working procedure for the Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation shall be determined by federal law.

Chapter VIII [Local Self-Government]

Article 130.

(1) Local self-government in the Russian Federation shall ensure independent solution by the population of local issues, the ownership, use and disposal of municipal property.

(2) Local self-government shall be exercised by the citizens through referendums, elections and forms of expression of their will, through elected and other bodies of local self-government.

Article 131.

(1) Local self-government shall be exercised in the cities, rural areas and other localities taking into account historical and other local traditions. The structure of bodies of local self-government shall be determined by the population independently.

(2) The borders of territorial entities under local self-government shall be changed only with the consent of their population.

Article 132.

(1) The bodies of local self-government shall independently manage municipal property, form, approve and execute the local budget, establish local taxes and levies, ensure law and order and solve any other local issues.

(2) The bodies of local self-government may be invested under law with certain state powers with the transfer of material and financial resources required to exercise such powers. The exercise of the powers transferred shall be supervised by the state.

Article 133.

Local self-government in the Russian Federation shall be guaranteed by the right to judicial protection and compensation for any additional expenses arising from the decisions passed by the bodies of state power, and the ban on the restrictions of the rights of local self-government established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws.

Chapter IX [Constitutional Amendments and Revisions]

Article 134.

Proposals on amendments and revision of constitutional provisions may be made by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federation Council, the State Duma, the Government of the Russian Federation, legislative (representative) bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation as well as groups of deputies numbering not less than one-fifth of the total number of deputies of the Federation Council or the State Duma.

Article 135.

(1) The provisions of Chapters 1, 2 and 9 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation may not be revised by the Federal Assembly.

(2) In the event a proposal to revise any provisions in Chapters 1, 2 and 9 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall be supported by three-fifths of the total number of deputies of the Federation Council and the State Duma, a Constitutional Assembly shall be convened in accordance with the federal constitutional law.

(3) The Constitutional Assembly may either confirm the inviolability of the Constitution of the Russian Federation or develop a new draft of the Constitution of the Russian Federation which shall be adopted by two-thirds of the total number of deputies to the Constitutional Assembly or submitted to popular voting. The Constitution of the Russian Federation shall be considered adopted during such poll if more than half of its participants have voted for it, provided more than half of the electorate have taken part in the poll.

Article 136.

Amendments to Chapters 3-8 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall be adopted in accordance with the procedures envisaged for the adoption of a federal constitutional law and shall come into force following the approval thereof by no less than two-thirds of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

Article 137.

(1) Changes to Article 65 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, which determines the composition of the Russian Federation, shall be made on the basis of the federal constitutional law on admission to the Russian Federation and the formation within the Russian Federation of a new subject and on a change of the constitutional-legal status of the subject of the Russian Federation.

(2) In the event of a change in the name of the republic, territory, region, federal cities, autonomous region and autonomous area, the new name of the subject of the Russian Federation shall be included in Article 65 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

SECTION TWO [Concluding and Transitional Provisions]

(1) The Constitution of the Russian Federation comes into force from the day of its official publication on the basis of the results of a nationwide vote. The election day, December 12, 1993 is considered the day of adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. Simultaneously, the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia, adopted 12 April, 1978, with the changes and amendments that followed, ceases to be valid. In the event of a situation of nonconformity between the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Federal Treaty—the Agreement on the Delineation of Jurisdiction and Powers between the Federal Bodies of State Power of the Russian Federation and the Bodies of State Power of the Sovereign Republics making up the Russian Federation, the Agreement on the Delineation of Jurisdiction and Powers between the Federal Bodies of State Power of the Russian Federation and Bodies of State Power of the territories, regions, the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg of the Russian Federation, the Agreement on the Delineation of Jurisdiction and Powers between the Federal Bodies of State Power of the Russian Federation and Bodies of State power of the autonomous region, autonomous areas making up the Russian Federation, and similarly other agreements between the Federal Bodies of State Power of the Russian Federation and Bodies of State Power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, agreements between Bodies of State Power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall apply.

(2) Laws and other legal acts in effect on the territory of the Russian Federation until the enactment of this Constitution are enforced in so far as they do not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

(3) The President of the Russian Federation, elected in accordance with the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia, from the day this Constitution takes effect exercises the powers set down in the Constitution until the end of his term for which he was elected.

(4) The Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation from the day this Constitution takes effect assumes the rights, duties and responsibilities of the Government of the Russian Federation set down in the Constitution of the Russian Federation and in future shall be designated as the Government of the Russian Federation.

(5) Courts in the Russian Federation exercise the right to administer justice in accordance with their powers as set down in this Constitution. After the Constitution takes effect the judges of all courts of the Russian Federation preserve their powers until the end of their terms for which they were elected. Vacancies shall be filled in accordance with the procedures set down in this Constitution.

(6) Until the adoption of a federal law setting forth the procedures for trial by jury, the prior procedure for conducting trials shall be retained. Until the enforcement of criminal-procedural legislation of the Russian Federation in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, the prior procedures of the arrest, custody and detention of individuals suspected of committing crimes shall be maintained.

(7) The Federal Council and the State Duma of the first convocation shall be elected for a two-year term.

(8) The Federation Council shall hold its first session on the 30th day after election. The first session of the Federation Council shall be opened by the President of the Russian Federation.

(9) A deputy of the State Duma of the first convocation may simultaneously be a member of the Government of the Russian Federation. Deputies of the State Duma - members of the Government of the Russian Federation - are not covered by the provisions of this Constitution concerning deputies' immunity from responsibility for their activities (or their lack of activity) connected with the execution of their official duties. Deputies of the Federation Council of the first convocation shall exercise their powers on a temporary basis.

The Constitution of the United States

(**Note:** *Sections of the Constitution which are no longer in effect are in italics.*)

Preamble

We, the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I [Legislative Branch]

Section 1.

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. [House of Representatives]

(1) The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

(2) No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

(3) Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, *which shall be determined by adding the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons*. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; *and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.*

(4) When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

(5) The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. [Senate]

(1) The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof;* for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

(2) Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, *during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.*

(3) No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

(4) The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

(5) The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of the President of the United States.

(6) The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

(7) Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of Honor, Trust, or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. [Elections and Meetings]

(1) The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators.

(2) The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, *and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they by Law appoint a different Day.*

Section 5. [Organizations and Rules]

(1) Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of

each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

(2) Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

(3) Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

(4) Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. [Privileges and Restrictions]

(1) The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

(2) No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his continuance in Office.

Section 7. [Passing Laws]

(1) All bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other bills.

(2) Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration, two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

(3) Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the case of a Bill.

Section 8. [Powers of Congress]

The Congress shall have the Power

(1) To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

(2) To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

(3) To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

(4) To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

(5) To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

(6) To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

(7) To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

(8) To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

(9) To constitute Tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

(10) To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

(11) To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

(12) To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

(13) To provide and maintain a Navy;

(14) To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces;

(15) To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

(16) To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

(17) To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of Government of

the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

(18) To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. [Powers Denied to the Federal Government]

(1) The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

(2) The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

(3) No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

(4) No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

(5) No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

(6) No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

(7) No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

(8) No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States:—And no Person holding any Office or Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. [Powers Denied to the States]

(1) No state shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

(2) No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

(3) No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II [The Executive Branch]

Section 1. [President and Vice President]

(1) The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

(2) East State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

(3) The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

(4) The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

(5) No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[(6) In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.]

(7) The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

(8) Before he enter on the execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of the President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. [Powers of the President]

(1) The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

(2) He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law. But the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

(3) The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. [Duties of the President]

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. [Impeachment]

The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III [The Judicial Branch]

Section 1. [Federal Courts]

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. [Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts]

(1) The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; to all Cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; to Controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to Controversies between two or more states; between a State and Citizens of another State; between Citizens of different States; between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

(2) In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be a Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

(3) The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. [Treason]

(1) Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

(2) The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture, except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV [Relations Among States]

Section 1. [Official Acts]

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Section 2. [Mutual Duties of States]

(1) The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

(2) A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the crime.

(3) No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Section 3. [New States and Territories]

(1) New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

(2) The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Section 4. [Federal Protection for States]

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union, a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic Violence.

Article V [The Amending Process]

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that *no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that* no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI [National Supremacy]

(1) All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

(2) This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

(3) The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article VII [Ratification of the Constitution]

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the Unanimous Consent of the States present, the Seventeenth Day of September, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

[Signers Listed]

AMENDMENTS

Amendment I [Freedom of Religion, Speech, Press, and Assembly]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment II [Right to Bear Arms]

A well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment III [Quartering Troops]

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by Law.

Amendment IV [Searches and Seizures]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V [Rights of Accused Persons]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI [Right to a Speedy, Fair Trial]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII [Civil Suits]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Courts of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII [Bail and Punishment]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX [Powers Reserved to the People]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X [Powers Reserved to the States]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Amendment XI [Suits Against States]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Amendment XII [Election of President and Vice President]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, *before the fourth day of March next following*, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Amendment XIII [Abolition of Slavery]

Section 1.
Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2.
Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV [Rights of Citizens]

Section 1. [Citizenship Defined]
All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. [Apportionment of Representatives]
Representatives shall be apportioned among the several

States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. [Penalty for Engaging in Insurrection]
No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. [Public Debt]
The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5.
The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV [Right to Vote]

Section 1.
The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2.
The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI [Income Tax]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII [Direct Election of Senators]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Amendment XVIII [Prohibition of Alcoholic Beverages]

Section 1.
After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2.
The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3.
This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Amendment XIX [Woman's Suffrage]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XX ["Lame-Duck" Amendment]

Section 1. [Beginning of Terms of Office]
The terms of the President and the Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. [Beginning of Congressional Sessions]
The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. [Succession of President and Vice President]
If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice-President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4. [Filling Presidential Vacancies]
The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5.
Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6.
This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI [Repeal of Prohibition]

Section 1.
The Eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2.
The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3.
This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

Amendment XXII [Limit on Presidential Terms]

Section 1.
No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who had held the office of President, or acted as President, for more that two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once.

But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2.
This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII [Presidential Electors for the District of Columbia]

Section 1.
The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and preform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2.
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV [Abolition of Poll Tax]

Section 1.
The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2.
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV [Presidential Disability and Succession]

Section 1.
In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2.
Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take the office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

Section 3.
Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of-

Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4.
Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office of Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI [Eighteen-Year-Old Vote]

Section 1.
The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of age.

Section 2.
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXVII [Restraint on Constitutional Salaries]

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.